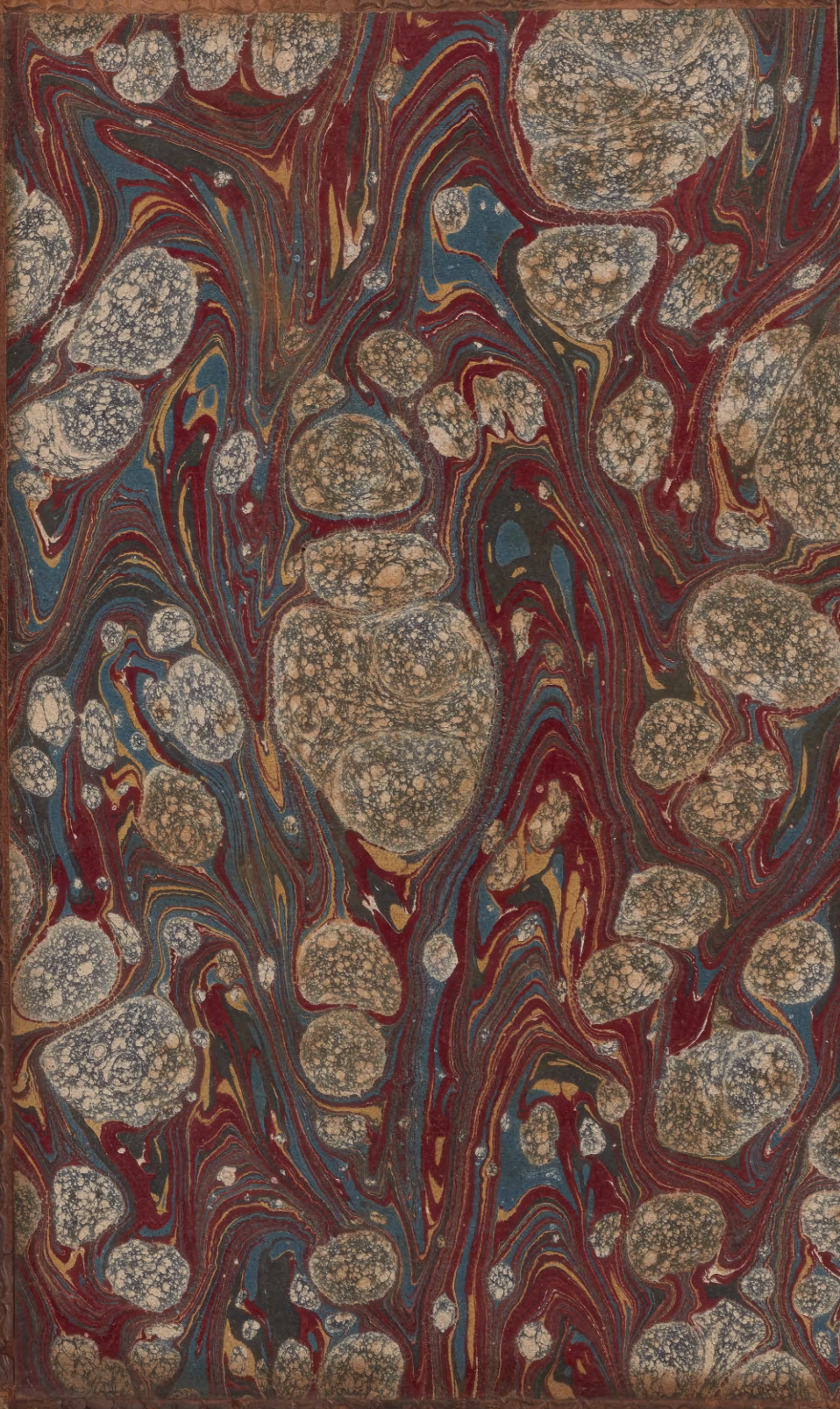

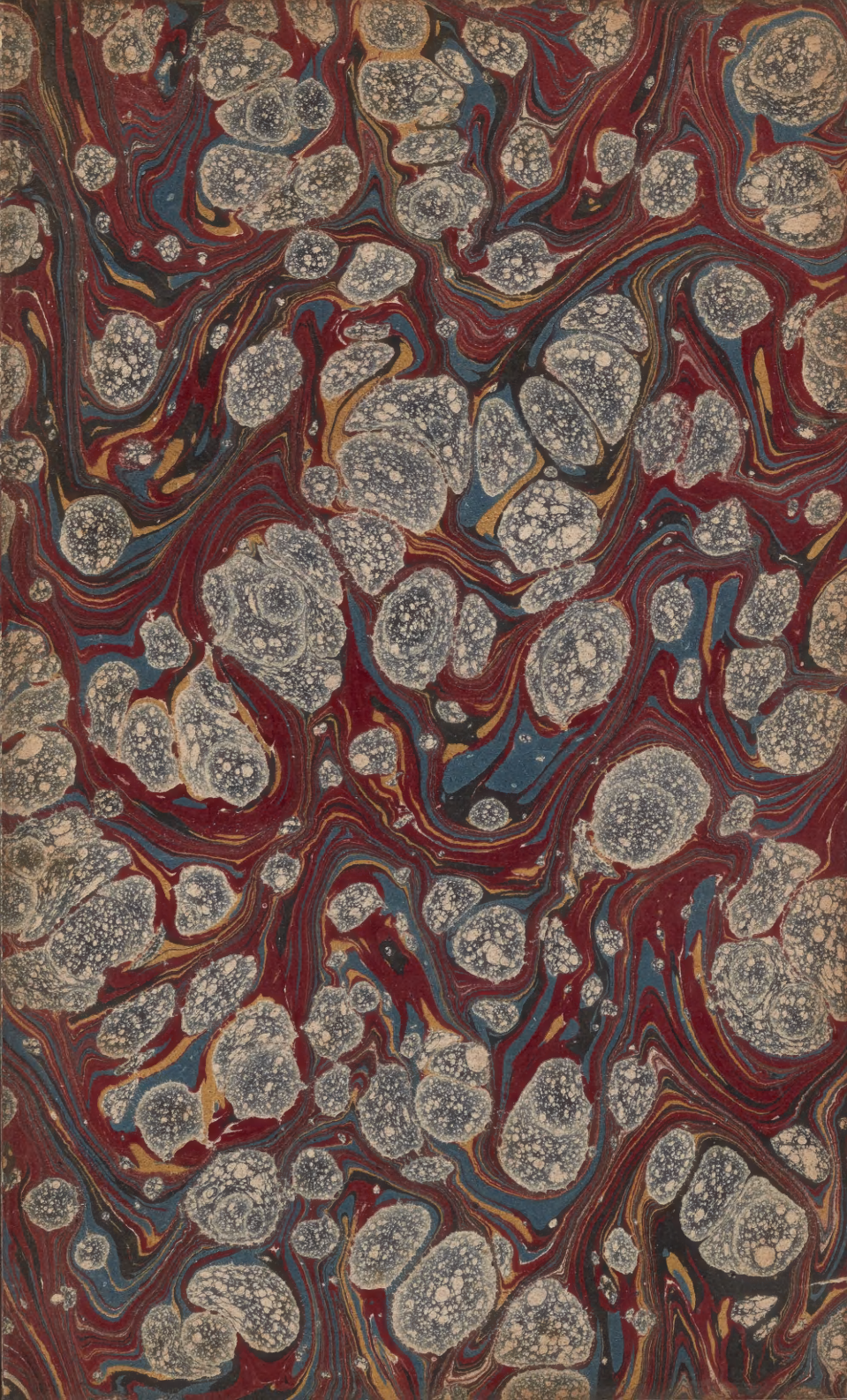

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THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THEIR

LIVES AND TIMES.

WITH SEVERAL ADDITIONAL MEMOIRS, AND AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED; THE WHOLE MATTER NEWLY ARRANGED AND REVISED.

BY

RICHARD R. MADDEN, F.R.C.S., ENG., M.R.I.A.

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN THE EAST", "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SAVONAROLA", "MEMOIRS OF THE COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON", PHANTASMATA, OR ILLUSIONS AND FANATICISMS", ETC.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX.

My Lord,

When I commenced this work many years ago, and was only known to your Lordship as a man who had rendered some slight services to a cause, of which you had been the consistent and strenuous advocate from the outset of your career in public life, I was indebted to you for an introduction to an eminent French historian, and a request that I might have access to the archives of the public departments in Paris, with a view to the use of documents that might have any bearing on the subject of my intended work, in which undertaking your Lordship was pleased to express an interest, and an opinion of its utility. I am, then, indebted for that generous aid of your Lordship, to my humble efforts against slavery and the slave trade; not in the quiet closets of philanthropy at home, or the great arena for the advocacy of that cause, in the British press or parliament, but on the battle-ground itself of the struggle with the task-masters and dealers and chapmen of their fellow-men,—in the Spanish Colonies and on the coast of Africa. So, my Lord, having battled for the interests of justice and humanity abroad, being placed in circumstances wherein I had occasion to know these interests had been terribly outraged at home, I thought it was my duty to use the same energies I had brought to bear against abused power and oppression in foreign countries,

against governmental abandonment in my own land, and very grievous wrongs inflicted on its people. This opinion, my Lord, by many, I am well aware, will be considered absurd, Quixotic, and extravagant, but not so, I am fully persuaded, by your Lordship. I have read in a work entitled *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George the Third*, some observations respecting vicious rulers and misrule, and modes of treating of the evils which result from their regime; and if I am not mistaken, I find in that admirable work, confirmation of the opinion I have expressed, and on which I have acted in dealing with the crimes of the ruling class in Ireland, and the faction in alliance with it, in 1798.

Referring to the history of exalted individuals in public life, who are the subjects of the *Historical Sketches*, the author says:

"A postponement till the day when there should be no possibility of passion or prejudice shading the path of the historian, may extinguish the recollections also, which alone can give value to his narrative. . . .

"The main object in view (in giving those sketches to the public) has been the maintenance of a severe standard of public virtue, by constantly painting profligacy in those hateful colours which are natural to it, though sometimes obscured by the lustre of talents, especially when seen through the false glare shed by success over public crimes. To show mankind who are their real benefactors—to teach them the wisdom of only exalting the friends of peace, of freedom, and of improvement—to warn them against the folly, so pernicious to themselves, of lavishing their applauses upon their worst enemies, those who disturb the tranquillity, assail the liberties, and obstruct the improvement of the world—to reclaim them from the yet worse habit, so near akin to vicious indulgence, of palliating cruelty and fraud committed on a large scale, by regarding the success which has attended their foul enormities, or the courage and the address with which they have been perpetrated—these are the views which have guided the pen that has attempted to sketch the his-

tory of George the Third's times, by describing the statesmen who flourished in them.

"With these views, a work was begun many years ago, and interrupted by professional avocations—the history of two reigns in our own annals, those of Henry the Fifth, and Elizabeth, deemed glorious for the arts of war and of government, commanding largely the admiration of the vulgar, justly famous for the capacity which they displayed, but exalted upon the false assumption that foreign conquest is the chief glory of a nation, and that habitual and dexterous treachery towards all mankind is the chief accomplishment of a sovereign. To retail the story of their reigns in the language of which sound reason prescribes the use; to express the scorn of falsehood, and the detestation of cruelty, which the uncorrupted feelings of our nature inspire; to call wicked things by their right names, whether done by princes and statesmen, or by vulgar and more harmless malefactors, was the plan of that work".

Trusting, my Lord, that some, at least, of the sentiments so admirably expressed in the preceding observations, will be found to have been acted on in the treatment of the subject of these volumes, and that the importance of it will be recognized even by the eminent and illustrious author of the *Historical Sketches* I have cited,

I have the honour to remain,
My Lord,
With the highest respect,
Your Lordship's
Very obedient, humble servant,
R. R. Madden.

Leitrim Lodge,
October 1, 1857.

PREFACE.

TWO-AND-TWENTY years have elapsed since the collection of the materials for this work was commenced by the author in the United States of America. Many of the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen were then living in that country, and now are only to be recalled, as of the number of those who were, and are not. The first series of *The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen* was published in 1842; the second series in 1843; the third, and last, in 1846. The whole was comprised in seven volumes octavo.

The mode of publication at different intervals, from the year 1842 to the latter end of 1846, necessitated many faults with respect to arrangement of materials, coming, as these did, to the author's hands at various periods, and from various countries, during these intervening years. Notwithstanding this defect, the work was eminently successful. It has been long out of print, and frequent demands for it have been made, for some years past, from Australia, the West India Colonies, England, and America. The unsettled state, however, of the law of copyright between the two last-named countries has been productive of injury alike to the author and the work, in the United States. *The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen* have been reprinted in America, and republished there, in a very garbled and mutilated form. These circumstances have led to the republication of the work in its present form, carefully revised, largely improved, by the addition of much original authentic information, and entirely re-arranged, so as to bring the matter of the original edition of seven octavo volumes, as well as the additional materials, now presented to the public, into four series, comprised in four volumes, each volume in itself complete.

To the enterprising efforts and enlarged views of the publisher of this new edition of *The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, the public is indebted for its appearance in a better form than it first assumed, and at very nearly half the cost of the original edition.

The main object for undertaking this work has been to obtain a hearing in England for a truthful relation of the struggle in which the United Irishmen engaged, the sufferings and the wrongs which the Irish people endured at the hands of a bad government, a base oligarchy, a bigoted and corrupt parliament, and an army let loose upon them, which was formidable, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, to *every one but the enemy.*

The motives that induced me to take up this subject may be misinterpreted or regarded with little sympathy by many; but they will be appreciated duly by some, and that too without regard to any political or religious opinions of mine or those of whom I treat. The circumstances in which I have been placed, in connection with the efforts that have been made for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, during many years past, were not calculated to make a man a bad hater of oppression in any country. In fact the struggle against slavery, whether in the West Indies, or on the shores of Africa, served, in my case, as an apprenticeship to the cause of freedom, and tended to make contrasts between personal and political slavery familiar to me. I could not understand that sort of philanthropy which was to be permitted to battle for the interests of humanity and justice, when these were outraged in the persons of black men, and to make the world ring with the echoes of the cart-whip and the cries of the oppressed, who were four thousand miles off; to have one set of nerves exquisitely sensitive to the sufferings of men, who were victims to the cupidity of West India planters, and another callous and insensible to the wrongs of those who were ground down by legalized rapacity, driven to desperation, dragooned, tortured, and persecuted at home. Whether African Negroes were held "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own",

or the " mere Irishry " were deemed culpable of a creed not conformed to the fashion of the faith of their provincial bashaws—the same spirit of injustice in either case, seemed to me to be in operation; and to pretend to sympathize alone with the victims of injustice who happened to be natives of Africa, or descendents of Africans, it was obvious, would be a spurious kind of benevolence.

The cruelties inflicted on the Indians of the new world, were reprobated by mankind; their authors were stigmatized by our historians, as men of barbarous and sanguinary disposition. In modern times the cruelties committed by slave dealers on the coast of Africa caused even the introduction into our official vocabulary of such epithets as " miscreants ", " monsters ", " enemies to the human race ", etc., etc.; for with such epithets we find the parliamentary slave-trade papers teem. The tortures, however, inflicted in Ireland on human beings who were more immediately entitled to British sympathy, because they were more within reach of its protection, in point of national consanguinity, who were more of its own flesh, and, in respect to religious relationship, bound to it in stricter bonds of Christian fellowship, deserved, in my humble opinion, to be placed in the same category of crimes, as those, in which are recorded the atrocities of the Spaniards and Portuguese in their colonies, and to be ranked among the worst outrages on humanity that have ever been committed by civilized men. We are fully as subject as the people of any other country on the face of the Earth, to the fitful feelings and variable influences of the moral atmosphere, which modify our notions of the obligations of benevolence, and infuse a spirit of conventional Christianity into our dealings with the wrongs and grievances that are brought before us, and which at one period and for one class of sufferers may enliven sensibility, and at another time, and for a different description of unfortunates, may be found to stifle every emotion of compassion.

The nature of oppression is the same, wherever it is practised, whether the violators of human rights be Spaniards, Portuguese, or members of any portion of the British Empire; whether they

lived in a by-gone age, or within our own remembrance; whether their infamy is connected with the names of the "Conquistadores" of the New World, and the slave dealing ravagers of a large portion of the Old, or is coupled with the names of Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh, in one of the darkest pages of the history of British rule in Ireland.

I am well aware that it would not only be conformable to Christian charity, but most highly conducive to the formation of juster estimates than are often arrived at, in judging of the acts of public men, were we to bear in mind the infirmities of our nature, in all our dealings with their misdeeds, and, to use the words of a very wise man, if we were to consider, when we reprehend them, that, "after all, the men we depreciate are our kinsmen"; instead of magnifying their guilt, and flinging more than abundant light on those misdeeds, if we occupied our thoughts with thankful emotions, that we had been placed in happier circumstances than those persons whose acts we condemn had been surrounded by, and that we had not been subjected to the same temptations as they had been, by the possession of power, without limits to its exercise, and the maintenance of interests that were incompatible with the natural rights or civil privileges of other men.

The good to be effected by the history of such times as those of 1798, and the numerous crimes committed in them, is the prevention of similar evils, by pointing out the inevitable result of them in the long run, the calamities which overtake the policy of unjust rule, the perpetrators of cruel and barbarous acts, the retributive justice, slow but sure, which, sooner or later, visits every signal violation of humanity with punishment.

I have endeavoured to place the characters and the acts of the men who are the subjects of the various memoirs in these volumes, in their true light before the public, most of whom, in their private characters, had been traduced and vilified by the malignant press which is at the command of Orangeism in both countries, and, by a faithful exhibition of the crimes and calamities of civil

war, to contribute (as far as it was in my power to effect this object) to prevent the entertainment of a thought, unaccompanied with horror, at a recurrence of the evils which it has been my painful task to record.

In concluding my undertaking, I would beg leave to observe, if I have not brought abilities to its performance worthy of its character, perhaps the humble merit may be accorded to my efforts, of having devoted to this work a vast amount of labour in the collection of the materials and the verification of disputed facts. There is little danger, perhaps, of an exaggerated opinion being formed of the extent to which that labour has been carried. I commenced this work with the determination of bringing the subjects of it fully before the people of England, to get a hearing from them for the history of the men engaged in the Rebellion of 1798. That determination was based on the conviction that the people of England, in common fairness, were bound to hear, and would hear if truly told, what those men had to attempt to say in their defence, or those most closely connected with them, who considered themselves charged with the protection of their memories; inasmuch as their character, conduct, and proceedings had heretofore been made known to the English public only by their enemies.

The political aims and objects of the men whose lives and actions are the subject of this work, it would be absurd to consider apart from the nature of the government under which they lived. In forming any opinion of their conduct in relation to it, the grand question for consideration is, whether the system of corruption, rapacity, terror, and injustice under which Ireland was ruled at the period in question, deserved the name of government, or had totally departed from all those original principles and intentions on which all ruling power claims to be founded, and had divested itself of those attributes withwhich it is presumed to be endowed.

The end and aim of the government of Ireland in 1798 was to perpetuate the power of a faction which was subservient to its policy, being always hostile to the people and the country, and with its aid to break down the national spirit and independence

of the nation. Its policy was to divide, and govern by division; to keep alive and to foment religious dissensions; to promote the interests of a selfish minority, while affecting to ignore its sordid views, and to be unconscious of the hypocrisy that was covered, but not concealed, by the mask of an ardent zeal for religious interests; to bestow all state honours, patronage, and protection on that small section of the community which my Lord Stanley, in one of his fitful moods, was pleased to call "the remnant of an expiring faction". Against this government and this policy the Society of United Irishmen reared its head and raised its hand, and failed in the daring struggle with its foes. Whether it deserved success, or took the best means to insure it, are questions which the perusal of these volumes may enable the reader to determine. As far as my own experience goes, and it has not been confined to very narrow local limits, the results I have witnessed in various countries, of recourse to violent measures in resistance to oppression, even where such efforts have been temporarily successful,—that teaching certainly would not lead me to think lightly of the evils of civil war, nor to indulge very flattering hopes of any lasting benefits accruing from it, nor to give encouragement for the construction of visionary *chateaux d'Espagne*, or the formation of Utopian theories of government, based on notions of the perfectibility of human beings, and the practicability of substituting model republics, constructed on the most approved principles of modern constitution-mongers, for the old governmental machinery of European monarchies, however crazy and lumbering that machinery might be. The day-dream of young patriotism does not long outlast that sort of practical knowledge of the realities of revolts and revolutions to which I have referred. However great might be the success, or extensive the changes effected, or grievous the disorders of society and the miseries of mankind, that it was expected would be reformed by revolution, it still might be feared we would have to encounter in our new condition traces and fragments of the wreck of man's original intelligence, that must continue to the end of

time to obstruct and to impede, to a large extent, the best designs of political philosophy for the advancement of human happiness.

I have now only to recapitulate the objects I had in view in undertaking this work—to do justice to the dead, and a service to the living, by deterring rulers who would be tyrants from pursuing the policy of 1798; and men of extravagant or lightly weighed opinions, from ill-considered projects against oppression, whose driftless, unsuccessful efforts against misrule never fail to give new strength to despotism. To carry out these objects, it was necessary to exhibit the evils of bad government—the mischievous agency of spies, informers, stipendiary swearers, and fanatical adherents; to expose the wickedness of exasperating popular feelings, or exaggerating the sense of public wrongs—of fomenting rebellion for state purposes, and then employing savage and inhuman means to defeat it. It was no less incumbent on me to endeavour to convince the people of the folly of entering into secret associations, with the idea of keeping plans against oppression unknown through the instrumentality of oaths and tests; to set forth the manifold dangers, in such times as those of 1798, to which integrity and innocence, as well as patriotism on the verge or in the vortex of treason, are exposed, from temptations of all kinds to perfidy; and, lastly, to direct attention to the great fact of modern times—the power of breaking down bad government, when there is a stage for public opinion, and the energies to back it, of a self-reliant, tolerant, truth-loving, educated people, and, moreover, the direction of earnest leaders, resolute and upright, self-denying, single-minded men, determined by peaceful means, and by resistance of a passive kind, to confront and overcome the illegalities and acts of violence of any administration that departs from the purpose for which it was created—namely, the distribution of justice, equal and impartial, among all classes of the community. But the difficulty is not so great for the oppressed to break their bonds, as it is to find the qualities of mind, the training of opinion, and the teaching of

heart and head, the feelings of self-respect, and due appreciation of the rights of opinion, the worth and merits of others, which serve to constitute true men, worthy of the privileges of nationality and self-government, and fitted to maintain them.

The people who are worthy of these blessings have other and better means of warfare with injustice, than those which involve great sufferings and uncertain issues. The redress they seek is to be obtained by a peaceful passive struggle with oppression, which, if defeated for a time, is not necessarily fatal in its consequences to the cause of freedom. In Ireland, assuredly, the progress of events, the experience, however dearly bought, of unparallelled calamities, the spread of education, the dissemination of cheap literature, well-directed, tolerant, national in its tone, and manly in its character, based on sound views of moral, social, and political duties and obligations, must inevitably tend to the downfall of that baneful faction which has so long oppressed the energies and usurped the just rights of the people, and which a barbarous policy in former times enabled to domineer over the great mass of the natives of the country, and to deal with them as aliens in their own land. The regime of insolent rapacity and oppression cannot be maintained or renewed. This history, alone, of the *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*—this record of the crimes and sufferings connected with the provocation and suppression of the Rebellion of 1798, would render any attempt to establish another Irish reign of terror utterly abortive.

" Une pensèe doit nous consoler, c'est que le regime de la terreur ne peut renaitre, non seulement comme je l'ai dit, parceque personne ne s'y soumettroit, mais encore parceque les causes et les circonstances que l'ont produite ont disparu. . . . . .

" Ces paradistes de terreur, ces terroristes de melodrame, bien capables sans doute, de vous tuer, si vous les en defiez, pour la preuve et l'honneur de la chose, seroient incapables, de maintenir trois jours en permanence l'instrument de mort qui retomberoit sur eux". *Etudes Historiques, Preface, p.* 281, *de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand.—Œuvres en Prose*, 1838.

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THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THEIR LIVES AND TIMES.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

"THERE is no greater error", says Sismondi, "than to suppose that any great event, or epoch, can be profitably viewed apart from the causes by which it was produced and the consequences by which it was followed. The habit of viewing facts apart from the circumstances by which they are connected and explained, can have no other result than the fostering of prejudice, the strengthening of ignorance, and the propagation of delusion". To no portion of history is this truth more strikingly applicable than to the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen": it is impossible to appreciate their motives, or form a right estimate of their conduct, without an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of their age and the condition of their country; and this knowledge can only be obtained by examining the causes that produced the very anomalous state of society in which they lived and acted. Ireland is a puzzle and perplexity to Englishmen and English statesmen, chiefly because they are unacquainted with its history; or, what is worse, that they have received as its history, fictions so monstrous, that many of them amount to physical impossibilities. A brief outline of the history of the English connection with Ireland is therefore necessary, to show how it happened that, at the close of the last century, two distinct bodies were preparing to reject allegiance to England, what motives led them to unite, and how their formidable union was dissolved.

The four first centuries after Strongbow's invasion passed away without the conquest of Ireland being completed: the wars with France and Scotland, the insurrections of the Barons, and the

murderous wars of the Roses, prevented the English monarchs from establishing even a nominal supremacy over the entire island: instead of the Irish princes becoming feudal vassals, the Anglo-Norman barons who obtained fiefs in Ireland, adopted the usages of the native chieftains. The attention of Henry VII. was forcibly directed to this state of things by the adherence of the Anglo-Norman barons and the Irish princes with whom they had formed an alliance or connection, to the cause of the Plantagenets. They supported Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; when these adventurers were defeated, they showed the greatest reluctance to swear allegiance to the Tudors; and Henry could not but feel that his crown was insecure, so long as the Irish lords had the power and will to support any adventurer who would dispute his title. From that time forward it became the fixed policy of the Tudors to break down the overgrown power of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, and to destroy the independence of the native chieftains. In England the Tudors were enabled to create a new nobility; the progress of the Reformation was accompanied by the elevation of several new families to the peerage, and the struggle between the Protestants and Catholics in that country, was for a considerable time identical with the contest between the old and new aristocracy. In Ireland it was impossible to adopt the same course of policy: there was not a gentry from which a new aristocracy could be formed, and the Tudors were forced to supply their place by grants of land to colonists and adventurers. The Irish and the Anglo-Norman barons looked upon these men as intruders, while the ruling powers regarded them with peculiar favour, as being the persons most likely to establish and promote an "English interest in Ireland". This political motive must not be confounded with the religious movement which took place about the same time; it was as much the object of Mary as it was of Elizabeth, to give Irish lands to English settlers, in order to obtain a hold over Ireland; it was under Mary that the lands of Leix and O'Fally were forfeited, and the lord-deputy permitted to grant leases of them at such rents as he might deem expedient.

In the midst of this political convulsion, an attempt was made to bring Ireland to adopt the principles of the Reformation, which had been just established in England. There was a vast difference between the situation of the two countries, which deserves to be more attentively considered than it usually has been. It was on a papal grant that the English monarchs, from the very beginning, had rested their claims to the allegiance of Ireland, and there was consequently something like an abandonment of these claims, when they called upon the Irish to

renounce the supremacy of the Pope. But not only had the English kings described the Pope as the source of their power; they had for centuries made it a principal object of their policy to maintain the power of the episcopacy and priesthood in Ireland, against the ambition or avarice of the Anglo-Norman Barons. They had themselves armed the Church with power and influence greater than they could overthrow.

After the long night of the Middle Ages, an intellectual revival had filled Christendom with discussions which weakened the strength of ancient institutions, and prepared men's minds for the reception of new opinions. Ireland had not shared in the general movement; whatever may have been the condition of the island before the English invasion, the four centuries of political chaos and constant war subsequent to that event, had rendered it one of the most distracted countries in Christendom; there had been no precursors to make way for a religious change; the Irish had never heard of Huss, or Wickliffe, or Luther, or Calvin. The only intelligible reason proposed to them for a change of creed, was the royal authority; and they were already engaged in a struggle against that authority, to prevent their lands being parcelled out to strangers. Add to this, that the reformed religion was preached by foreigners, ignorant of the very language of the country, and there will be little difficulty in perceiving that the attempt under such circumstances to establish Protestantism in Ireland, by the conversion of the Irish, was utterly impossible. In fact, the project of converting the natives was soon abandoned for the more feasible plan of colonizing Ireland with Protestants from England.

The calamitous wars of Elizabeth's reign were waged by the Irish, and by the descendants of the Anglo-Normans settled in Ireland, equally in defence of their land and their creed; when the insurgents prevailed, they expelled the Protestant ministers and seized the goods of the English settlers; when the royalists triumphed, they established churches and confiscations. After ten years of almost incessant war, an expenditure of money that drained the English exchequer, and of life that nearly depopulated Ireland, the entire island was subdued by the arms of Elizabeth; but the animosity of the hostile parties was not abated, they had merely dropped their weapons from sheer exhaustion. Colonies had been planted in the south of Ireland on the estates forfeited by the Earl of Desmond and his adherents, but the settlers were nothing more than garrisons in a hostile country; they continued "aliens in language, religion, and blood" to the people by whom they were surrounded. Under such circumstances it was not to be expected that many of the higher ranks of the English clergy

or laity would seek a settlement in Ireland; most of those who emigrated were more or less attached to the principles of Puritanism, which Elizabeth hated at least as much as she did Popery, and this circumstance gave the Protestant Church in Ireland a stronger tendency to Calvinistic doctrine and discipline than would have been allowed in England. Geneva was a greater authority with the Irish Protestants than Lambeth, as any one may see who consults the canons of the Irish church; and this unfortunately widened the difference between them and the natives of the country they came to colonize.

A new difficulty about the tenure of land arose, which afterwards produced very fatal consequences. According to English law, the ultimate property of all estates is in the Crown, and land is held only by virtue of a royal grant: according to the Irish law, the property of land was vested in the sept, tribe, or community, who were co-partners with their chief rather than his tenants or vassals. Whenever a change was made from Irish to English tenure, an obvious injustice was done to the inferior occupants, for they were reduced from the rank of proprietors to that of tenants at will. This principle was never thoroughly understood by the English Lords Justices, and hence they unintentionally inflicted grievous wrongs when they tried to confer upon any portion of the country the benefits of English law. In fact, the change from Irish to English tenure involved a complete revolution of landed property, which would have required the most delicate and skilful management to be accomplished safely; but those to whom the process was entrusted were utterly destitute of any qualifications for such a task. The Commission of Grace issued by James I., for the purpose of securing the titles of Irish land, was viewed with just suspicion by the great and the small proprietors, and its results were an uncertainty of tenure and possession, which kept every person in a state of alarm.

The real or supposed plot of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and O'Doherty, afforded a pretext for confiscating the six northern counties over which the sovereignty of these chieftains extended; but whatever was the amount of their guilt, it is obvious that they could only forfeit that which they themselves possessed. They were not the proprietors of these counties; the actual occupants of the soil were not accused, much less convicted, of any participation in the plot; and therefore the sweeping seizure of half a million of acres, without any regard to the rights of those who were in actual possession, was a monstrous injustice, to which few histories can furnish a parallel. It must, however, be confessed, that this violent and odious measure was quite in accordance with the spirit of the age; confiscations and grants of land had become a

regular part of the public administration under the Tudors, and was continued under the Stuarts; the old Norman aristocracy was thus broken down, and means provided for endowing a new nobility; the security of the reformed religion was insured, because its interests were identified with the tenure of the new estates. The Ulster confiscation differed from the forfeitures in England and the South of Ireland, chiefly by its vast extent; in order that the grants to new settlers should be efficient, it was necessary either to remove or exterminate an entire population.

Setting aside the consideration of justice, the plans which James formed for the Plantation of Ulster, were on the whole wise and prudent. It was resolved that the land should be divided into estates of moderate size; that the grantees should within a limited time erect *bawns*, that is, castles with fortified court-yards; that they should settle a number of English or Scotch tenants on the lands; that they should reside on their estates, and never alienate any portion of them to the mere Irish. Had the King combined with this scheme a plan for doing justice to the native occupants, and had the local government executed the royal instructions as they were originally framed, the Plantation of Ulster might have produced all the good which is ascribed to it, without the attendant evils by which it was, at least for a considerable time, more than overbalanced. At first every thing seemed to promise a favourable result; the City of London took an active share in the scheme, and built on its grants the cities of Coleraine and Londonderry; the new order of Baronets was created, and the sums paid by those who purchased this new dignity, were destined to the support of soldiers for the defence of the new Plantation.

The first difficulty which presented itself, arose from James's resolution to give a proportion of the forfeitures to his Scottish countrymen; a determination which gave great offence to the English, and which eventually exercised a fatal influence over the fortunes of the Stuarts, for the Scotch who settled in Ireland were subsequently the staunchest of adherents to the Covenant. A more fatal error was the choice of settlers: surrounded by a set of hungry favourites and mendicant courtiers, James bestowed grants of lands with a reckless profusion surpassing that of Henry VIII. at the suppression of monasteries. Instead of a valuable body of settlers, he created a hungry horde of land-jobbers; English tenants were sparingly introduced, few *bawns* were built; proprietors remained at court and entrusted the management of their grants to agents, and the fatal system of sub-letting was established under the sanction of the City of London.

It is not necessary in the present day to dwell upon the notorious profligacy, corruption, and infamy of the court of James I., or to show that no iniquity was too monstrous, and no craft too mean, for the royal idiot when he sought the means of gratifying his rapacious favourites. Irish forfeitures had proved a most valuable supply, but the extravagance with which they were given away soon exhausted the stock, and it became necessary to seek out new sources of plunder. An inquisition into titles, based on the principle of English law, that the right of possession to estates must be ultimately derived from the King, was the expedient which presented itself; but as English law had not been introduced into the whole of Ireland until the close of Elizabeth's reign, and as four hundred years of anarchy had produced countless usurpations and uncertainties, there was scarce a landed proprietor in Ireland whose estates were not placed at the mercy of the crown. A new host of harpies was let loose on the devoted country; the lawyers and the judges were incited to use every device of legal chicanery, by promises of a share in the spoil; and to the half million of acres confiscated as we have before described, another half million was added under pretence of informality in the title. Even this amount of forfeitures was insufficient to gratify the rapacity which the King's lavish distribution had excited, but in the midst of the proceedings James died, and the task of completing his project devolved upon his unhappy successor.

The pecuniary distresses of Charles inspired the Irish proprietors with the hope of obtaining security; they presented to the King certain regulations for confirming the titles of estates, and establishing an indulgence of religion, called "Graces", and offered the King a very large subsidy provided he would permit them to become the law of the land. Charles took the money, and eluded the performance of his promise. He had adopted his father's principle of policy, to create at all hazards an "English interest in Ireland", and to effect this by pushing the principle of forfeiture to an extent which James himself had not contemplated. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was the Lord Deputy chosen to execute this iniquitous project, and he commenced his proceedings on the largest possible scale, by attempting to obtain the forfeiture of the entire province of Connaught, under the pretence of defective titles. One jury in the county of Galway had the courage to find a verdict against the crown; Wentworth arrested the jurors, brought them before the Court of Star Chamber in Dublin, sentenced each to a fine of four thousand pounds, and to imprisonment until the said juror had confessed on his knees that he was guilty of wilful and corrupt

perjury. The sheriff was thrown into prison, and Wentworth pressed hard that he should be executed as a warning to other functionaries, adding, "My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally, but it is necessary that the King should establish his rights". The forfeiture of the lands of Connaught, and perhaps of all Ireland, would have been completed, had not the increasing troubles in England and the open revolt of Scotland induced Charles to recal his Deputy to scenes of more immediate interest and importance. It became the King's interest to conciliate his Irish subjects, and the Graces became the law of the land.

The Graces, it is true, were passed, but the King was no longer a sovereign; his power had been transferred to the Puritan Parliament of England and the Covenanters of Scotland; both of these bodies formally declared that they would not consent to the toleration of Popery in Ireland, which was in fact to proclaim a war of extermination against the Irish Catholics. A conspiracy was organized against the supremacy of the British Parliament; the main object of those who joined in it being to obtain for Catholicism in Ireland the same freedom which the swords of the Covenanters had won for Presbyterianism in Scotland. An associate revealed the plot to the Puritan Lords Justices at the moment it was about to explode, and Dublin was saved from the insurgents. But the first signal of revolt spread desolation over the northern counties; the native Irish, who had been driven from their lands at the time of the Great Plantation, rose upon the settlers, and in spite of the exertions of their more merciful leaders, drove them from their settlements, and when they encountered any resistance, slaughtered them without mercy. This massacre has been absurdly exaggerated, and prejudice has often induced writers to involve all the Catholics of Ireland in its guilt; but in truth it was confined to the northern counties, and was directed exclusively against the English settlers on the confiscated lands. The Scotch Presbyterians were not only spared, but were allowed to retain possession of their property until they took up arms to support the cause of the English Puritans; in fact, the Ulster revolt was rather a *Jacquerie* than a rebellion, and it was of course accompanied by all the outrages and cruelties which might be expected from an infuriated and starving peasantry, brutalized by long oppression and goaded by ostentatious insult. About twelve thousand persons were probably murdered in the first outbreak of popular rage before the Catholic lords and gentry could interfere and give the insurrection the dignity of a civil war. A sanguinary proclamation, issued by the Lords Justices, and a formal vote of the British Parliament that Popery should be exterminated in Ireland,

rendered the civil war inevitable, and rendered it impossible for any person to devise a means of compromise and conciliation.

This dreadful war, in which both sides manifested an equal degree of exterminating fury, is one of the most perplexing recorded in the annals of any country, from the great variety of the parties engaged, and from their rancorous hostility towards each other. The English were divided into the friends of the Parliament and the friends of the King; the latter again were subdivided into a party disposed to grant reasonable terms to the Catholic lords, and a party which agreed with the Puritans that Popery should not be tolerated; all were, however, united in a desire that advantage should be taken of the commotions to reap a new harvest of confiscations and grants. On the other side were the lords of the Pale, Catholics, indeed, by religion, but English by descent, inclination, and prejudice, zealous Royalists, and the more so, as the King's enemies upbraided him with a secret inclination in favour of Popery; the Irish of the north, whose chief anxiety was to recover their ancient lands, and expel the intrusive settlers; the men of Connaught and Leinster, whose great objects were to attain security for their property and toleration for their religion; a large body, chiefly among the southern Irish, aiming at establishing the independence of their country under a Catholic Sovereign appointed by the Pope; there were other divisions of party, each obstinately bent on its own object, without any regard for the general interest of the country, or any very fixed principle of action. Had it been possible for the Catholic Royalists to trust the Protestant friends of the King, and the native Irish to coalesce with the Lords of the Pale, Ireland would have been tranquillized and secured for the King in a week, for the Puritans were a miserable minority; but during the whole duration of the civil war in England, the several divisions of the royal party in Ireland spent their time in despicable squabbles, which served no purpose but to increase their mutual animosities.

In the midst of the almost incredible blunders and follies of the Royalists and the Irish, Cromwell landed, and by the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, diffused terror over the land. But even these fearful warnings failed to produce an union of parties; the friends of the Papal Nuncio thwarted the plans of the King's lieutenant; the Protestant Royalists openly expressed dislike of their allies; the native Irish could not be brought to coalesce with men of English descent. Whichever party prevailed in the council, the minority took vengeance for defeat by betraying the common cause to the common enemy; and it seemed as if Cromwell had only to look on tranquilly until his adversaries had torn each other to pieces. But he was too hurried to wait; he marched on-

ward, marking his track by fire and desolation. Some places, particularly Clonmel, made a resistance which would have afforded an opportunity for changing the whole course of the war, but the Commissioners of Trust, appointed by the council of confederate parties, countermanded the orders of the Lord Lieutenant, and he thwarted every one of their projects; the garrisons were abandoned to their fate, and a handful of Puritans became masters of Ireland. The confederates had nothing more to do than to dispute which party had the greatest share in producing such a calamity.

Cromwell's system of confiscation was on a still more magnificent scale than that of the Stuarts; he shared the lands of Leinster and Munster amongst his soldiers, and amongst the private individuals or public companies that had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war; he restored James's Plantation in the northern country, and extended it so as to include nearly the whole of Ulster. Finding it difficult to realize his first plan for the total extirpation of the Irish nation, he resolved to confine the Irish Catholics to the more remote of the Four Provinces into which the island is divided, and he issued the order of removal with Spartan brevity, "To Hell or Connaught". In Connaught itself, he ordered the Catholics to be expelled from all the walled towns, though they were of English descent, and scarcely less jealous than himself of the native Irish. The strictest orders were issued for the suppression of Popery, and priests found in the exercise of their religious duties were hanged without ceremony.

The soldiers who accompanied Cromwell to Ireland were the fiercest of the Republicans and the most bigoted of the Puritans; they had been selected on this very account, because they were the most likely to resist the usurpation which Cromwell meditated in England. But the possession of property has a very soothing influence on political and religious fury; the Cromwellians, as the new settlers in Ireland were generally called, acquiesced in their general's assumption of royal power, and would not have opposed his taking the title of king. They soon foresaw that the death of Oliver would lead to the restoration of Charles II., and they made their bargain with Charles II. before Monk commenced his march from Scotland. They represented to him that the great object of the policy, both of the Tudors and Stuarts, was accomplished to his hand—"an English interest was established in Ireland", and the future dependence of the island on the British crown was insured. Charles was a Catholic in his heart, but he readily consented to become the patron of "the Protestant interest" in Ireland, because that interest was wholly English.

There was, however, such monstrous injustice in confirming

the forfeitures of persons whose only crime was loyalty to his father and himself, that Charles found it necessary to establish a Court of Claims, in which those who had only taken up arms to support the King's cause might be permitted to prove that they had not shared in the insurrection against the supremacy of England. So many established their innocence, that their restoration would have involved a new and almost a complete revolution in the landed property of Ireland. The Cromwellians were alarmed, and threatened an appeal to arms; their wiser leaders offered Charles a share in the confiscations; the Court of Claims was closed; a Parliament was assembled from which the Catholics were excluded; the Acts of Settlement and Explanation were passed, and were called, not without good reason, "The Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland", for they bestowed the property of nearly the entire country on "the Protestant and English interest".

No greater misfortune could fall upon any nation than to be delivered into the hands of a body of proprietors who felt that their title was defective, and that the tenure of their estates was constantly exposed to the hazards of revolution. They believed, and they believed justly, that if ever the Catholics and native Irish recovered political ascendency, they would immediately demand the restoration of the forfeited estates; they lived therefore in a state of continual alarm and excitement, and they were forced to place themselves completely under the control of England, in order to have British aid in protecting the property which they had acquired. But this servile dependence on the British Government and British Parliament was a painful bondage to men who had not quite forgotten the stern republicanism of their ancestors; and, on more than one occasion, they evinced symptoms of parliamentary independence, which not a little annoyed their British protectors. But these struggles were rare; they felt that they were a garrison in a conquered country, and that if they were abandoned to their own resources they would soon be compelled to capitulate.

The accession of James II. was not at first very alarming to the Cromwellians; they knew that this imbecile and obstinate man was blindly attached to his hereditary policy of maintaining an "English interest in Ireland", and they had proof of his determination when the Irish gentlemen deputed to remonstrate on the injustice of the Act of Settlement, were dismissed with ignominy by the King and Council.

The Revolution was an event wholly unexpected in Ireland; it took both parties by surprise, filling the Protestants with alarm, but inspiring the Catholics with little hope. At this time the

destinies of Ireland were entrusted to the Earl of Tyrconnel, who had undertaken the hopeless task of preserving the English interest and at the same time destroying the Protestant ascendency. His first impulse was to capitulate with the Prince of Orange, who was very willing to give Ireland most favourable terms; unfortunately, he was persuaded by Hamilton that James's party had every chance of recovering England, and he broke off the negociations. James came to Ireland, distrusting his Irish subjects and distrusted by them. One of his earliest measures was to disband several regiments of the Irish army, which was actually done at the very moment when he was preparing to resist an invasion from England. He might with ease have quelled the northern Protestants in Derry and Enniskillen, but he feared that the unpopularity of such an act would destroy his chances of restoration in England; for the same reason, he did all in his power to prevent the Irish from gaining the victory at the Boyne, and he secretly exerted every art in his power to defeat the repeal of the Act of Settlement.

The dread of the Cromwellians that they would be compelled to restore the forfeited estates to the original owners, or their representatives, whenever the Catholics regained the ascendency, was now proved to be well founded. An act for the repeal of the Act of Settlement was hurried through both Houses, and had this cruel injustice, that no provision was made to remunerate the Protestant occupants for the improvements and outlay they had made. This was accompanied by an act of attainder against the partisans of William, which was scarcely less iniquitous than any of the preceding confiscations. It had the effect of uniting all the Protestants of Ireland against James, and though they were not a numerous body, they were trained to the use of arms and full of all the vigour arising from continued ascendency.

The flight of James, the battle of Aughrim, and the siege of Limerick, are sufficiently known. Ireland was finally subjected to English dominion by the Treaty of Limerick, and the title of the Cromwellians to their estates formally recognized by the Irish themselves. A fresh act of attainder took away most of the land which had been left in the hands of the Catholics by the act of attainder, and the "English interest in Ireland" virtually possessed nine-tenths of the property of the country.

The Anglo-Irish, or Cromwellian landlords, had been thoroughly frightened; there were moments in the contest when William's success had been very problematical, and at such times they must have felt that they stood on the brink of ruin. They resolved, therefore, to adopt a course which would prevent the Catholics from attaining such power, political, pecuniary, or in-

tellectual, as would ever enable them to renew the consequences. The system which they adopted was a collection of Penal Laws: "it was", says Edmund Burke, "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement, in them, of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man". These laws, in which fanaticism and intolerance seem to have been carried to their most savage excess, were not in fact derived from either passion. They were designed for the protection of property which had been unjustly acquired, the tenure of which was derived from an act of parliament passed by the possessors themselves, and which was therefore liable to be repealed when they ceased to command a majority in the legislature. The code, with terrible consistency, began its severities with infancy;—Catholic children could only be educated by Protestant teachers at home, and it was highly penal to send them abroad; Catholics were excluded from every profession except the medical, from all official stations, however trifling; from trade and commerce in corporate towns; from taking long leases of land; from purchasing land for a longer tenure than thirty-one years; from inheriting the lands of Protestant relatives, and from possessing horses of greater value than five pounds. On the other hand appropriate rewards were offered for conversion; a child turning Protestant could sue his parent for sufficient maintenance, the amount of which was determined by the Court of Chancery; an eldest son conforming to the Established Church at once reduced his father to the condition of a "tenant for life", reversion in fee being secured to the convert, with a proviso that the amount allocated for the maintenance and portions of the other children should not exceed one-third. There were rigorous laws against priests and the celebration of mass, while a small annual stipend was proffered to any priest who recanted.

We have said that these laws were dictated by self-interest and not by religious passion; the proof is easy and irrefutable. It is notorious that the laws prohibiting Catholic worship were executed far less strictly than those which excluded from public offices, civil professions, and lucrative industry; the latter were never relaxed until they were totally repealed, and even after their repeal it was attempted to defeat the efficacy of the concessions made to the Catholics by various legislative devices. Fanaticism, like every other passion which is real, has something respectable in its character; but spoliation and nothing else was the object of the Penal Laws; they were designed solely to maintain the monopoly of wealth and influence for a party. The sacred name of religion was a convenient cry to secure the pre-

judices of the English people in support of a system, the support of which would scarcely have been afforded if it had been known that the true meaning of the cabalistic phrase "Protestant Interest", was "pounds, shillings, and pence".

The original Cromwellians were Republicans and Puritans; they abandoned a large portion of their political feelings, but they retained much of their ancient hostility to Prelacy, and would very gladly have got rid of the Established Church. Swift's works sufficiently prove that the Irish Whigs of his day were eager to get rid of the bishops and to establish the Presbyterian form of Church government. Though the sacramental test excluded conscientious Dissenters from the House of Commons, there were many who conquered their scruples to the form, and sat in Parliament ready to embrace every opportunity of weakening the episcopal establishment. They gave a remarkable proof of their feelings, and a very edifying example of their logic, by unanimously voting that "whoever levied tithe of agistment was an enemy to the Protestant interest"! It was an improvement on Lord Clarendon's witty proposal, "that the importation of Irish cattle into England should be deemed adultery". It was this dislike of prelacy which made the great body of the Irish Protestants hostile to a union with England. When such a measure was proposed at the beginning of the last century, a Protestant mob broke into the Irish House of Lords, placed an old woman on the throne, got up a mock debate on the introduction of pipes and tobacco, and compelled the Lord Chief Justice to swear the Attorney-General that he would oppose the measure. The hostility of these men to the supremacy of the English Church rendered them jealous of the supremacy claimed by the English Parliament, and of the restrictions imposed upon their trade by the English people. It is impossible to read the pamphlets published by the party just before the accession of George III., without perceiving that their aspirations for legislative and trading independence, logically carried out, would have gone to the full length of making Ireland a Protestant republic. Dread of the Irish Catholics, however, kept them quiet, and it might almost be said that the Catholics at the time were really the "English interest in Ireland".

There was a marked difference between the Protestants of the north and those in the rest of the country. The Plantation of Ulster had been completed, the Protestants there were able of themselves to protect their lives and properties, and they were conscious of their own strength. In the rest of Ireland, the Protestants, thinly scattered over a wide surface, were obliged to rest their hopes of defence on the British Government, and were there-

fore led to cling to the Established Church as a bond of connection with England, and to make concessions which were odious to the sturdy northerns. This difference between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, which was at once geographical, religious, and political, fostered the development of republican principles among the latter; "the spawn of the Old Covenant", of which the governing powers frequently complained, was not, as some have represented, an unmeaning danger; up to the close of the last century, it was an actual and increasing element of organized resistance to the existing system of government. Many now alive can remember to have heard from their fathers that the custom of eating a calf's head on the 20th of January was observed in most Presbyterian families, and the favourite toast, "The pious, glorious, and immortal memory of William III." was clearly as strong a pledge to revolutionary principles as to religious supremacy. It was for this reason that Lord Plunket called the insurrection of 1798 "a Protestant rebellion", because, so far as the revolt had aim or object, it derived both from the Protestants by whom it was originally devised.

It is necessary to bear in mind the nature of the republican party which had been formed in Ireland previous to the American and French revolutions, in order to understand how it was influenced by both events. The party was exclusively Protestant, and more bitterly hostile to Popery than the adherents of episcopacy and monarchy; its views, at least its ultimate views, were speculative rather than practical, for it stood opposed, at the same time, to the population of Ireland and the power of England; its efforts for legislative and commercial independence were illogical, for they were made to assert rights abroad, which rights the asserters ostentatiously denied at home.

"The south of Ireland", says a writer of the last century, "offers an almost unvarying picture of Protestant oppression and Popish insurgency"; and in his view, as well as in the view of many others, the oppression was excusable because it was "Protestant", and the insurgency criminal because it was "Popish". The truth is, that the Whiteboy disturbances to which he refers had no more connection with religious controversy than with the disputes between the Scotists and Thomists. Whiteboyism was an association against high rents and tithes, a barbarous *Jacquerie;* and its causes were obvious to all who were not wilfully blind; in the words of Lord Charlemont, they were "misery! oppression! famine!" It was a war of the peasantry against the proprietors and occupiers of the land, undertaken, and still occasionally revived, to wring from them the means of subsistence. The barbarities inflicted by these rural revolters, were such as have ever

marked the career of similar insurrections in various ages and nations; the landlords employed executioners, and the serfs hired assassins; the gallows and the pike were military implements; the legal rights and power of property were set in opposition to the natural rights and physical power of existence. In all these contests the might of England enabled the landlords of the south to obtain temporary triumph, but they purchased it at an enormous cost, and every new pressure of distress produced a fresh explosion of resistance. There was no connection whatever between the republican spirit of the north and the insurrectionary spirit of the south: the Whiteboys contended for no specific form of government; they contended for a more substantial and intelligible object—food. If they were permitted to cultivate their lands and live peacefully on the fruits of their industry, they would not have cared, indeed they would scarcely have known, whether they were governed by a king or by a directory.

The disturbances in the American colonies threatening to make large demands on the resources of England, it was deemed prudent to conciliate the Irish Catholics by some relaxation of the Penal Laws. Such wisdom had its reward: during the whole of that arduous contest the Catholic body remained faithful to the English Government, and evinced little or no sympathy for the revolted colonies. It was far different with the northern Presbyterians; on the alarm of an invasion Ireland was destitute of troops; the Volunteers suddenly sprung into existence, and took the defence of the country into their own hands. Self-officered, self-armed, and self-directed, an armed association stood in the presence of a feeble government, dictated what terms it pleased, and established at once the legislative and commercial independence of their country. The Catholics had contributed a little to this successful result, and they were rewarded by an abolition of the laws which restricted their possession of property.

The Volunteers next demanded a reform of parliament, which was an utter absurdity when disconnected from Catholic emancipation, while to this they were most vehemently opposed. The two questions were so intimately connected that they could not be dissevered, for it is impossible to conceive "a full, fair, and free representation of the people", when three-fourths of the nation were excluded from the class of electors and representatives. The Volunteers could not combine reform and Protestant ascendency, but yet would abandon neither; as a necessary result their powerful confederacy was broken to pieces.

Ireland had hitherto been ruled by the supremacy of the English parliament; it was now to be governed by the corruption of its own. The experiment was very expensive, but it so far

succeeded that the annals of the world could not furnish a more servile, mercenary, and degraded legislative body than the independent parliament of Ireland. Votes were openly bought and sold; "infamous pensions were bestowed on infamous men"; the minister in direct terms threatened the country with the cost of "breaking down an opposition"; and the legislature was viewed with contempt wherever it was not regarded with hatred. Parliamentary reform began again to excite attention; it was supported by a very able though not numerous body in the legislature, and in the interval between 1782 and 1789, it made a very rapid progress among the Protestant gentry and freeholders. Already measures had been proposed for organizing a new association to extend the franchise, when the French Revolution, which astounded all Europe, produced its most powerful effects on the miseries and passions of Ireland.

Previous to the year 1789, the idea of slavery was associated or rather identified with the names of Catholics and Frenchmen; the Revolution was toasted because it had delivered the country from "popery, slavery, brass money, and wooden shoes"; and it was part of the British popular creed "to hate the French, because they are all slaves and wear wooden shoes"; the assertion of freedom by Catholics and Frenchmen at once put to flight a whole host of honest prejudices, and removed the objections which many of the northern reformers entertained against the admission of Catholics within the pale of the constitution. The determined supporters of the Protestant ascendency were therefore finally separated from the ranks of the reformers, and the latter professed their determination to extend the blessings of constitutional freedom "to all classes of men whatever".

It is now necessary to cast a glance at the social changes in the south, which were nearly cotemporaneous with the alteration in the state of the political parties of the north. We have already seen that every civil war, rebellion, insurrection, and disturbance in Ireland, from the reign of Elizabeth downwards, had arisen, more or less directly, from questions connected with the possession of land. The abolition of the tithe of agistment rendered pasturage so much more profitable than tillage, that the landlords throughout Ireland began to consolidate their farms and expel their tenantry, most of whom were Protestants, for few of the Catholics had risen above the rank of agricultural labourers. Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, which was written about the time that the clearing system commenced, is by no means an exaggerated picture of the recklessness with which landlords removed whole villages of Protestants, the descendants of those who had been induced to settle in Ireland by the exclusive privileges

conceded to them by the policy of the government. Vast numbers of Protestant tenants emigrated from Ireland, and chiefly from Ulster, to America, just before the commencement of the revolutionary war; they supplied the United States with a body of brave, determined soldiers, animated by the bitterness of exiles, and a thorough detestation of the supremacy of England. Their place was chiefly supplied by Catholics, who appeared ready to work as labourers for lower wages, and to pay higher rents as tenants. The Protestants of Ulster felt themselves injured by these new competitors in the labour and land market, and they resolved to drive the Catholics back to Connaught. Armed bodies, under the name of "Peep-of-day Boys", attacked the houses of the Catholics, ill-treated their persons, burned their houses, and wrecked their property. On the other hand, the Catholics formed an association for self-protection, under the name of "Defenders", and the two parties engaged in a desultory and murderous warfare, in which it is obvious that the name of religion was a mere pretext, by which the parties disguised their real objects from others and even from themselves. This social war excited a rancorous animosity between the lower ranks of Protestants and Catholics, and stimulated their mutual bigotry, at the moment when liberality of sentiment was beginning to become fashionable among the higher and better educated ranks of both communities.

A further relaxation of the Penal Laws aggravated these evils; so calamitous had been the results of the perverse system so long pursued, that even the beneficence of government could not be displayed without injury. The trafficking in seats for parliament was so profitable, that every landholder became anxious to increase his interest in the counties by the manufacture of votes; but as the elective franchise was restricted to Protestants, who were limited in numbers, the demand for Protestant tenants was greater than the supply, and of course they were able to make their own terms in taking land. But, in 1794, the elective franchise was conceded to the Catholics, without admissibility to parliament; there was no longer a reason for showing a preference to Protestant tenantry, and the question of religion was absorbed in that of rent. The Protestants of the middle and lower ranks throughout Ireland, felt that this new competition was a direct injury to their interests, and most of them vented their rage in renewed hatred of the Catholics, while an enlightened few more justly blamed the selfishness of their own landed aristocracy.

The republicans and the reformers had been united under the common name of Volunteers, without very distinctly perceiving that there was any difference in their designs and objects, until

the progress of the French Revolution began to fill the Irish whigs with alarm; they seceded from the Volunteers; many of them began to oppose the projects of reform which they had previously advocated, and once more the party to which the country had looked for redress of legislative grievances was broken into hostile fragments.

The republican party in Ulster felt that it must either be annihilated, or that it should lay aside the spirit of sect and the pride of race to form a frank conciliation with the Catholics of the south, on equal terms, for obtaining equal rights. The remnant of the once powerful Volunteers was a feeble, inefficient body; it could only regain numerical strength by transforming itself into the new association of United Irishmen.

Theobald Wolfe Tone was the most active agent in effecting this apparent union; apparent, we say, for Tone's own memoirs show that at no time was there a perfect harmony between the Presbyterians of the north and the Catholics of the south; even had they united in a successful rebellion, the exasperating passions called into action by civil war would have prevented them from uniting in forming a settled government.

This was the capital error of the United Irishmen; they did not see that no principle of union really existed. The peasantry of Munster and Connaught cared not a jot for their plans of an ideal republic; they might be induced to take arms, for they were almost constantly on the verge of insurrection against their landlords, but their revolt was sure to be nothing better than a *Jacquerie*, accompanied by all its horrors and all its blunders. Their Presbyterian adherents would indeed have given to their insurrection more of the dignity of civil war; but the feuds between the "Peep-of-day Boys" and the "Defenders" still rankled in Ulster, and, if they once learned to look on the southern insurrection as "a Popish rebellion", and such a character, at least in appearance, it must necessarily have assumed, it was all but certain that they would aid the government in its suppression. The United Irishmen, or rather the leaders who acted for them, believed that all these difficulties would have been overcome by the presence of an auxiliary army from France, and they therefore adopted the perilous measure of inviting a foreign invasion.

The Parisian massacres of September, 1792, had an immense effect in Ireland; men who were moderate republicans feared to accept freedom accompanied by such horrors; the Catholic aristocracy, always a timid and selfish body, offered to support government in withholding their own privileges: the Catholic clergy separated in a body from the Reformers, and denounced the atheism of France from their altars; if the government had

only united conciliation with coercion, the tranquillity of Ireland would have been insured. Such was the policy which the English minister first resolved to adopt. Earl Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland; measures were introduced which at that crisis would have been received with enthusiastic gratitude; but unfortunately the intrigues of party interfered, and to all the causes of discord which had been accumulating for centuries were added unexpected triumph in the party of the few, and unexpected disappointment in the party of the many.

There was never a body of men placed in so strange a position at this crisis as the Catholic priests; in their hatred of French infidelity and atheistic republicanism, they had become zealous royalists, and had the mortification to hear themselves universally represented by the dominant party as the apostles of sedition. For more than two centuries it had been the fashion to represent every Irish rebellion as "Popish", and it would have been strange if so convenient an excuse as "Popery" for refusing justice and continuing oppression, should have been neglected, at the moment when the perpetuation of wrong was the avowed policy of government.

In order to compensate for the abandonment of measures of conciliation, the ministry urged forward their coercion laws with railway speed; the Volunteers were disarmed, the towns garrisoned, public discussions prohibited, the sale of arms and ammunition forbidden, and all conventions of delegates subjected to legal penalties. These energetic measures were promptly enforced; they encountered a momentary resistance in Belfast alone, and then all opposition was speedily quelled at the point of the bayonet.

The United Irishmen were now changed into a secret society: on the one hand, its members being removed from popular control, were less trammelled in forming their plans for the regeneration of their country; on the other hand, they were secluded from gaining any knowledge of the state of public opinion, they had no means of discovering how far the nation was prepared to adopt and support their schemes. Under these circumstances, nothing but aid from France would have afforded the slightest chance of success: the failure of Hoche's expedition rendered their cause hopeless. In their increased danger of detection and dread of consequences, they fixed and adjourned the day for taking up arms, until the boldest became timid and the prudent withdrew altogether. In one of these intervals the northern insurrection had been nearly precipitated by a daring exploit, which, if attempted, would probably have succeeded. At a splendid ball, given in Belfast, the magistrates of the county and the military

officers had met to enjoy the festivities, without the remotest suspicion of danger; the principal leaders of the United Irishmen stood in the crowd looking at the gay assembly; one of them proposed to seize so favourable an opportunity, to anticipate the day appointed for the signal of revolt, at once assemble their men, arrest and detain the magistrates and officers as hostages, and establish a provisional government in Ulster. The bold counsel was rejected by the majority, but the wiser minority saw that the timidity which rejected such an opportunity was unworthy of reliance, and either made their peace with the government, or quitted the country.

France, at the close of the eighteenth century, adopted the same selfish and erroneous policy towards Irish insurrection, which the courts of Rome and Madrid had pursued in the end of the sixteenth. Its rulers encouraged civil war in Ireland, chiefly as a means of distracting the attention of the British government, and preventing its interference in the political changes which French ambition meditated on the Continent. Holland and the Netherlands were the real objects at which the French Directory aimed, when they promised to assist the republicans of Ulster; and, singular enough, these countries were the prize for which the kings of Spain contended when they tendered their aid to John O'Neil and the Earl of Tyrone, two centuries before. A reasonable suspicion of the French alliance began to extend itself among the wisest of the United Irishmen. Tone himself, in his memoirs, reveals to us that there were moments when his enthusiasm was not able to conquer the lurking fear that France might either take the opportunity of making Ireland a province tributary to herself, or restoring it to England in exchange for the frontier of the Rhine or the supremacy of Italy. Every delay in sending the promised auxiliary force increased the fears and suspicions of the United Irishmen; their best leaders were hopeless of success without foreign aid, and were at the same time alarmed at the prospect of foreign influence in their councils. Hence arose fresh sources of dismay and disunion, which soon afforded plausible excuses—for treachery to the base, and for desertion to the timid. The informer was amongst them, with the price of their blood in his pocket; their plans were made known to the government as soon as they were formed; the snares of death compassed them around; the hand that clasped them in simulated friendship had written their doom; the lips professing the warmest zeal in their cause had sworn to their destruction. They had, in fact, become mere tools in the hands of the very government which they had intended to overthrow; they were mere puppets, to be worked

until they had produced so much of alarm as their rulers deemed necessary for ulterior objects, and then to be delivered over to the executioner, with the double odium upon their memory of having been at once dupes and conspirators.

When all their secrets were betrayed, all their measures known, and all their leaders seized, the United Irishmen allowed the Rebellion to begin. It had been too long languishing and uncertain to inspire the people with confidence or enthusiasm; it was ill concerted, worse directed, received with coldness by some and terror by others; there was division between its leaders, there was disunion amongst its followers; it had neither guidance nor support. In fact, it might have been said to have been dead before its birth, had not the government forced it into premature existence by the stimulants of whipping and free quarters.

The terrible convulsion which ensued exhibited all the passions of the past history exploding in one burst of irrepressible violence. "Wo to the vanquished" was never so fearfully exhibited as the rule of war. But the history of this sickening period enters not into the purpose of this introduction: our duty has been simply to show the circumstances which produced that state of Ireland in which the United Irishmen moved and acted, and thus to explain how far the circumstances by which they were surrounded influenced their motives and their conduct.

The preceding historical sketch, written for this work by the late Dr. W. C. Taylor, leaves it only necessary for the author to enter more fully than Dr. Taylor has done into the origin and progress of those agrarian conspiracies—associations of the peasantry for various objects, having relation to tithes, rents, and inclosure of commons, which existed throughout the country for a period of about thirty years before the establishment of the first society of United Irishmen.

CHAPTER II.

"THE WHITEBOY" ASSOCIATIONS—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY AND GENTRY OF THE SOUTH ON PRETENCE OF WHITEBOYISM—THE CASE OF THE SHEEHYS, BUXTON, AND FARRELL.

THE various outbreaks of popular discontent which took place between 1760 and 1790, and got the names of insurrections and Popish rebellions, can only be regarded as agrarian outrages, the result of oppressive measures taken for the collection of exorbi-

tant rents, the exaction of tithes, and the conversion of the small holdings of the peasantry into pastures. The destitution attendant on those measures, and especially the latter practice, in a country where the unfortunate people turned adrift had no manufacturing districts to fly to for the means of support, drove the persons thus beggared and deprived of house and home, to those acts of violence and desperation which usually follow in the footsteps of distress and ignorance. The same interests which reduced the people to misery were exerted in representing their condition as the result of their own turbulent and lawless proceedings, and the conduct of any of the gentry of their own persuasion who sympathised with their sufferings, or dared to attempt to redress their wrongs, as influenced by seditious and disaffected motives. Wherever agrarian outrages were committed, and their causes were inquired into by such persons, the landlords and the tithe-owners never failed to raise a clamour against their character for loyalty; and even the writers of the day, who ventured to espouse the cause of the parties who had the courage and humanity to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate people, represented their advocates as well-meaning "but giddy and officious men".

The conduct was thus designated of a Roman Catholic priest of the name of Sheehy, a man of unblemished character, and the memory of whose virtues even to this day is held in the highest veneration in the place where he was most foully murdered, and the name of law desecrated by the formal sanction of his death.

He was said to be inimical to the collection of church-rates in the parish of Newcastle,* where there were no parishioners, and was suspected of holding seditious opinions with respect to the divine right of a clergy to the tenth part of the produce of a half-starved people, whose souls they had no cure of. For these offences they persecuted to the death a minister of the gospel, who had neither offended against its law nor against the laws of his country.

Mr. Arthur Young, an Englishman, and an eye-witness of the Munster tumults, plainly attributes these disturbances to the inhuman conduct of landlords. "The landlord of an Irish estate", he says, "inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but that of his will".†

The flame of resistance to their oppression, he states, was kindled by "severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a

* He had succeeded in abolishing them in the parish of Newcastle, and from his time to the present they have been unknown there.

† Young's "Tour", vol. ii., pages 40 and 42.

great speculative rise of rents about the same time. The atrocious acts they (the Whiteboys) were guilty of made them the objects of general indignation. Acts were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. This arose to such a height, that by one (law) they were to be hanged, under certain circumstances, without the common formality of a trial, which, though repealed the following session, marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection".

Another English writer, Dr. Campbell, in his "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland", speaks of the country at the time he wrote, 1777, "instead of being in a progressive state of improvement, as verging to depopulation; the inhabitants are either moping under the sullen gloom of inactive indigence, or blindly asserting the rights of nature in nocturnal insurrections, attended with circumstances of ruinous devastation and savage cruelty; and must we not conclude that there are political errors somewhere?" After detailing the causes of Whiteboyism, he adds, "What measures have been taken for laying this spirit? None that I hear of, but that of offering rewards for apprehensions and discoveries. This evil must nevertheless originate from some other cause than mere depravity of nature; for, to suppose that a set of people should conspire to run the risk of being hanged and gibbeted for the mere pleasure of doing mischief to their neighbours, would argue a degree of diabolism not to be found in the human heart".*

The best, and by far the most clear and explicit account of the cause of those agrarian disturbances, is to be found in a pamphlet rarely to be met with, printed in Dublin in 1762, under the title of "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the Levellers or Whiteboys of Munster, by M—— S——, Esq."

"Some landlords", says the author, "in Munster have set their lands to cottiers far above their value; and, to lighten their burden, allowed commonage to their tenants by way of recompense: afterwards, in despite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. The law, indeed, is open to redress them; but they do not know the laws, or how to proceed; or if they did know them, they are not equal to the expense of a suit against a rich tyrant. Besides, the greatest part of these tenures are by verbal agreement, not by written compact. Here is another difficulty:

* Dr. Campbell's "Philosophical Survey", pages 293–297.

if these wretches should apply to law, what could they do in this case? They were too ignorant of the principles of equity to seek a reasonable redress: they had too deep a sense of their sufferings to feel the less pungent call of virtue; nay, they thought equity was on their side, and iniquity on the part of their landlords, and thence flew with eagerness to what is ever the resource of low and uncultivated minds—violence".* *

"It is not uncommon in Munster to charge from four to five guineas per acre for potato ground; but we shall suppose the price but four guineas, that is, ninety-one shillings: the daily wages for labourers is four pence per day: there are three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, of which fifty-two are Sundays, and suppose but thirteen holidays, the remainder is three hundred working days, the wages for which is a hundred shillings, that is, nine shillings above the price of their land, of which five shillings are paid for the tithe, and two for hearth money; and the remainder goes towards the rent of their cabin. What is left? Nothing. And out of this nothing, they are to buy seed for their garden, salt for their potatoes, and rags for themselves, their wives, and children. It must be observed that in this calculation I have mentioned three hundred working days, though it is known, from the greater number of holidays observed in that part of the kingdom than in any other, from the number of wet and broken days, joined with the natural laziness of the people, there are not above two hundred days for which they are paid. What an aggravation does this make in the account. And will the best crop enable them to maintain a family, often of six or eight persons, under the difficulties we have mentioned? It is this exorbitant rent which produces the complaint of tithes. Ready money they have not; the reward of their labour goes in payment of their rent; they can seldom amass the mighty sum of two shillings to pay their hearth money; how then shall they collect five shillings for tithes? The clergymen in that country possess livings which have a thousand acres under black cattle. Here the incumbent gets nothing, and the cottier's garden becomes his principal support. A gentleman of birth, perhaps piety and learning, is brought to the disagreeable necessity of chaffering with a set of poor wretches for two pence, or six pence, in a bargain, or forego the support of his own family. This business grows irksome to him, and he seeks some one person who will take the whole trouble upon him. The distress of the parishioner is heightened by this agreement; and the tithe-monger, who is generally more rapacious than humane, squeezing out the very vitals of the people, and by process, citation, and sequestration, drags from them the little which the landlord and king had left them".

If the landlords of Ireland had been in alliance with France, and bent upon promoting its views in the former country, by rendering the people more discontented, they could not have done more for French policy than they thus effected by driving the people to desperation.

These were the real rebels to the British Crown, and the worst enemies of all to the connection that ought to have subsisted with mutual good will between the two countries.

In 1760, a variety of causes had conspired to reduce the people to the lowest degree of misery. The revenue, the unerring barometer of their condition, plainly indicated in this year the distress that universally prevailed; a fatal disease swept off vast quantities of their cattle, and provisions became unusually dear. The distress was not sudden or partial; it had gone on increasing for the past five years. The House of Commons, in their address to his Excellency, on referring to this subject, and to the want of corn to which the distress of the country was largely to be attributed, declared " they would most cheerfully embrace every practicable method to promote tillage".

The members of that House kept the word of promise to the Viceroy's ears, and broke it to the people's hope. They scandalously embraced the opportunity of promoting their own temporary interests by turning the tilled lands of vast districts into pasturage, and even enclosing the commons where their impoverished tenants had hitherto been permitted to graze their cattle, and by such means had been enabled to meet the landlords' and the tithe owners' exorbitant demands.

When a famishing peasantry ceases to look upon the lords of the soil as their natural protectors, and they regard the law without respect, because it is administered by men " who grind the faces of the poor", their outrages, it will be found by melancholy experience, are more violent, ungovernable, driftless, and vindictive in their character than those that are excited by any other species of oppression.

So it was with the lawless acts of the Whiteboys, wanton in cruelty, wild in their schemes, and heedless of the consequences arising from the destruction of property; and so it always will be with the turbulence of a people who have been trampled upon by the proprietors of the soil, as those of Ireland had been. The proprietors cared, in fact, no more for their miserable tenants than the bashaws of Turkey are wont to do for the Christian rajahs of the distant provinces, which are delivered into their hands, to be ruled over with a rod of iron, to have the last para wrung from their labour, for the benefit of strangers to the soil, and of *ulemas* in Stamboul, from whose functions they derive no earthly or spiritual advantages.

Lord Northumberland, addressing the Parliament in 1763, in speaking of the disorders in the south, intimated that *the means of industry would be the remedy;* from whence it followed, the want of those means must have been the cause. The Commons, in accordance with the Viceroy's suggestion, promised to give their best attention to *the Protestant Charter Schools and Linen Manufacture.* The people, it was well known, would not send their children to the former, and were totally ignorant of the latter. In fact, when the Catholic people were crying out for bread, the Commons were proposing Protestant schools for the starving children of a Roman Catholic population, and shuttles and looms for an agricultural peasantry.

The landlords in the House of Commons carried out the views on which they acted in their several districts; they declared the riots which had taken place in 1762 and 1763, to be "Popish rebellions". They appointed a committee "to inquire into the causes and progress of the Popish insurrection in the province of Munster".

In 1764, the Lords and Commons, in their address to the Viceroy, the Earl of Northumberland, characterized the acts of the rioters as, "Treason against the State". In their "pretended grievances no traces of oppression can be seen; we can only impute their disorders to the artful contrivances of designing men, who, from selfish and interested views, have spread this licentious spirit among the people".

The Government, on the other hand, sent down a commission into the disturbed districts in 1762, consisting of men of eminence in the law, and of known ability, loyalty, and impartiality, to report upon the character of those tumultuous risings, and the result of their inquiry may be gathered from a paragraph in the *London Gazette* of May, 1762, wherein it is stated, "that the authors of those riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his Majesty's person or government appeared in any of those people".

In 1804, a work was published in London, called "*Strictures upon a Historical Review of the State of Ireland*", by Francis Plowden.

The author of the "*Strictures*" labours hard to prove the Munster riots to have been Popish plots, produced by the machinations of Popish priests and bishops; one of the former, the unfortunate Father Sheehy, and the latter the titular Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Butler. Alluding to the passage quoted (originally by Curry, in a pamphlet entitled "*A Candid Inquiry*", etc.) from the *London Gazette* of May, 1762, this author of the "*Strictures*" on Plowden's work, with an appearance of exactitude and close-

ness of research calculated to impose on his readers, deliberately affirms that he has searched the *Gazette*, but the passage referred to is not to be found; but he states, "I have found this paragraph verbatim in the *Whitehall Evening Post* of the 4th of May, 1762, which paragraph was, no doubt, written in Ireland, and sent over here for insertion by some abettor of this insurrection, in order to deceive the people of England, a practice very systematically pursued of late years".

The preceding paragraph is an admirable specimen of the manner in which history is falsified to suit the unworthy purposes of bigotry. On referring to "*The London Gazette*, published by authority", of May 4th, 1762, I find the following passage: "The riots and disturbances lately raised in the southern part of Ireland, by a set of people called levellers, are entirely put a stop to by the vigour and activity of the Earl of Halifax. It appears that the authors of those disturbances consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his Majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people".

In 1766, the unfortunate people having paid the penalty of "their crimes and their pretended grievances", having been dealt with according to law, the country was restored to that kind of quiet which usually follows terror, and in Ireland passes for tranquillity. The landlords then had leisure, and a colourable pretext in their own exaggerated representations of the treasonable designs of the quelled rioters, to bring all those Roman Catholic gentry to an account who were known to have afforded any pecuniary assistance to the miserable wretches who had been thrown into gaol or brought to trial, and were without the means of making any defence, except what they obtained from the charity of those of their own communion who were thus far able to assist them. An expression of sympathy with their unfortunate condition, a single act of interference in their behalf before a justice of the peace, or the appearance at the trial of one of them as a witness, and it will be seen, even as a legal adviser of the party accused, was sufficient to bring the loyalty of every such person into question, to compromise his character, and to put his life in peril.

The turpitude of involving men in the crimes of those they succoured in a gaol, or enabled to procure the means of defence on the trial, which the law allowed, but which they were unable to provide, did not originate with the persecutors of the Sheehys, the Farrells, the Buxtons, and the Keatings of 1766; nor did the baseness of the practice terminate with the troubled time they lived in. In 1798, the same principle was not only acted on by

magistrates, but the Lord Chancellor of Ireland gave the sanction of his authority to the execrable doctrine, that the act of contribution towards the defraying the expense incurred for the defence of persons accused of treason involved a participation in the crime.

This was one of the charges in the report of the Secret Committee of 1793, drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, which was hung, *in terrorem*, over the heads of some members of the Catholic Committee. One of these gentlemen, Mr. John Sweetman, was especially pointed out as a person in criminal communication with the Defenders, and the only proof of his criminality was a letter, in which mention was made of some steps that had been taken towards assisting the brother of a Roman Catholic gentleman of the name of Nugent, who had been committed to gaol on a charge of defenderism. The report of the Committee stated, that although the body of the Roman Catholics were not privy to this application of the money levied on them, the conduct, however, was suspicious, "of ill-disposed individuals of their persuasion resident in Dublin".*

The government had previously sent to Sweetman, as Secretary of the Catholics, to inform him, the publication of the report of the Secret Committee would endanger his life, and offered, if he avowed his indiscretion, the report would be quashed. And we are informed by Emmet, in his "*Essay towards the History of Ireland*", that Sweetman refused to do so.

The same accusation of contributing towards the defence of prisoners charged with treasonable practices, who were his own tenants, was brought against the unfortunate Sir Edward Crosbie, and this *prima facie* evidence of disaffection weighed down every proof of innocence, for every other charge carried with it its own self-evident refutation, and an act of Christian charity was made mainly instrumental to his ignominious death.

If these were solitary instances of a practice founded on a condemnation of the common dictates of humanity, it would have been needless to advert to them; but unfortunately there are too many of them on record in the criminal proceedings of those times to allow them to be passed over, or to render it unnecessary to make the remembrance of them a bar to their recurrence. We surely need no stronger argument to convince us, that if the unfortunate country which is delivered up to civil war, were not forsaken by the spirit of Christianity, such infamous doctrines could not have been put forth. The Founder of our religion, in summing up the acts of mercy, the performance of which was re-

* Report of Lords' Secret Committee, 1793, Appendix, No. 1, p. 3.

warded with the possession of His Heavenly kingdom, specifies this act of mercy among others as one which establishes a claim to the highest recompence of all: "I was sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me".

The language of our rulers in Ireland has been: Your brethren are poor and oppressed, but you shall not pity them; they are in prison, but it shall be treason for you to go to them; they are naked and open to their enemies, but you shall not succour them. They have been hungry and thirsty, and we have not given them to eat or to drink; and as we have not suffered them to murmur against us, neither shall you sympathize with them, unless you are willing to share in the punishment which is prepared for traitors and their accomplices.

General descriptions of popular tumults and of calamitous occurrences often convey a less accurate idea of the events in question, than the particular details of the fate or sufferings of one of those actors or victims in the strife, whose history is bound up with the events that excite our interest.

The account of the persecution and judicial murder of Father Nicholas Sheehy, of Clogheen, is an epitome in itself of the history of Ireland at that period, of its persecuted people, of the character of their oppressors, of the divisions secretly encouraged and sedulously fostered by the rulers of the country between one class of the community and another, and, finally, of the use made of the weakness consequent on the general disunion.

In 1762, the Earl (subsequently Marquis) of Drogheda, was sent to the disturbed districts in the province of Munster, in command of a considerable military force, and fixed his head quarters at Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary. The Whiteboys were at that period in the habit of assembling in large bodies, generally by night, and committing depredations on the properties of those obnoxious to them. On the night of the day on which the Marquis arrived at Clogheen, one of those assemblages took place in the neighbourhood, with the intention, it was believed, of assaulting the town. A clergyman of the name of Doyle, parish priest of Ardfinnan, on learning their intention, one of the informers states in his depositions, went among them, and succeeded in preventing them carrying their project into effect. His purpose, however, in so doing, as usual, was represented as insidious.

From that time the Earl of Drogheda made several incursions into the adjacent country, "and great numbers of the insurgents were", we are informed by Sir Richard Musgrave, "killed by his lordship's regiment, and French money was found in the pockets of some of them". This assertion is strenuously opposed

by Curry and O'Connor; and in one of the letters of Lord Charlemont, published in Hardy's memoirs of his lordship,* mention is made of the attention of the Custom-House officers of Dublin being directed to the circumstance of "a very considerable number of French crowns having been received at the Custom-House, which could not have been the result of trade, since little or no specie is imported from France in exchange for our commodities".

Sir Richard Musgrave states that a Mr. Conway, an Irish resident at Paris, was in the habit of remitting money to the insurgents on the part of the French government. This statement rests on his authority, *valeat quod valeat.* Lord Charlemont, however, is far from ascribing the real causes of those disturbances to French gold or intrigue.† "Misery, oppression, and famine—these were undoubtedly the first and original causes". And he adds, "I will not pretend to attest that French intrigue may not sometimes have interfered to aggravate and inflame the fever already existing".

Mr. Matthew O'Connor speaks of the "circulation of French coin as the natural result of a smuggling intercourse with France, and in particular of the clandestine export of wool to that country".‡

While the Earl of Drogheda continued at Clogheen, the troops were constantly employed in the old mode of pacifying the country, and some of the gentlemen in the neighbouring districts were in the habit of scouring the country at the head of armed parties. The gentlemen who chiefly distinguished themselves in these military exploits were, William Bagnell, Esq., Sir Thomas Maude, and John Bagwell, Esq. The exertions of these gentlemen in their military and magisterial pursuits were actively seconded in the arrangement of the panel at the assizes by Daniel Toler, Esq., High Sheriff of the county, an ancestor of the judge celebrated for his judicial energy at another calamitous period of Irish history, and in the getting up of the prosecutions by a minister of the gospel, the Rev. John Hewetson.

While the head quarters of the Earl of Drogheda were fixed at Clogheen, the services of the usual auxiliaries to the Irish magistracy were called into requisition. No Roman Catholic leader of any respectability had been yet fixed on to give a plausible character to the rumour of a Popish insurrection; the

* "Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont", vol. i. p. 175; Sir Richard Musgrave's "Memoirs of the Rebellion", etc. p. 54.

† "Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont", p, 174.

‡ "History of the Irish Catholics", by M. O'Connor, p. 288.

parish priest of the town was accordingly suspected of disaffection. He had collected money for the defence of some of the rioters who were his parishioners, and the acquittal of any of them was attributed to his interference. Father Nicholas Sheehy was born at Fethard, about six miles from Clonmel. He was sent to France at an early age to receive that education which it was a capital offence to communicate to one of his creed at home. He was well descended, and related to some of the most respectable Catholic gentlemen of the county. A man of the name of John Bridge, having been arrested on a charge of Whiteboyism, examined by torture, and "severely punished by court martial", was induced to come forward with charges against several respectable persons of having been amongst the rioters who had assembled in the neighbourhood of the town, the night of the day on which Lord Drogheda arrived at Clogheen. A woman of abandoned character, who had been excommunicated by the priest Sheehy, was likewise procured, at a later period, to swear to an information of a similar tendency to Bridge's. Sheehy was arrested, but the evidence against him could not have been very conclusive, for after his examination he was suffered to go at large on the understanding that he was to appear if further evidence was brought against him in corroboration of the informers. The proceedings against Mr. Sheehy remained thus suspended, when, in the latter end of 1763, Bridge disappeared, and a report was circulated that he had been murdered by the Whiteboys. In March, 1764, the high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Tipperary published an advertisement, setting forth, "That whereas the said John Bridge was missing since October preceding, *and was supposed to be murthered*, they did hereby promise a reward of £50 to any person or persons who should discover, within twelve calendar months, any person or persons *concerned in said act*", *etc.*

The advertisement soon produced the desired effect. The only persons concerned in the appearance or non-appearance of the informer were those who had been informed against. Father Sheehy was not named in the advertisement, but it was impossible that any doubt could be entertained as to the party interested in the disappearance of the informer, and therefore to be suspected of being privy to his murder.

The magistrates and gentry of Tipperary had been incensed against the judge who presided at the preceding trials of the rioters. One of the few impartial and humane judges who then graced the Irish bench, Sir Richard Acton, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, had been sent upon a special commission to try a great number of these rioters two years previously. The

trials were conducted with a show of justice that was extremely offensive to the local authorities, and the magistrates and grand jury raised such a clamour against the excellent judge, that he was driven from the Irish bench, and went to England, where he accepted of the inferior appointment of puisne judge. The name of Sir Richard Acton deserves to be remembered in Ireland with respect and honour; and if no other eulogy on his character were recorded, it might be sufficient to say, that this Fletcher of his day was reviled by Sir Richard Musgrave, and that on the occasion of his return from Clonmel at the conclusion of the business of the special commission, the road along which he passed was lined on both sides with men, women, and children, thanking him for the justice and the fairness of his conduct in the discharge of his duty, and pouring blessings on him as a just and impartial judge.*

This was a novel spectacle in Ireland: it was a touching exhibition, and one, it might be considered, that might have moved the pity and softened the rancour of the enemies of these poor people. But justice and humanity were hateful to their oppressors, and the administration of the law under the influence of either was a course they could not comprehend or tolerate. In the clamour that was raised against this upright judge, it is painful to find the great champion of popular rights (as the celebrated Dr. Lucas was deemed) taking an active part in his place in Parliament against the administration of justice and the judicial authorities, on account of the leniency exhibited on the trials of the Popish rioters. On the 13th of October, 1763, in moving an instruction to the committee to inquire into the causes of the insurrections of the south, he expressed his amazement "that the indictments in the south were only laid for a riot and a breach of the peace, while those in the north were all laid for high treason, and animadverted severely on the conduct of the judges who sat in the south".

The brawling patriot, who was wont to make the walls of parliament reverberate with the thunder of his indignation when one of its privileges was endangered, could stand up in that house, and raise his voice in condemnation of measures of humanity, when the unfortunate people stood in the utmost need of pity and protection.

He was replied to by the Solicitor-General, who said, he was surprised at the speech of the honourable gentleman. "Several of the indictments had been laid for high treason in the south, as well as the north, and several had been executed upon the

* Plowden's "History of Ireland", vol. ii, page 139.

statute; but wherever lenity had been shown, it was only where reason and humanity required it".*

Before entering upon the further proceedings against the Rev. Mr. Sheehy, it was necessary to show the state of public feeling, not only in the disturbed district in which he resided, but even in the House of Commons, on the subject of those agrarian disturbances.

Between the period of Bridge's disappearance and the spring of 1764, Mr Sheehy was constantly menaced with prosecution; witnesses were frequently examined and indictments framed, but no criminal proceedings followed.

At length, in the early part of 1764, he found his persecutors so bent on his destruction, that it became necessary for him to secrete himself. The government had been prevailed upon to issue a proclamation against him, in which he was described as a fugitive from justice, charged with high treason, and offering a reward of £300 for his apprehension. Sheehy no sooner was informed of the proclamation than he wrote to Mr. Secretary Waite, acquainting him "that he would save the government the reward offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand to be tried for any crime he was accused of, not at Clonmel (where he feared the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice), but in the Court of King's Bench in Dublin"; and accordingly he delivered himself up to Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq., of whom the present Lord Lismore is the grand-nephew.

Several of the preceding details are to be found in a pamphlet called, "A Candid Inquiry into the Causes and Motives of the late Riots in the Province of Munster"; and, as appears by a subsequent pamphlet by the same author, Dr. Curry (a parallel between the pretended plot of 1762, and the forgery of Titus Oates in 1679), was written in the month of May, 1766.

Speaking of this pamphlet, the venerable Charles O'Connor states that no notes of the trials were taken at the time, and that it is only to this account of the proceedings, and the declarations solemnly made of the victims, that we can refer for information that can give an insight into the proceedings against them. Such, however, is not the fact; notes of some of those trials do exist, and from them and the records of the Crown Office of Clonmel, and the original informations sworn against the parties, which I discovered there, the following details are given.

The *Dublin Gazette*, of 15th March, 1765, announces that, "About eight o'clock on Wednesday night, Nicholas Sheehy, a

* "Irish Debates", in the years 1763 and 1764, vol. i. p. 48.

Popish priest, charged with being concerned in several treasonable practices to raise a rebellion in this kingdom, for the apprehending of whom government offered a reward of £300, was brought to town guarded by a party of light horse, and lodged by the Provost in the Lower Castle Yard". It was not till the 10th of February, in the following year, that he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench. The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, then, was the Right Honourable John Gore; Second Justice, Mr. Christopher Robinson; Third Justice, William Scott, Esq. The indictment charged the prisoner with acting as a leader in a treasonable conspiracy, exercising men under arms, swearing them to allegiance to the French King, and inciting them to rebellion. The witnesses produced were, a man of the name of John Toohy, who had been committed to Kilkenny gaol on a charge of horse-stealing, a month previously to his examination having been given in against the prisoner; a woman of the name of Mary Butler; and a vagrant boy of the name of Lonnergan.

It would be difficult to comprehend the nature or extent of the wickedness exhibited in these proceedings, without referring to the circumstances which rendered Sheehy and others more obnoxious to the magisterial conspirators than the persons of his persuasion in the neighbourhood who had the good fortune to escape being similarly implicated. The enclosing of commonage in the neighbourhood of Clogheen in the winter of 1761–2, had inflicted much injury on the parishioners of Father Sheehy.

About that time the tithes of two Protestant clergymen, Messrs. Foulkes and Sutton, in the vicinity of Ballyporeen, were rented to a tithe proctor of the name of Dobbyn. The tithe farmer instituted in 1762 a new claim on the Roman Catholic people in his district of five shillings for every marriage celebrated by a priest. On what grounds this claim was put forward I have not been able to ascertain, but the fact of its having been preferred and levied admits of no doubt.* This new impost was resisted by the people, and, as it fell heavily on the poor parishioners of Father Sheehy, he denounced it publicly.

The first "risings" in his neighbourhood were connected with their resistance to this odious tax. The collection of church cess in a parish adjoining his, where there was no congregation, was likewise resisted by the people, and there is no doubt but their

* The above-named fact and many others connected with the private history of the persons referred to in this Memoir, were communicated to me by one of the oldest inhabitants of Clogheen, one most thoroughly acquainted with those times and their events, Mr. Jeremiah M'Grath, a land surveyor, a relative of one of the persons persecuted and repeatedly prosecuted, Roger Sheehy.

resistance to it was encouraged by Father Sheehy. On some occasions, when the parishioners assembled for the purpose of devising some means of protection against the extortions of tithe proctors, Father Sheehy was present and took part in their discussions. These discussions, it is needless to say, they dared not hold in public; but, private as they were, they were well known to the real conspirators in Clonmel. Father Sheehy was a bold and fearless advocate of justice and humanity, a man whose misfortune it was, in times like those, to be gifted with a generous disposition, and to be animated with a hatred of oppression. But the very qualities which rendered him obnoxious to the enemies of the poor persecuted people, left him naked and open to their enmity. He was courageous and confiding, chivalrous in defence of the poor and the oppressed, but incautiously prominent in the struggle, and heedless of the power and the wickedness of his enemies.

The various informations and indictments show plainly enough, differing, as they do, in the most material particulars, yet concurring in one point, the influence of Sheehy over his parishioners, that his prosecutors were casting about them at random for evidence of any kind or character that might rid them of the annoyance of a man of an independent mind, and by his implication give additional colour to the pretended Popish plot.

For several months previously to Mr. Sheehy's surrender, he had been in concealment, flying from house to house, of such of his parishioners as he could confide in. He had been frequently obliged to change his abode to avoid the rigorous searches that were almost daily made for him. At length, terror and corruption had exerted such an influence over his own flock that he hardly knew whom to trust, or in whose house to seek an asylum. Indeed it is impossible to wade through the mass of informations sworn to against him by persons of his own persuasion, without wondering at the extent and the successfulness of the villainy that was practised against him. His last place of refuge at Clogheen was in the house of a small farmer, a Protestant, of the name of Griffiths, adjoining the churchyard of Shandrahan, where his remains now lie. The windows of this house open into the churchyard, and there Father Sheehy was concealed for three days, hid during the day in a vault in the latter place, and during the night in the house, when it was necessary to keep up a large fire, so benumbed with cold he used to be when brought at nightfall from the place that was indeed his living tomb. The house is still standing, and inhabited by the grandson of his faithful friend, and one not of his own creed it is to be remembered. The last service rendered to him at Clogheen was likewise by a Protestant,

a gentleman in the commission of the peace, Mr. Cornelius O'Callaghan, to whom he surrendered himself. This gentleman gave him one of his horses to convey him to Dublin, and the sum of ten guineas to bear his expenses.

Mr. O'Callaghan's high rank, his character for loyalty, his position in society, were not sufficient to secure him from the malignity of the magisterial conspirators. Mr. O'Callaghan was denounced by Bagwell as a suspected person. Lord James Cahir, the ancestor of Lord Glengall, was likewise declared to be on the black list of this gentleman, and of his associate, the Rev. James Hewetson; both these gentlemen had to fly the country to save their lives, and the noblemen who are their successors would do well to remember how necessary it is to keep the administration of justice in pure hands, that rapacious villainy may be discomfited in its attempts to promote its interests by the inculpation of men who have broad lands and local influence to be deprived of by convictions and confiscations.

One of the earliest charges of Whiteboyism brought against him stands thus recorded in the indictment and information book in the Crown Office:*—

"Nicholas Sheehy, bailed in £2,000; Denis Keane, £1,000; Nicholas Dogherty, £1,000. A true bill. Clonmel General Assizes, May 23, 1763, before Right Hon. Warden Flood and Hon. William Scott. Nicholas Sheehy, a Popish priest, bound over in court last assizes, trial then put off by the Court, indicted for that he, with divers others ill-disposed persons and disturbers of the peace, on the second day of March, in the second year of the reign of George III., at Scarlap, did unlawfully assemble and assault William Ross, and did wickedly compel him to swear that he would never discover anything to the prejudice of the Whiteboys, etc. William Ross, bound over in £100, estreated; James Ross, £100, estreated.

The Rosses of Garrymore were Roman Catholics of the middle rank, and had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people at the commencement of these agrarian disturbances by enclosing commonage adjoining their lands at Dromlemmon.

A party of levellers had broken down the fences with which they had enclosed these commons, but whether the persons engaged in this act were parishioners of Father Sheehy, or had received any encouragement from him, or whether the charge was brought forward from private resentment, or at the instigation of Sheehy's persecutors, we have no means of knowing. It is clear,

* Once for all I have to state that the above document, and all the others of a similar kind, which are here given, were collected by myself, and copied from the original official documents in the Crown Office of Clonmel.

however, from the forfeiture of their recognizances, that they had taken a step they repented of, or were not able to follow up.* Sheehy was evidently ignorant of this proceeding of theirs, for on his trial he called on one of the Rosses to prove that he had slept at their house the night that Bridge was said to have been murdered, and on his examination the fact was denied by him. Every step in this nefarious persecution is marked with perfidy of more than ordinary baseness.

The custom of first "presenting" a Popish priest in those times, and then trumping up charges of sedition, and encouragement of agrarian outrages, was in full force at this period. Sheehy had been thus "presented" before any other charge was brought against him.

At the same assizes at which the first bill was found against him, a true bill was likewise found against Michael Quinlan, a Popish priest, for having, at Aghnacarty and other places, exercised the office and functions of a Popish priest against the peace and statute, etc.

To make the surety of conviction doubly sure, as in Sheehy's case, a second indictment was sent up on the same occasion, charging him with "riotously assembling at Aghnacarty against the peace", on the same day as named in the former indictment.

At the General Assizes at Clonmel, on the 23rd May, 1763, a number of persons were indicted, charged with Whiteboy offences, and amongst them we find the names of the witnesses who were made the main supporters of the Bagnell, Maude, and Bagwell conspiracy, or, as they termed it, the Popish plot. The following persons were then tried and acquitted: Tim Guinan; John, Michael, Daniel, and James Lonnergan. Two of the Lonnergans were the nephews of Guinan, a hackler, lads between the ages of fifteen and seventeen; one of them, John Lonnergan, was the witness on whose evidence the managers mainly relied for convictions in the subsequent trials. This boy was an idle vagrant, noted in his neighbourhood for his vicious habits. He was produced on the trials dressed out for the occasion in a long outside coat, for the purpose of causing him to look taller and older than he was.

At the Clonmel Summer Assizes of 1764, Nicholas Sheehy was again indicted, and seven other persons out on bail were included in the same indictment, wherein it set forth, "that they

* At a little distance from the grave of Father Sheehy, the Rosses lie buried in the churchyard of Shandrahan. The inscription on their tombstone states that James Ross (the father) died in 1765. William died in 1787. The nephew of the latter treated the successor of Father Sheehy in Clogheen with great violence, not long after which he was thrown from his horse and killed on the spot.

on the 6th of January, in the fourth year of the king's reign, at Shanbally, did assault John Bridge, against the peace".

At the same Assizes, a true bill was found against Edward Meehan, Nicholas Sheehan, Nicholas Lee, John Magan, John Butler, and Edmund Burke, charging them with "compassing rebellion at Clogheen, on the 7th March and 6th October, second year of the king, and unlawfully assembling in white shirts, in arms, when they did traitorously prepare, ordain, and levy war against the king"; and bound to appear as witnesses, Michael Guynan, Thomas Lonnergan, and Mary Butler.

On the 19th November, 1764, Denis Brien, of Ballyporeen, was bound over before Mr. Cornelius O'Callaghan, to appear at the following assizes, "to answer *all things brought against him* by Michael Guynan, John Bridge, *or any other person, concerning the late disturbances*".

The number of informations sworn to against all the leading Catholic gentry of the country by the Lonnergans, Guinan, Toohy, a horse-stealer, and two abandoned women of the names of Butler and Dunlea, between the years 1763 and 1767, would fill a good-sized volume. The names of the magistrates before whom these informations, in almost every instance, were sworn, were John Bagwell, Thomas Maude, and the Rev. J. Hewetson.

At the General Assizes held at Clonmel the 16th March, 1765, before Chief Baron Willes and Mr. Justice Tennison, the following bills found at the former assizes were brought before the Grand Jury. Some of the trials were put off, all the parties were admitted to bail, or allowed to stand out on heavy recognizances, and the names of the persons who bailed the prisoners are deserving of notice; for it will be found, that to enter into sureties for a man marked out for ruin by the Clonmel conspirators, was to draw down the vengeance of these conspirators on those who dared to come forward as witnesses, and stand between the victims and their persecutors.

I doubt if anything more terribly iniquitous than the proceedings which I have traced in these official records is to be met with in the history of any similar conspiracy.

The High Sheriff in 1765 was Sir Thomas Maude, the foreman of the grand jury, Richard Pennefather, Esq. The following are the persons named as having been formerly indicted and held to bail:—

"Edmund Burke, of Tullow, bail £500; his sureties, John Hogan and Thomas Hickey, of Frehans.

John Butler, innkeeper, Clogheen, bail £500; his sureties, George Everard, of Lisheenanoul, and James Butler, of Gurrane, county Cork.

Edward Meehan, Clogheen, £500; his sureties, Pierce Nagle, of Flemingstown; John Butler, of Mitchelstown; James Hickey, of Frehans; John Bourk, of Rouska.

Nicholas Sheehy, surrendered; James Buxton, Patrick Condon, and Patrick Boar, out".

After the names of these persons, against whom true bills had been found, the proceedings are thus recorded:—

"Trial put off last Assizes on an affidavit of the prosecutor, bound over then in Court to appear. Record since removed by *certiorari*.

"Indicted, Spring Assizes, 1764, for that they, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor the duty of their allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, and departing from the true affection and natural obedience of our Lord the King, and intending, contriving, and conspiring to disquiet and disturb the peace of our said Lord the King, and all his liege subjects, on the 10th day of February, in the second year of the king, and at divers other times before and after, at Clogheen, falsely, unlawfully, devilishly, and traitorously did compass, imagine, and intend to raise and levy open war, insurrection, and rebellion; and in order to fulfil and bring to effect the treasons and intentions aforesaid, afterwards, to wit same day, year, and place, did traitorously and seditiously assemble together, with two hundred other unknown persons, armed with guns, pistols, and other weapons, as well offensive as defensive, dressed in white apparel, did falsely, unlawfully, and traitorously prepare, begin, and levy public war against our said Lord the King, against the peace and statute.

MICHAEL GUYNAN, £50,
Bailed in Court".

The preceding details sufficiently explain the views and objects of the prosecutors, and their temporary defeat by the terms entered into by Father Sheehy with Government, by which a trial in Dublin was secured to him.

The trial, which took place on the 10th of February, 1766, in the Court of King's Bench, was impartially conducted; the conduct of the "managers" who got up the evidence, at every turn of the testimony, bore on its face the evident marks of subornation of perjury. The vile witnesses broke down, and after a trial of fourteen hours' duration, the persecuted priest was honourably acquitted. He had redeemed his pledge to the Government, he had given himself up, stood his trial, and proved his innocence. But no sooner was the verdict pronounced, than the faith of Government was broken with him. The unfortunate man was in-

formed by the Chief Justice that a charge of murder was brought against him, and on this charge he must be committed to Newgate. He was accordingly taken from the dock, removed to the prison, and, after two or three days' imprisonment, was put into the hands of his merciless persecutors, to be forthwith conveyed to Clonmel.

The first intimation of the new charge against him was given to him in Dublin, a few days previously to his trial, by a person named O'Brien, who had accompanied him from Clogheen. Martin O'Brien, on account of his intelligence and prudence, had been chosen by the friends of the priest to accompany him to Dublin, and he gave some proof of his fitness for his appointment by strongly urging him, a few days previously to his trial, to quit the kingdom. Father Sheehy was then at large; he had been confined for a few days after his surrender in the Provost in the Castle Yard. He was placed under the charge of Major Joseph Sirr, then town-major, and father to the person of less enviable notoriety in the same office at a later period. His innocence was so manifest to Mr. Secretary Waite and to Major Sirr, that he was relieved from all restraint, and the latter held himself responsible for his appearance at the time appointed for his trial.

While he was at large he was informed by O'Brien that a person had brought him an account from Clonmel that no sooner had the news of Father Sheehy's surrender been received than a rumour got abroad that a charge of murder was to be brought against him. He recommended Father Sheehy not to lose a moment in getting out of the kingdom, and urgently pressed him to put himself the same day on board a packet for England.

O'Brien several years afterwards stated to my informant that Sheehy smiled at the proposal. He said they wanted to frighten him out of the country, but he would not gratify his enemies, and if they brought such a monstrous charge against him, he could easily disprove it. Sheehy's arrival in Dublin, it is to be borne in mind, was only five months after the alleged murder, and at the time of his departure from Clogheen, it is positively affirmed by Magrath, on the authority of O'Brien, that Father Sheehy had then no knowledge of the murder, and the probability is, that it was in Dublin a fugitive named Mahony, when about quitting the kingdom, had made the revelation to him.

Sheehy was conveyed on horseback, under a strong military escort, to Clonmel, his arms pinioned, and his feet tied under the horse's belly. While in confinement in the gaol of Clonmel he was double bolted, and treated in every respect with the utmost rigour. In this condition he was seen by one of his old friends, and while this gentleman was condoling with him on

his unfortunate condition, he pointed to his legs, which were ulcerated by the cords he had been bound with on his way from Dublin. He said, laughing, "Never mind, we will defeat these fellows"; and he struck up a verse of the old song of *Shaun na guira*.

On the 12th of March, 1766, Sheehy was put on his trial at Clonmel, for the murder of John Bridge. Most of the witnesses who gave evidence on the former trial were produced on this occasion.

Among the new witnesses was a woman of abandoned character, commonly known by the name of "Moll Dunlea", but introduced on the trial as Mrs. Mary Brady, the latter being the name of a soldier of the light horse, with whom she then cohabited.

Nicholas Sheehy was indicted on the charge of having been present at, and aiding and abetting Edmund Meighan in the murder of John Bridge. Mr. Sheehy had a sister, Mrs. Green, who resided at Shanbally, in the vicinity of Clogheen; and at this place, according to the evidence, the murder of Bridge, Lord Carrick, Mr. John Bagnell, Mr. William Bagnell, and other persons obnoxious to them, was first proposed by Mr. Sheehy to a numerous assemblage of Whiteboys; and by him all those present were sworn to secrecy, fidelity to the French king, and the commission of the proposed murders, and subsequently the murder was committed by one of the party, named Edmund Meighan, of Grange, in the month of October, 1764.

Sheehy and Meighan were tried separately. The same evidence for the prosecution was produced on both trials. The notes of one of the jurors, taken at the trial of Meighan, were communicated to the Editor of the *Gentleman's and London Magazine*, with a view to establish the guilt of the accused parties; and, therefore, the account is to be taken as one, the leaning of which was certainly towards the prosecutors, and in support of the finding of the jury.*

JOHN TOOHY, sworn for the Crown.

Knows the prisoner; knew John Bridge; he is dead; was killed by Edward Meighan, by a stroke of a bill-hook on the head at Shanbally, and died instantly; went to English's house at Shanbally, with Pierce Byrne, James Buxton, James Farrell, Silvester How, Darby Tierney; knew not for what purpose; saw John Walsh, Denis Coleman, Peter Magrath, and John Bridge, playing cards at English's house; went a small way out of the house, on James Farrell's call, into a field; saw many people in the field; to

* "Gentleman's and London Magazine", June, 1766, p. 370.

wit, Edmund Meighan the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, Edward Prendergast, Thomas Beere, John Burke, Edward Burke, Thomas Magrath, Hugh Hayes, Roger Sheehy, Denis Coleman, William Flyn, Edmund Sheehy, Edward Coffee, James Coghlan, John Walsh, Philip M'Grath, Thomas Harman, John Butler, and many others, drawn up in a rank, as if to be reckoned. John Bridge and company went towards the people, and joined them. Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath to John Bridge to deny his examinations, who refused to take it; on this refusal Pierce Byrne struck at him with a flane, which he defended with his left hand; then the prisoner drew a bill-hook from under a belt, and struck Bridge on the head, which to his recollection clove the skull; Bridge fell down dead instantly.

The same persons, in about half an hour, got a blanket, and carried the corpse to a field belonging to Connor's son, or Ross, at Ballybuskin, and buried him in a ploughed field, about two miles from the place of committing the murder.

An oath was then tendered by Nicholas Sheehy to all present not to disclose what had passed that night, and to be true to the king of France and Shaun Meskill and children; which oath most or all of them did take. The prisoner took the oath; all approved of what happened; that as John Bridge was out of the way, Michael Guinan's testimony could not take effect. The field is called the Barn-field; knows not what was done with the body since; heard the prisoner say that the corpse was taken up and removed; knows of a letter brought to James Buxton by John Dogherty, which was wrote by Nicholas Sheehy.

At the time of burying the corpse in the field, a little boy was found hiding in the ditch, and put up behind Nicholas Sheehy. The boy's name, John Lonnergan; believes he could not see him killed, or where he was buried, but could see the people carrying the body.

Cross-examined.—Came from Killcrow; has been in gaol for about four months; was sent to gaol the 20th of September; first gave examinations against the prisoner about a month after committal; was committed for horse stealing; believes the 28th of October, 1764, was Tuesday, but cannot recollect; knew not of any rewards to be given by Government; remembers Clogheen fair in October, 1764, but not the day; Bridge was killed about ten or eleven at night; knows not whether before or after the fair of Clogheen; lived for a week before the murder with James Buxton, and returned to the same place; lived with James Buxton for three years before and after; was employed to carry messages and letters to and from the Whiteboys; knows not

whether the house belonged to English, but it was named for his; never was there after the murder; believes there were above an hundred present when the murder was committed; says the several people already named were present; says there is a dwelling-house in the field where Bridge was buried; in his evidence in Dublin he said the house was within a musket shot of the place of burial; knew the prisoners by seeing them at several meetings of the Whiteboys; gave in examinations against the Whiteboys in about a month after committal, and after the murder, a short time before he went to Dublin.

JOHN LONNERGAN, sworn.

Knows the prisoner; saw him in October, 1764, between Mr. Callaghan's and Father Sheehy's; saw several in company with the prisoner: to wit, Thomas Magrath, John Butler, Nicholas Sheehy, and many others, in the high road to Shanbally; that when he first saw them he slipped into a trench, being afraid of his life; was discovered in the trench by Thomas Magrath, and taken out and asked his business; they then put him behind Nicholas Sheehy; he saw them carry a corpse rolled up in a caddow; saw the head bloody on the side of the horse next to him; was not carried far, before he was put from behind Sheehy; knew John Bridge, but did not know whether he was the corpse.*

They desired this evidence to go home another short road, and Nicholas Sheehy gave him three half-crowns, and desired him not to talk of what he saw, or to betray his uncle, Michael Guinan; is not very certain of the time of the murder of Bridge, but heard he was murdered; believes it was about the first of November was two years.

He was sent by his uncle, Michael Guinan, to John Bridge for a pistole or guinea; does not recollect when, but it was on the same night that he saw the corpse, but did not go all the way on account of hearing the crowd, some way on foot and some on horseback.

Heard that Bridge was killed on the same night, very soon after.

When he was taken from behind Nicholas Sheehy, the prisoner showed him a short cut to the town of Clogheen, and desired him not to follow the corpse, but to go home the short way; believes there were an hundred there; there were also present Buck Farrell *and James Farrell.*

Cross-examined.—Saw the corpse after midnight; it was neither very dark nor very light; the days were not long, but rather short; believes it was Sunday night, because he saw

* This part of the evidence is falsified; the boy swore that the head of the corpse he saw had been cloven nearly in two, and was that of John Bridge.—*R. R. M.*

people going to mass; knows not how long it was before Christmas; it was three weeks before Christmas; people go to mass on holidays as well as Sundays, therefore it might be an holiday; he did not know the length of a week.

MARY BRADY, sworn.

She lived with her mother in Clogheen; Michael Kearney was in her house in October, 1764, and was called on by Nicholas Sheehy; she was present; Nicholas Sheehy said Kearney was to go with him that night; she followed them to Shanbally; saw a man wrapped in a blanket, dead; she then and there saw Nicholas Sheehy, the prisoner Edmund Sheehy,* Thomas Magrath, and several others; there were about an hundred; she first saw the body at Shanbally; they buried the body at Ballyhuskin, on the lands called the Barn; was not present at the burial; she saw a bill-hook in the prisoner's hand; the prisoner made an attempt to strike the corpse when in the blanket, and said what had been done was very right, and it was a pity but to use all w——s and rogues in like manner; she observed the bill-hook bloody; they left Shanbally shortly before she followed them.

She recollects no other words of the prisoner; in about eight days the corpse was taken up and buried at Ballysheehan, near Shanbally.

Says she was sent by Nicholas Sheehy to the prisoner—that he was to go on command, and he said he would obey; says she watched the party, and followed them from Clogheen to Ballyhuskin Barn; was desired by Nicholas Sheehy and Edmund Sheehy, alias Buck Sheehy, to stay at the end of the road, and not to go farther, and by the prisoner; she saw them bring the corpse in the same way as before from Ballyhuskin to Ballysheehan; it was carried by turns; about an hundred present; followed the corpse most of the road to Ballysheehan; they said they would bury it in the churchyard there.

Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath at the first and second burial on the cross, to be true to each other, and never to discover; the prisoner was sworn on the cross at both burials; she heard the prisoner say it was John Bridge.

Cross-examined.—She remembers it was in October; knows not when the fair of Clogheen is held; says it was four days before Lieutenant Chaloner went to Clogheen; she went after Michael Kearney, by whom she had a child, to Ballyhuskin; Kearney had no certain residence, but was at her mother's house the night Sheehy called on him.

The men were gathered about nine o'clock; says Michael

* The grandfather of the late Lady Blessington.

Kearney was there present at the burial; there were many other women there; she was admitted, as Michael Kearney was such as they imagined; Kearney swore her; there were some Clogheen women there; she saw none prevented; Ballyhuskin how far from Shanbally, or Ballysheehan, she knows not, but thinks above three miles; all dressed as usual; it was neither light nor dark; did not go the high road.

For the Traverser.

GREGORY FLANNERY, sworn.

He knew Michael Kearney; lived in Clogheen; saw him April, 1763, in Dublin; he went to borrow money from Counsellor O'Callaghan, and if he could not get it he was to quit the country; he gave the witness £60 in cash, witness gave a bill for £58 12s. 4d., and left two letters; saw him go aboard a ship bound for Bristol or Parkgate; saw the ship sail below the wall; wrote to the witness about some things in about two months after; never heard of him since he left the kingdom, about the 22nd or 23rd of April, 1763.

Cross-examined.—He might have returned since without his knowledge; he lived in Dublin ten years, but never resided in the county of Tipperary.

THOMAS GORMAN, sworn.

Knew Michael Kearney twenty years; saw him in February or March, 1763; heard Michael Kearney went abroad, and received a letter from him, dated 7th May, 1763, from London; received several other letters till September or October, 1763, when he said he was going to Jamaica; often saw him when in the country, and believes if he had returned he would have seen him.

HENRY KEATING, sworn.

Knew Michael Kearney in Jamaica, the beginning of March, 1764; saw him first there in December, 1763; he was in very good health; then did not think of returning; witness returned in August, 1764; left Jamaica in April, 1764; made some stay in London; has been in Clonmel since; believes he would have seen Kearney if he returned; it was Michael Kearney of Clogheen.

Cross-examined.—Knew the county of Tipperary sixteen years; heard there was another Michael Kearney.

DENIS MAGRATH, sworn.

Lives at Clogheen since he was born; knew Michael Kearney left Clogheen the 15th of April, 1763; he was the same Michael Kearney that kept Mary Brady.

Cross-examined.—Witness, a brother to Thomas Magrath, a prisoner; says Michael Kearney set off for Dublin the 15th of April, 1763; he received a letter in six or eight days from Dublin; he received letters from London the May following; he is sure Kearney did not return after he first went off.

DANIEL KEEFE, sworn.

Lived in Clogheen fifteen years; knew Michael Kearney; saw him last three years ago next April; knew him since 1752; heard he was in Jamaica; quitted on account of money due; sure if he was in Clogheen he must have seen him, unless he kept his room; he had a child by Mary Brady.

ANN HULLAN, sworn.

Remembers the fair of Clogheen, 1764; knows Mary Brady; her daughter, Mary Brady, lived with the witness in October, 1764; the fair is in October; she lived with her mother; she was at the fair; lay in her own house the night before the fair; lay for two nights before the fair with her two daughters, Mary Brady one of the daughters, Eleanor Dunlea the other; lay in her own house, with her two daughters, in one bed: she and her daughters went to bed about eight or nine o'clock, two nights before the fair: Mary Brady remained the whole night in bed for the three nights; could not be out of bed without her knowing of it: knows not whether Mary Brady be married; she is not to be believed on her oath; three years next Easter since Michael Kearney left Clogheen; he was not at her house at any time in 1764; no one in company with her daughter but what she was present with.

ELEANOR DUNLEA, sworn.

Knows Mary Brady; the fair in Clogheen, before All-holland tide; a fair there every year in October; lay the fair night in bed with Mary Brady and her mother, and the night before, and the night before that, and the night after the fair; went to bed about seven; all went to bed together; has known Michael Kearney; does not remember his ever spending an hour in her house; it was usual with the family to go to bed early.

JOHN HENDERKIN, sworn.

Knows Edward Meighan, the prisoner; the fair of Clogheen, the 28th of October, 1764, was on a Monday; witness lives in Carrick; came to Clogheen; spent the night before the fair in prisoner's house, to which he went, as being his friend; prisoner keeps a free house in Clogheen; came to his house about five in

the evening of the 28th; prisoner was at home before him, and remained with him all the evening; they went to bed about eight or nine o'clock; the prisoner was in the house when the witness went to bed; the prisoner did not go to bed all night, as the fair-day was to be next day, and he had work to finish for the fair; he and a journeyman were at work in the same room where witness lay, who awoke several times, and still found them at work; lay awake about half an hour, and spoke to Meighan about working; did not go to sleep before ten; at which time Meighan, the prisoner, was in the room.

Cross-examined.—Meighan the prisoner is married to witness's sister; came from Carrick to Clogheen about five in the evening, where he found the prisoner, his wife, a journeyman, and maid; prisoner sitting in the kitchen with man and maid; witness got cold meat in prisoner's house; did not speak to the journeyman since he came to town; an entry between the shop and kitchen; worked usually in a bed-chamber, and not in the shop; they began to work after night-fall; no other person lay in the room without; the witness did not sleep before ten; did not sleep an hour together all night; said the prisoner could not go out unknown to him; he slept an hour together; does not think it possible for the prisoner to go out unknown to him; the prisoner and his journeyman were at work when he got up in the morning; witness, after the fair, lay with the prisoner in the same bed; prisoner and he went to bed together that night about ten; Meighan and he lay positively together all that night; heard the prisoner was charged with the murder of John Bridge, about a month ago; never applied to for his evidence by any one; knows not who told him of the murder; did not hear when the murder was committed; came voluntarily to give his evidence; heard the morning of the fair that John Bridge fled out of the country; never heard he was murdered but by common fame; had no conversation with the prisoner since he came to town, or since he was committed; is a nailor by trade.

John Toohy, produced a second time by Counsellor Hughes.

Knows the prisoner was present; says there was John Butler and Thomas Magrath, both of Clogheen, present.

Edmund Callaghan, for the Prisoner.

Knows Shanbally; knew it in October, 1764, and lived there seventeen years; no one of the name of English in Shanbally since he knew it.

Cross-examined.—Knows Glyn Callaghan; some English live above Glyn Callaghan, on a purchase made by Counsellor Cal-

laghan, and joins Shanbally; where English lives is about one-eighth of a mile from Shanbally.

DANIEL KEEFE, produced a second time.

Knows John Butler; saw him in October, 1764; did not see him the 28th or 29th of October, 1764.

GERALD FITZGERALD, for the Prisoner.

Knows John Butler; saw him in October, 1764, in a fever, at his own house, from the 3rd to the end of the month; cannot say he saw him the 28th; saw him November the 2nd, before he was able to go out.

RICHARD TRAVERS, sworn.

Knew Thomas Magrath in October, 1764; saw him the 28th at witness's father's house, and from about eight at night till four o'clock in the morning on Sunday; was drinking all the time in the company; knows not whether he went out; did not stay out an hour at a time; knows not where English lives; Shanbally about four miles from Clogheen.

JOHN BRIEN, sworn.

Lives at Shanbally; is a dancing-master; knew John Bridge; believes him alive; never saw him since the 24th of October, 1764, nor was he in the country since; met him in a forge the 24th at Barncourt; called for the sledge, and turned some shoes; called witness aside, and desired that he would keep what he told him secret, for that he was going out of the kingdom, and that if he returned he would return his favour.

LAWRENCE HANGLIN, sworn.

Knew John Bridge; saw him at Anglesborough, in the county of Limerick, 28th of October, 1764, about eleven miles from Clogheen; was surprised at his knocking at his door three hours before day; he said he was going to sea to avoid the light horse; went with him through Mitchelstown; parted from him beyond the town, and took leave of him beyond it; he could read and write, but he never wrote to him, or to any one that he could hear; told him he would go to Cork or Kinsale to look for a ship; believes Mr. Beere is to be believed on his oath.

JOHN LANDREGAN, sworn.

Worked all Saturday night; worked Sunday night, till five or six o'clock on Monday morning; began to work about six on

Sunday evening; did not go to bed or to sleep all night; witness went to prepare a stand; in witness's company all night with his wife, maid, and Henderkin, all there; Henderkin went to bed in the work-room above stairs.

Cross-evamined.—Did not sleep from Saturday to Monday; lay on Monday night at his father's house; Henderkin went away on Tuesday; saw Henderkin a fortnight ago; did not see him this day or yesterday; did not hear what he swore.

Meighan, on this evidence, being convicted, the same testimony was produced against Father Sheehy. Several of his parishioners offered to come forward as witnesses, to confute the witnesses who had so grossly perjured themselves on the former trial; but Father Sheehy, well knowing they would incur the vengeance of his prosecutors, and relying mainly on the testimony of two witnesses, Messrs. Keating and Herbert, whose characters he thought would secure tham from any injury on his account, generously, but unfortunately for him, declined to have several of them called.

One person, indeed, of his own persuasion, his spiritual superior, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Egan, he did call on, to speak to his character as a man of loyalty, and this gentleman refused. The cold, dull shade of the Catholic aristocracy, the influence of the friendship of Lord Kenmare, the fear of the consequences attendant on the perjured informations, which went to implicate Dr. Butler, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, in the crime of treason, it is to be feared, prevented Dr. Egan from coming forward on behalf of a person who had the character of an agitating priest, one who was inimical to tithe proctors and the oppressors of the poor, and most obnoxious to the latter, and their powerful protectors in the commission of the peace.*

The innocence of Father Sheehy was clearly established by one of the witnesses he produced, Mr. Keating, a Catholic gentleman of respectability and fortune, the excellence of whose character, in the words of Mr. O'Connor, formed a striking contrast with that of his prosecutors. But the most astounding act of wickedness that had been yet practised against the life of this doomed man was had recourse to to deprive him of the advantage which the testimony of Mr. Keating must have been to him, had that testimony been allowed to go unimpeached.

The following account of the extraordinary proceeding of his persecutors to effect their object, is taken from the *Candid Inquiry* of Dr. Curry:—"During his trial, Mr. Keating, a person of known

* After Sheehy's execution, the refusal of Dr. Egan was remembered and marked: as the corpse was borne past the house of Dr. E., the blood of the innocent man was sprinkled on his door.

property and credit in that country, giving the clearest and fullest evidence that, on the whole of the night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house; that he could not have left it in the night-time without his knowledge, and, consequently, that he could not be present at the murder, the Rev. Mr. —— (Hewetson) stood up, and, after looking at a paper that he held in his hand, informed the Court *that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list* as one of those who were concerned in the murder of a sergeant and corporal at New Market, upon which Mr. Keating was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny gaol, where he lay for some time loaded with irons, in a dark and loathsome dungeon. By this proceeding not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was similarly dealt with, who came to testify to the same thing, but who instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment". As the crime laid to the charge of Mr. Keating was committed in another county, fortunately for him he was not tried at Clonmel. He was brought to trial in Kilkenny. The principal witnesses against him were those who had given evidence on Sheehy's trial, but the jury gave no credit to their testimony, and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted. The purpose, however, of Father Sheehy's prosecutors was effected. The obnoxious priest was deprived of the evidence of a witness which must have established his innocence, if the Rev. Mr. Hewetson had not remembered that "his name was on the list".

In the *Scots' Magazine*, of March, 1766, at page 65, this matter is treated as an ordinary occurrence, that called not for a single observation. "On the trial Father Sheehy produced Mr. Keating, of Tubberett* (Tubrid) as evidence in his behalf, who, before he quitted the court, was, by the Lord Chief Justice's order, taken into custody, being charged with the murder of a sergeant and corporal in the county of Kilkenny. A man of considerable property was taken last Tuesday. Sheehy was hanged, drawn, and quartered, on Saturday morning".

"Herbert", we are told by Curry, "who was a farmer, had come to the assizes of Clonmel, in order to give evidence in favour of the priest Sheehy (but it was pretended bills of high treason had been found against him): they sent the witness Toohy (accompanied by Mr. Bagnell), attended by some of the Light

* Tubrid, in the county of Tipperary, four miles from Cahir, on the road to Clogheen, close to the ruins of an old chapel, dedicated to St. Kerin. The Irish historian, Dr. Geoffrey Keating, who was a native and priest of this parish, is buried in Tubrid churchyard; an inscription on an old monument near the ruined chapel, dated 1644, enjoins the reader to pray for the souls of Eugenius Duhuy and Geoffrey Keating, its founders.

Horse, to take him prisoner. Herbert, when taken, immediately became an evidence for the Crown, but upon what motive, whether for the sake of justice, the fear of hanging, or the hopes of a reward", is left by Curry to the reader to determine.*

" On the day of his (Sheehy's) trial", we are told by the same author, " a party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whom they thought proper; while others of them, with a certain ——— (Baronet, Sir Thomas Maude) at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, forcing their way into inns and private lodgings in the town; challenging and questioning all new comers; menacing his friends, and encouraging his enemies. Even after sentence of death was pronounced against him, which one would think might have fully satisfied his enemies, Mr. S——w (Sparrow), his attorney, declares, that he found it necessary for his safety to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed to escape to Dublin".†

The prisoner, Father Nicholas Sheehy, was found guilty of the murder of John Bridge, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and on the 15th the sentence was carried into execution at Clonmel. The head of the murdered priest was stuck on a spike, and placed over the porch of the old gaol, and there it was allowed to remain for upwards of twenty years, till a length his sister was allowed to take it away and bury it with his remains at Shandraghan.

Beside the ruins of the old church of Shandraghan the grave of Father Sheehy is distinguished by the beaten path, which reminds us of the hold which his memory has to this day on the affections of the people. The inscriptions on the adjoining tombs are effaced by the footsteps of the pilgrims who stand over his grave, not rarely, or at stated festivals, but day after day, as I was informed on the spot, while the neglected tomb of the ancestors of the proud persecutor, Wm. Bagnell, lies at a little distance, unhonoured and unnoticed. The inscription on the tomb of Father Sheehy is in the following terms: " Here lieth the remains of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Shandraghan, Ballysheehan, and Templeheney. He died March 15th, 1766, aged thirty-eight years. Erected by his sister, Catherine Burke, *alias* Sheehy".

During the Assizes at Clonmel, a menacing letter, addressed to Mr. John Bagnell, was read in Court. The moderation and humanity of that gentleman were highly eulogized, " for having declined to produce the letter until after the passing of sentence, though he had received it during the course of the trials, lest it

* " Candid Inquiry", etc, p. 11. † Ibid., pp. 9 and 10.

might be suspected that sanguinary indirect means had been used to the disadvantage of the prisoners". The letter was in these terms:

TO JOHN BAGNELL.

"Your parcel of heretic dogs who have taken away Christian innocent lives, for which we will take an hundred lives for every one you take. You took the head of our bishop, who was to be a primate of all Ireland, but we have elected one in his place and will soon *relase* their heads with some of yours.

"I remain your enemy,
"SHAUN MESKILL".

This clumsy fabrication could not for a moment have imposed on the understanding of any man in Ireland of ordinary intelligence. The calling of the priest "their bishop", the design of representing Sheehy as a candidate for the primacy, the privilege claimed by the people of electing a prelate, are sufficient indications of the manufacture of this ingenious device.

When it is remembered that it was not the lives of two men, but those of almost all the leading Roman Catholic gentry of the county, several of the priesthood, and even some of the hierarchy, which were dependent on the credit given to the testimony and sworn informations of these witnesses, it may not be impertinent to the subject, or even unprofitable in our own times, to inquire into their characters, and the means taken by the terrorists of the day, or the suborners of those perjured witnesses, to goad or gain them over to their nefarious purposes.

John Toohy, a horse-stealer, was lying in Kilkenny gaol, under a charge of felony, about a month before the trial of Father Sheehy in Dublin. The large promises held out to persons who would swear home against the suspected and accused parties, and insure convictions, came to the knowledge of this felon, and he contrived to get into communication with Lord Carrick and other managers of the prosecution, by whom he was visited, and in due time transmitted to Dublin. Having done his work there, he was sent back to Clonmel, at first confined in the gaol, and then suffered to go abroad with a fetter-lock on one of his legs. The lock was soon removed, and he was dressed out for the witness table (the customary preparation then of an Irish Crown witness). Amyas Griffith, Surveyor of Excise, in his letter to Mr. Toler, speaks of seeing him at this period, "in an elegant suit of new fine clothes, a superfine blue cloth coat, the waistcoat and breeches of black silk", purchased for him in Clonmel, at Mr. Lloyd's, by the managers of the prosecution. On the 29th of May, 1767, on the

sworn information of John Toohy, made before John Bagwell, Esq., John Hogan, of Clonmel, cabinet-maker, was held to bail, "for and on account of his being charged with the assaulting John Toohy"; David Cunningham Skinner, and Hill Thompson, pewterer, entering into recognizances for his appearance at the next assizes. On the 27th June, same year, an indictment against John Cody, and eight others, for assaulting John Toohy, was quashed.

On the 20th of August, 1767, on the sworn information of John Toohy, before John Bagnell, Esq., John and Edmund Cody (father and son), of Orchardstown, were held to bail, "for having with several other persons, in a riotous and unlawful manner, assembled on the lands of Rathronan, in the said county, on the 15th of August, having then and there, in a violent and outrageous manner, insulted, assaulted, beat, struck, bloodshed, battered, and abused the said John Toohy, giving him several wounds in his head and other parts of the body, through means of which he lies in eminent danger of life; and for having then and there expressed and declared, that if they had Sir Thomas Maude, John Bagnell, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Hewetson, they would serve them in the same manner".

Thomas Duning, of Kilmore, and Patrick Kennedy, entering into recognizance for their appearance at the next assizes.

At the prosecution of Roger Sheehy, in the year following, 1768, Toohy was again brought forward as a witness. The prime sergeant pronounced him perjured, and the judge desired the jury to acquit the prisoner. Griffith states Toohy survived a few years, and died of leprosy. Mary Dunlea, lived at Rehill, and by her own mother was admitted to be a woman of the worst character. She cohabited with Michael Kearney, the person mentioned in her evidence; and the notoriety of her ill conduct, when residing in the parish of Shandraghan, caused Father Sheehy to denounce her from the altar. It was subsequently to this denunciation she lodged informations against Nicholas, Edmund, and Roger Sheehy, the two Burkes of Ruske, and several others. During the trials, she was kept at the barracks, her table being furnished from one of the principal hotels in Clonmel, the *Spread Eagle.*

At the general assizes in Clonmel, August, 1766, true bills were found, on the information of Mary Dunlea, *alias* Brady, against James Kearney and Terence Begley, for "tampering with the said M. Brady, and dissuading her from giving evidence".

Another true bill was found against a woman of her own name, for "unlawfully reviling said M. Brady, for giving evidence against Nicholas Sheehy".

Jeremiah Magrath, of Clogheen, the surviving relative of one of her victims, saw her in Clogheen in 1798. She was then married, or said to be so, to a soldier in a militia regiment, a miserable object, blind of one eye, and was on her way to Cork with her reputed husband, where she met with an untimely end by falling down a cellar. Griffith states that she died in a ditch in the county of Kilkenny; but the former account of her end is entitled to most credit.

The boy, Lonnergan, nephew of another informer, was notorious in the country for his depravity. During the trials, he was likewise lodged in the barracks. When his services were dispensed with, he changed his name to Ryan, enlisted, and went to Dublin. There, it is said, he eventually, by a loathsome disease, terminated his career in Barrack Street. A respectable apothecary, of the name of M'Mahon, of Aungier Street, was employed to attend him by a person in authority, and was liberally paid for his attendance.

Another brother of this unfortunate boy, whose informations were used on the same occasion, in the conspiracy of 1766, wandered over the country for some years, and returned to his native place, where he died a natural death.

The origin of John Bridge, the unfortunate man whose name is connected with the earliest incidents in this frightful drama, is involved in equal mystery with the termination of his career. Deserted by his parents, he was found in infancy on the bank of the river, under the bridge of Clogheen, and was brought up by a man of the name of Henry Biers. He was a simple, harmless poor creature, of weak intellect, and was accustomed to go about the county amongst the small farmers, with whom he was a favourite, and was looked on by them as a good-natured poor fellow, who, having no friend or relatives, had some claim to their kindness. Father O'Leary appears to have been misinformed respecting his character. When the head-quarters of the Earl of Drogheda was at Clogheen, he had been taken up on suspicion of Whiteboyism, or for the purpose of obtaining information from him; he was flogged with great severity, and under that torture made disclosures, true or false, which were supposed to implicate several persons in the neighbourhood of Clogheen. His disappearance has been already stated, and the consequences that ensued from it.

The discovery of the remains of a man alleged to have been murdered, on the trial of the men charged with his murder, it might have been imagined would have been a matter of some importance. But the fact of the parties who swore they had been present at the murder, and interment of the body, having failed to substantiate the latter part of their statement, by the discovery

of his remains, was of no advantage to the accused. In the case of the Jews at Damascus, accused of murdering Father Tomaso, similar declarations, without evidence of any discovery of remains, made the same slight impression on the minds of all men, except their barbarous persecutors. And yet, in the latter case, the perjured witnesses went a step beyond their Irish prototypes; they produced fragments of bones, and shreds of clothing, which they attempted to palm off as part of the remains of the murdered priest. The verdict of the civilized world acquitted the persecuted Jews, while the perjured witnesses, the Turkish cadis, and the European partisans of their barbarous persecutors, were execrated as they deserved to be.

The same outrage on humanity and justice in the case of the unfortunate Christian priest, in our own country, calls for similar reprobation; for there cannot be one measure of detestation for murderous persecution in a distant land, and another for the same wickedness in our own.

"Bridge's body", we are informed by Curry, "was never found, though it was carefully sought for in the two different places in which the witnesses had sworn it was deposited; and though the particular circumstances of his cleft skull, which the same witnesses swore was the cause of his death, would have guided the search, and distinguished his from every other body in the place. Besides, two of Bridge's known intimates, whose veracity was not questioned, positively deposed, at the trials of the late convicts, that but a few days before he disappeared, he told them in confidence, that he was then going to quit the kingdom, and took a formal leave of them, desiring them *to keep his departure secret*, and promising that, if he should ever see them again, he would reward their kindness".*

Many years subsequently to his disappearance, Bridge was said to be living in Newfoundland; and in Arthur O'Leary's defence of his conduct during the Munster riots, published in 1787, he alludes to the fact of his existence in these words: "Bridge, a man of no good character, whose dead body could not be found, but whose living body, if report be true, was afterwards seen in Newfoundland. The dead bodies of rogues, who had been murdered in our kingdom, had been afterwards seen living bodies in another, as so many enchanted dragons, watching the Hesperian garden of the temple of Venus, *alias* bullies to a brothel. That this was Bridge's case I cannot affirm; but for the rest, the history of the kingdom is my voucher".†

Seven years after Bridge quitted the country, it is also stated

* Dr. Curry's "Parallel," etc.

† O'Leary's Defence, in answer to the Bishop of Cloyne, p. 20.

that he was seen by a native of Clogheen in the United States of America. Amyas Griffith speaks, in his letter to Mr. Toler, of Bridge's existence in Newfoundland in 1787.

In one of the depositions sworn to by Landregen, one of the Clonmel informers, 15th of March, 1767, before the Rev. Dr. Hewetson, the deponent swears to his being present at the meeting of the Whiteboys, on the race-course of Clogheen, on the night of the Earl of Drogheda coming there, at which Father Sheehy proposed to burn the town and massacre the magistrates. That said meeting was held in the spring of 1762, some time before the French took Newfoundland.*

The allusion to Newfoundland is rather singular. The arrival of the troops under the Earl of Drogheda was an event much more likely to recal the date than the capture of Newfoundland; nor is it likely that a man in the humble rank of the deponent, would have an event of no local interest fresh in his mind five years after its occurrence.

The rumour of Bridge's departure from France, and being then settled in Newfoundland, was much more likely to have reached Ireland, and to have brought the name of that place to the memory of the deponent.†

The reader, I believe, is now in possession of all the data on which the assertion generally received is founded—that John Bridge was living in Newfoundland many years subsequently to the execution of the prisoners convicted of his alleged murder. It now remains to examine what evidence, documentary or traditionary, there may be in support of the opinion, that he met in his own country with an untimely end.

The testimony of Toohy, Dunlea, and Lonergan, is not only evidently at variance with truth in the most material matters, but obviously contradictory with that of each other, and is altogether utterly unworthy of credit. But, even without the broad marks of perjury blazoned on its face, there is enough to render it suspected in the character of the witnesses—one charged with felony; another excommunicated by the minister of her religion; the last, whose vicious habits had rendered him notorious as ill-reputed in his neighbourhood, transformed by the magic influence of a crown prosecutor's liberal expenditure, from a vagrant in rags and tatters, to a witness in fine clothes, a long-tailed coat, and in high-heeled shoes, duly trained and drilled to go before a jury. Dr. Curry, in his pamplet, the *Candid Inquiry*, alludes

* Musgrave's "Rebellion"; Appendix; quarto edition, p. 3.

† St. John's, in Newfoundland, was taken by the French, 24th May, 1762, and re-taken by the English 18th September following.

to a letter which Sheehy wrote to Major Sirr the day before his execution, wherein he admitted that the murder of Bridge had been revealed to him in a manner he could not avail himself of for his own preservation; and that the murder had been committed by two persons, not by those sworn to by the witnesses, and in a different manner to that described by them. Curry admits this letter was written by Sheehy, but he does not insert it; and in his subsequent work, the *Review of the Civil Wars*, there is no mention at all made of it in his account of these proceedings. Having obtained a copy of this letter, the first point to ascertain was, if the letter was written by Sheehy, or fabricated by his enemies. The result of my inquiries was to convince me that the letter was genuine. It was declared to be so by the successor of Father Sheehy in the parish of Clogheen (Mr. Keating), to Mr. Flannery, another ecclesiastic, in the same place, at a later period. Dr. Egan, who then administered the diocese, had likewise declared it to be genuine. The present parish priest of Clogheen, a relative of Edmund Sheehy, believes it to be genuine. One of the Roman Catholic clergymen of Clonmel, who takes the deepest interest in the fate of Father Sheehy, has no doubt of its authenticity. Every surviving relative of either of the Sheehys with whom I have communicated. entertains the same opinion; and lastly, I may observe, the document bears the internal evidence of authenticity in its style and tone.

The following is a literal copy of this document:—

"TO JOSEPH SIRR, ESQ., DUBLIN.

"Clonmel, Friday Morning, March 14, 1766.

"DEAR SIR,

"To-morrow I am to be executed, thanks be to the Almighty God, with whom I hope to be for evermore: I would not change my lot with the highest now in the kingdom. I die innocent of the facts for which I am sentenced. The Lord have mercy on my soul. I beseech the great Creator that for your benevolence to me he will grant you grace to make such use of your time here that you may see and enjoy him hereafter. Remember me to Mr. Waite, the Lord Chancellor, Speaker, and the Judges of the King's Bench; may God bless them! Recommend to them all under the same charge with me; they are innocent of the murder; the prosecutors swore wrongfully and falsely; God forgive them. The accusers and the accused are equally ignorant of the fact, as I have been informed, but after such a manner I received the information that I cannot make use of it for my own preservation; the fact is, that John Bridge was destroyed by two alone, who strangled him on Wednesday night, the 24th Octo-

ber, 1764. I was then from home, and only returned home the 28th, and heard that he had disappeared. Various were the reports, which to believe I could not pretend to, until in the discharge of my duty one accused himself of the said fact. May God grant the guilty true repentance, and preserve the innocent. I recommend them to your care. I have relied very much on Mr. Waite's promise. I hope no more priests will be distressed for their religion, and that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom will be countenanced by the Government, as I was promised by Mr. Waite would be the case if I proved my innocence. I am now to appear before the Divine tribunal, and declare that I was unacquainted with Mary Butler, *alias* Casey, and John Toohy, never having spoken to or seen either of them, to the best of my memory, before I saw them in the King's Bench last February. May God forgive them and bless them, you, and all mankind, are the earnest and fervent prayers of

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obliged, humble servant,

"Nicholas Sheehy".

The witnesses stated that the murder was committed the 28th October, 1764. Father Sheehy says it was on the 24th. The number of persons implicated in it by the former was considerable; by the latter two only were concerned in it. In the mode of committing it the discrepancy of the accounts is no less obvious.

The question arises, when was this confession made to Father Sheehy, and with what object? Amyas Griffith speaks of the disclosure thus made under the veil of confession as "no new method of entrapping credulous priests", and that it was adopted in this instance after the trial; of the latter statement no proof is adduced. The shortness of the time between his conviction and execution, and the inability expressed of availing himself of the knowledge given him "for his own preservation", militate against the probability of this disclosure being made subsequently to the trial.

Curry treats the disclosure as a snare laid by the enemies of Sheehy, for their own purposes. The purposes to be served by having recourse to the infamous proceeding of deceiving the unwary priest, and of making the functions of his sacred office subservient to the designs of his enemies, could only be the following; if resorted to previously to trial, by the disclosure of the alleged murder to deter Sheehy from adducing evidence of the man's existence; or, if subsequently to it, to leave it out of his power to make any declaration of his ignorance of the fact of Bridge's alleged death.

The attempt for the accomplishment of either object was not too unimportant for the character of the prosecutors; nor can it be deemed too infamous to be beyond the compass of their wickedness, when we find them holding out offers of pardon to their three next victims on condition of their making a declaration that "the priest", in his last solemn protestation of innocence, "had died with a lie in his mouth".

Curry expresses an opinion that Father Sheehy mistrusted the statement made to him in confession, and grounds that opinion on the evidence produced on his trial in proof of Bridge's proposed departure out of the kingdom at the period of his disappearance. There is no appearance of mistrust, however, in the statement made to him in his reference to it, in his letter to Major Sirr. The fact of Bridge's intention to go abroad, and of having gone to certain persons to take leave of them on the last day he was seen living, is unquestionable. That fact is within the knowledge of persons yet in existence. The same obligations which prevented Father Sheehy from availing himself on his trial of the knowledge communicated to him, may have precluded his giving any specific information to those witnesses whose testimony went to the establishment of the fact of Bridge's intended departure, and of their belief in his existence.

The information he (Sheehy) gave Major Sirr was no less vague than the rumour of Bridge's death consequent on his disappearance, on which superstructure of suspicion the whole story of the mode and manner of his death was built by the witnesses for the prosecution. In fact, neither the accusers nor the accused, of their own knowledge, knew anything of that event.

The whole frightful catalogue of crimes and calamities attendant on these proceedings at Clonmel, are to be traced to the barbarous custom of inflicting torture for the purpose of extorting confessions of guilt and disclosures, on which criminal proceedings were to be grounded against obnoxious parties.

The atrocious practice to which I allude, which literally reduced the Irish, at a later period, to the condition of a people rather scourged than governed, by the delegation of the functions of supreme authority to a party simulating loyalty, and exercising lawless power, and which, in our own times, has been defended in the legislature, and even recently, with signal daring, has been advocated in the pages of a Dublin periodical. This remnant of the barbarity of the good old times, the scourging of suspected persons, which its modern admirer in the *Dublin University Magazine* has recently commended the advantages of, was one of the methods of pacifying the disturbed districts of Munster in 1763–4.

The managers of the Tipperary prosecutions in 1766 furnished the editors of the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* with "A narrative collected from authentic materials, of the proceedings at Clonmel, on the trials of Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell". They begin with an account of the conduct of the prosecutions, as characterized by the deepest impartiality.* The statement, therefore, it is hardly needful to add, may be depended on as that of a person by no means likely to fabricate or exaggerate any account of the cruelties committed on the people by order of the authorities, or under the sanction of the courts-martial of that day. The narrative informs us: "It was in resentment of a whipping which was inflicted on John Bridge with remarkable severity, to which he was sentenced by one of their courts-martial, that led him to give evidence against them, by which he lost his life". The object of singling out a poor, simple creature who was in the habit of roaming about that part of the country, and well acquainted with the names and residences of the Catholic gentry and farmers of the locality, of putting him "to the question", through the instrumentality of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and of making the triangles subservient to the interests of law and order, is plain enough. The simplicity of the creature tortured, bordering, as it did, on weakness of intellect; his familiarity with the persons suspected, or sought to be criminated, rendered him a fit object to be worked upon by the influence of terror and the infliction of corporal punishment.

Bridge made whatever disclosures were suggested to him or required of him, and he was bound over to appear as a witness when called on. He made no secret of his punishment or his disclosures, and some of the people implicated by him were desirous to get him out of the country; others, in his own rank in life, there is reason to believe, distrusted his intention to leave the country, and contrived a nefarious plot to get rid of his testimony, by implicating him in felony.

The church plate, chalice, etc., of a small Roman Catholic place of worship at Carrigvistail, near Ballyporeen, usually kept, for better security, at the house of an innkeeper of the name of Sherlock,† adjoining the chapel, was stolen, or said to be so, and concealed on the premises, with the knowledge, it is alleged, of the owner of the house. The facts now mentioned have not been published heretofore, and the importance of their bearing on the character of these proceedings, rendered it necessary to be well assured of the grounds there were, for attaching credit to

* "Gentleman's and London Magazine", April, 1766, p. 247.

† The name of Sherlock occurs in some of the informations against the Whiteboys, sworn to by Toohy and Bier.

them before coming to a determination to give them publicity. The authority on which they are given by the author is known to a Roman Catholic clergyman of Clonmel, who had opportunities of knowing the parties best qualified to give information on this subject, and of forming an opinion of the inquiries which were made on this occasion in his presence. The result of these inquiries as to the truth of the statement of one main fact respecting the fate of Bridge, coincides with the opinion of every surviving friend and relative of the Sheehys, and the other innocent men who suffered in this business, with whom I have communicated on the subject.

The rumour of the stolen church plate having been circulated in the country, Bridge being in the habit of frequenting Sherlock's house, was pointed out as the person suspected of having stolen it. The double infamy now attached to Bridge's character of being an informer and a sacrilegious person. He was advised to leave the country, and at length he made preparations to do so. On their completion, he took leave of his acquaintances; and the last time he was seen by them was on his way to the house of an old friend of his, named Francis Bier, for the purpose of taking leave of him. It was known that he intended calling on another of his acquaintances, named Timothy Sullivan, a slater. Sullivan and a man of the name of Michael Mahony, better known in his neighbourhood by the name, in Irish, for "wicked Michael", lived at Knockaughrim bridge; *he fell into their hands, and he was murdered by them.* No other human being had act or part in this foul deed. Mahony's flight, and his reasons for it, were known for a long time only to his friends. The body of the murdered man was thrown into a pond at Shanbally.

Mahony fled the country; Sullivan remained, and lived and died, unsuspected by the authorities, though not unknown as the murderer to one individual at Clogheen—an innkeeper of the name of Magrath, who had been one of the innocent persons sworn against by Mary Dunlea, and had undergone a long imprisonment in Clonmel gaol.

The persons by whom this account was given to the author appeared to be ignorant of any communication respecting the murder made by Father Sheehy to Major Sirr. The circumstance of the coincidence of both accounts, with respect to two persons only having been engaged in the commission of the crime, deserves attention. By one of those guilty persons, Sheehy says the statement was made to him.

Sullivan was a Protestant; Mahony a Catholic. If the crime was perpetrated and revealed by either, the disclosure must have been made by Mahony.

From the time of Bridge's disappearance till this disclosure in the confessional, Father Sheehy states that various rumours were afloat, but which of them to believe he knew not. In concluding this part of the subject, I have only to observe, that if any doubt remains respecting the fate of Bridge, none whatever can be entertained of the innocence of those who were the victims of one of the foulest conspiracies on record. If these legal proceedings were instituted with a view rather to retaliation of an indiscriminate character, than to the vindication of the law by the punishment of guilt in the person of the actual culprit;—if they were adopted, as such proceedings have too often been, in cases of agrarian crime where no clue was obtained to the perpetrators of it; and it was deemed sufficient, not for the ends of justice, but for the purpose of striking terror into a portion of a community or a class to which the guilty party was suspected to belong, to take life for life; on whatever plea of expediency or policy—under whatever legal forms such prosecutions were carried on—the parties to them were the worst of criminals, and their practices were outrages on justice, and violations of the laws of their country, and of the laws of God.

The author of a virulent book, called *Strictures on Plowden's Historical Review*, in our own days, has had the courage to revive the wicked calumny against Father Sheehy. At page 89, he states, "One of the most active fomenters of these riots was a priest of the name of Father Nicholas Sheehy, who, having been tried at the Court of King's Bench, in Ireland, and acquitted for want of sufficient evidence, returned to the south, and emboldened by his escape, continued his treasonable practices without the reserve and caution he had at first adopted. He was, therefore, a second time apprehended, was tried at the assizes at Clonmel, found guilty upon the clearest evidence, and executed accordingly". The writer of the above well knew that no one acquainted with the proceedings in Sheehy's case could possibly doubt his innocence. He, therefore, deliberately falsifies those proceedings, and then draws his deduction of the guilt of Sheehy from them. The unfortunate Sheehy returned to the south, after his trial in Dublin, a prisoner in close custody, and was, on his arrival in Clonmel, forthwith lodged in gaol. The interval between his trial in Dublin, on the 10th of February, and that in Clonmel, on the 12th of March, namely, a month and two days, was spent in durance, either in the safe keeping of Town Major Sirr, or in Clonmel gaol.

His throwing off "that reserve and caution which he had at first adopted", emboldened by *his escape* at Dublin, necessarily implies that he was at large in Tipperary subsequently to his first

trial, and that sufficient time elapsed for him to become involved in new treasonable practices. Yet we find, in the brief interval between the two trials, the persecuted Sheehy was in the hands of his enemies—it would be a perversion of language to say, of justice.

Why are these acts of barbarity to be recalled? If the day is going, or gone by, for the perpetration of them, to what cause are we to ascribe the happy change, but to the free expression of the disgust and indignation which the exposure of them calls forth? Is the day gone by for their defence? The publication of the book I have just referred to, so many years after the death of the victim of Protestant ascendency fanaticism, is an answer to that question. The passions of the writer were not engaged in the matter he took up, like those of the actors in that persecution. But the old interests of ascendency were to be sustained, and it is good for the people of England to know by what means they have been upheld, and are defended even at this day, by their Irish organs, and would be promoted, if happily a change had not come over the policy of the Government.

The old maxim, *divide et impera*, can be no longer applicable to its interests. To rule with justice can now be the only policy a government can sanction with any prospect of security for itself, or the people will submit to at the hands of any party that may be in power.

Ireland can no longer be safely or conveniently governed for the benefit of a faction, and without regard to the rights, interests, or feelings of the great body of the community.

Mr. Taylor, in his *History of the Civil Wars*, states, that Sheehy had been frequently tried for "acting as a Popish priest", an offence then punished with transportation; but evidence sufficient for his conviction could not be obtained. The imputed crime, however, involved consequences which left the accused subject to penalties of greater severity even than transportation, as the following references will show.

By the 9th of William III., passed 1697, it is declared that "all Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular Popish clergy, shall depart out of the kingdom before the 1st day of May, 1698", on pain of transportation; and any person so transported returning again into the kingdom, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason.*

This act not being thought sufficiently stringent, in 1703 another was passed, to be in force for fourteen years, in the second year of Anne, enjoining increased diligence in apprehending

* "Irish Statutes", vol. iii., p. 340.

Popish priests returning into the kingdom. In 1709, previous to the expiration of this act, by another statute, it was declared perpetual.

This act extended the penalty of treason to "any person of the Popish religion who shall publicly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm". And if such person acted as tutor or usher in any Protestant school, not having subscribed the oath of abjuration, the penalty of ten pounds shall be imposed for such offence.* By the 19th clause of this act, Popish parish priests are presumed to exist in the realm, "having been duly registered"; but if such parish priests shall keep any Popish curate, or assistant, both are to be prosecuted as Popish regulars, the guilt of which is high treason.

The 28th clause provides for rewarding informers for discovering and convicting Popish clergy. Fifty pounds for every archbishop, bishop, or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, twenty for each regular and each secular clergyman, and ten pounds for each schoolmaster, usher, etc., to be levied on the Popish inhabitants of the county, "in such manner and on such persons as money for robberies, by a late act against tories, robbers, and rapparees is to be levied".†

In 1704, the total number of Popish clergy returned, pursuant to the act for registering Popish priests, was ten hundred and eighty in the whole kingdom, but the number of priests clandestinely officiating must have been still very considerable. The statutes enacted at different epochs against them, and the frequent denunciation of them in the Commons, afford sufficient proof of the fact.

March 17th, 1705, the Irish Commons voted, "That all magistrates and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom".

In June of the same year, the Irish Commons denounced such persons as "enemies to Her Majesty's Government", and they also resolved that "prosecuting and informing against Papists *was an honourable service to the Government*".

These barbarous statutes were the law of the land during the ministry of Father Sheehy, as an assistant or curate (for as such he must have acted before he could have been preferred to a parish, and have officiated as a parish priest "duly registered").

While thus secretly officiating, not being duly registered, he was subject to prosecution for treason; and the penalty of that

* "Irish Statutes", vol. i., p. 198. † Ibid., vol. iv., p. 200.

crime was to be hanged, drawn, quartered, beheaded, and attainted, entrails to be burnt, and head and quarters, at the king's disposal, to be spiked or gibbeted. The priest of Clogheen was ill suited for his time. Mr. Taylor, in his excellent history, truly describes him as a man of strong, generous feelings, and full of noble sympathy for the injured and oppressed; qualities that were long deemed treasonable in Ireland.

The first disposition to relax the rigour of the penal laws was shown in 1762. The faction saw with alarm the signs of the downfall of their odious influence and power. The proposed measure of enabling Catholics to lend money on mortgage or landed property, was vigorously opposed by them. It passed, however, and was transmitted to England; but, so great was the power of the faction even there, that the bill was never returned. It became necessary to the argument of the ascendency party against any relaxation of the penal code, that the cry they had raised should be kept up, and that the Catholics, on any occasion of public tumult or discontent, should be held disaffected to England, and in amity or alliance with the French.

These are the old chimes of ascendency for two hundred years; change after change has been rung upon them, and they still are pealed in our ears by the same faction, for the same objects, and with the same unchristian spirit.

An attempt on a large scale was made to implicate the Roman Catholic gentry of Tipperary in the alleged Papist plot of 1766, after the necessary arrangements were made for the conviction of Father Sheehy.

The rescue of some prisoners in the county of Kilkenny, and the murder of a soldier (as in Keating's case, at a previous period), was the principal charge on which Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell, and James Buxton were first arrested. They were sent to Kilkenny, to be tried at the assizes, but after they had been arraigned, the nature of the evidence affording no grounds for expecting a conviction, the proceedings were stopped, and they were sent back to Clonmel gaol, on the 4th of April, where new charges were to be preferred against them at the special assizes, which opened on the 8th of May, 1766.

Edmund Sheehy, a second or third cousin of Father Sheehy (the grandfather of the late Countess of Blessington), was a gentleman of moderate independence, connected with several of the most respectable Catholic families in the county, of a generous disposition, of social habits, and had lived on good terms with the Protestant gentry of his neighbourhood. His personal appearance was remarkably prepossessing. Persons still living have a vivid recollection of his frank, expressive features, his fine athletic form,

of his intrepid demeanour on his trial, and on his way to execution: they speak of his personal appearance as that of a man in the prime of life and the maturity of manly vigour. He was a married man, and had four children, the youngest under two years of age. He was well known in the country as "Buck Sheehy", a term which at that time was commonly applied to young men of figure, whose means were good, and who were looked on in the country as sporting characters.

Buxton was a man in good circumstances, the poor man's friend in his neighbourhood, popular with the lower orders, and, as a matter of course, disliked by their oppressors.

Farrell was a young gentleman in affluent circumstances, who moved in the best society, and on his mother's side was connected with Lord Cahir. He was about thirty years of age, had but recently married, and, like his friend Sheehy, his taste for field sports had procured for him the appellation of one of the Bucks of Tipperary.

The friends and relatives of the unfortunate priest, Sheehy, appear to have been especially marked out for ruin. The design of corroborating the guilt of Father Sheehy, by involving his immediate friends and relatives in the crime they laid to his charge, is evident, not only in these proceedings, but in others, which were adopted at a later period.

True bills having been found against Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell, and James Buxton, they were put on their trials before the Right Honourable Chief Justice Clayton and two assistant judges. They were tried separately, and juries were empanelled of sixty in each case. The prisoners challenged about twenty peremptorily, but the court decided that they could not go further, on the ground of their inability to show any valid objection.

Edmund Sheehy was tried on the 11th of April, on a similar indictment to that on which Buxton and Farrell were tried on the two following days.

The substance of the indictment, which I have taken from the Crown Book, contains six counts. The first sets forth that Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell were present at, and aided and abetted in, the murder of John Bridge; and that Pierce Byrne, Darby Tierney, Dan Coleman, John Walsh, Peter Magrath, Thomas Magrath, John Butler, Thomas Sherlock, Roger Sheehy, John Coughlan, John Cruttie, Hugh Kean, John Byrne, John Springhill, William Flynn, J. Dwyer, John Bier, S. Howard, Michael Landregan, John and Edward Burke, Edward Prendergast, Philip Magrath, Michael Quinlan, William O'Connor, and James Highland, being also present, aided and abetted likewise in the murder. The second count sets forth their swear-

ing in John Toohy to be true to "Shaune Meskill" and her children, meaning the Whiteboys. The third count charges them with tumultuously assembling at Dromlemman, levelling fences, waging rebellion, etc. The fourth and fifth counts, with the same offence, at Cashel and Ballyporeen. The sixth, with taking arms from soldiers.

The same wretches who were produced on the former trial, John Toohy, Mary Brady, *alias* Dunlea, and John Lonnergan, were brought forward on their trials; and two new approvers, Thomas Bier and James Herbert, to support the sinking credit of the old witnesses.* Herbert was the man who had come to the former assize, to give evidence for the priest, and who (to prevent his appearance as a witness) had been arrested on a charge of high treason, lodged in gaol, and by the dexterous management of the prosecutors, was now transformed into a Crown witness.

Bier was included in the indictment of the prisoners, but had saved his life by turning approver. Previously to the arrests of Edmund Sheehy, Buxton, and Farrell, he sent notice to them that their lives were in danger, and he recommended their making their escape. They had the temerity, however, to rely on their innocence, and they paid with their lives the penalty of their folly. The evidence for the prosecution in no material respect differs from that brought forward on the trials of Meehan and Nicholas Sheehy. A detailed narrative of it will be found in the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* for April, 1766. It is needless to weary the reader with its fabrications. It is sufficient to say, the evidence of these witnesses was all of a piece, a tissue of perjuries clumsily interwoven, without a particle of truth, or a pretext for regarding the reception of it as the result of an imposition on the understanding.

The principal witness, whose testimony Mr. Sheehy relied on for his defence, was a Protestant gentleman, Mr. James Prendergast, "perfectly unexceptionable", says Curry, "in point of character, fortune, and religion".† This gentleman deposed, "that on the day and hour on which the murder was sworn to have been committed—about or between the hours of ten or eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th of October, 1764—Edmund Sheehy, the prisoner, was with him and others in a distant part of the country. That they and their wives had on the aforesaid 28th of October, dined at the house of Mr. Joseph Tennison, where they

* 13th August, 1768, at the Clonmel Assizes, Bier, up to that time retained in the service of the Tipperary persecutors, was called to plead to the indictment preferred against him several years before, for the murder of Bridge, when he pleaded the King's pardon, and, being used up as a witness, he was paid off. This unfortunate man, driven by terror into the commission of so many crimes against innocent men, died a natural death at Bruges.

† "Review of the Civil Wars". Curry, vol. ii., p. 279.

continued till after supper, which was about eleven o'clock, when he and the prisoner left the house of Mr. Tennison, and rode a considerable way together, on their return to their respective homes. That the prisoner had his wife behind him, and when they parted, he (Mr. Prendergast) rode direct home, where, on his arrival, he had looked at the clock, and found it was twelve exactly. That as to the day of their dining with Mr. Tennison (Sunday, the 28th) he was positive, from this circumstance, that the day following was to be the fair of Clogheen, where he requested that Mr. Sheehy would dispose of some bullocks for him, he (Mr. Prendergast) not being able to attend the fair".* This was the evidence of Mr. Prendergast. Another witness for the prisoner, Paul Webber, of Cork, butcher, swore that he saw Mr. Sheehy at the fair of Clogheen, on the 29th October, 1764, and conversed with him respecting Mr. Prendergast's bullocks, which he subsequently bought of Mr. Prendergast, in consequence of this conversation with Mr. Edmund Sheehy. Another witness, Thomas Mason, shepherd to the prisoner, confirmed the particulars sworn to by Mr. Prendergast, as to the night and the hour of Mr. Sheehy's return home from Mr. Tennison's house.

Bartholomew Griffith swore that John Toohy, his nephew, had falsely sworn on the trial, that the clothes he wore on the trial had been given to him by him (Griffith). That Toohy, on the 28th and 29th of October, 1764, was at his house at Cullen.

One of the grand jury, Chadwick, volunteered his evidence to blunt the testimony of Griffith. He swore that Griffith, " on that occasion, was not to be believed on his oath". The next witness swore that Toohy lived with his master, Brooke Brazier, Esq., six weeks, where he behaved very ill. Mr. Brazier, another of the grand jury, was then called, and he declared that Toohy was not known to him, but that a person was in his family for that time, and was of a very bad character. The managers of the prosecution had Mr. Tennison then examined by a Crown lawyer. This gentleman swore, " that Sheehy had dined in his house in October, 1764"; but " he was inclined to think it was earlier in the month than the 28th". This evidence was received as a triumphant contradiction of Prendergast's testimony.

Now, as far as character was concerned, that of Sheehy's witness stood fully as high as that of Mr. Tennison. But with respect to the statement of the particular fact of the prisoner having dined on the particular day specified by Sheehy's witness with Tennison, the evidence of Prendergast went positively to the affirmative, while that of Tennison amounted only to a supposition that it was on an earlier day in the month than that specified that the

* " A Candid Inquiry", p. 12.

prisoner dined at his house. "He was" only "inclined to think" that it was earlier in the month; but Prendergast "was positive", from a particular circumstance, that it was on the Sunday, the day before the fair at Clogheen, he dined there. There was no other witness produced to corroborate the supposition of Mr. Tennison. There were two witnesses called to confirm the positive statement of Prendergast with regard to the particular night and hour of Sheehy's return from Tennison's house. So much for the evidence. It is now necessary to show that it was not relied on alone for the conviction of the prisoners.

The managers who had on the previous trial surrounded the court with a military force, on this occasion crammed it with their adherents, whose minds had been inflamed by public advertisements previously to the trial, in which the leniency of the former measures of Government was reprobated. "The baronet (Sir Thomas Maude) before mentioned, published an advertisement, wherein he presumed to censure the wise and vigilant administration of our last chief governors, and even to charge them with the destruction of many of his Majesty's subjects, for not having countenanced such measures with respect to these rioters, as were manifestly repugnant to all the rules of prudence, justice, and humanity. Nor did his boldness stop here; for, naming a certain day in said advertisement, when the following persons of credit and substance, namely, Sheehy, Buxton, and Farrell, and others, were to be tried by commission at Clonmel for the aforesaid murder—as if he meant to intimidate their judges into lawless rigour and severity, he sent forth an authoritative kind of summons, 'to every gentleman of the county to attend that commission'".* With such arrangements for inflaming the public mind, for influencing the jury, for intimidating the judges, the doom of the prisoners was sealed before they were put into the dock.

The unfortunate Edmund Sheehy was convicted, and sentence of death, with its usual barbarous concomitants in these cases, drawing and quartering, was pronounced upon him. His wife was in the court when that dreadful sentence was pronounced, and was carried from it in a swoon. The two other acts of the judicial drama were duly performed; the packed juries discharged the duties required or expected of them by the managers of the prosecutions. Buxton and Farrell were found guilty, and were sentenced, with Sheehy, to be executed on the 3rd of May.

Eight other persons were placed at the bar, who were charged with the same crime as the prisoners who had been convicted.

* "A Candid Inquiry", etc., p. 12.

Another Sheehy was on the list of the managers, but the jury was instructed to acquit the prisoners, Roger Sheehy, Edmund Burke, John Burke, John Butler, B. Kennelly, William Flynn, and Thomas Magrath; but no sooner were they acquitted, than several of them were called on to give bail to appear at the ensuing assizes, to answer to other charges of high treason.

It is not undeserving of notice to see how the intelligence of proceedings of this kind was received in England. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1766, page 289, we find the following notice of those trials:—"At the Clonmel assizes, Father Sheehy, James Buxton, Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell, otherwise called Buck Farrell, a young fellow of good family—all tried for the murder of John Bridge, who had given information, and being a Whiteboy, had been arrested and severely punished by a court-martial, had informed against them in revenge".

This was all the information respecting these frightful proceedings that it was deemed necessary to give the people of England.

A memorial was drawn up by Edmund Sheehy, and addressed to the judges who presided at the trial; and the following copy is taken from the original draft:—

"*To the Right Honourable Lord Chief Justice Clayton, the Honourable Edmund Malone, and Geoffrey Hill, Esq.*

"The humble petition of Edmund Sheehy, an unhappy prisoner under sentence of death in his Majesty's gaol at Clonmel,

"Most humbly showeth,

"That at the last commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, held at Clonmel the 11th of April inst., your petitioner was convicted of the murder of John Bridge, and accordingly received sentence to be executed the 3rd of May next.

"That your petitioner was transmitted from the city of Kilkenny to Clonmel on Friday, the 4th of April instant, four days only before the said commission of gaol delivery was opened.

"That from the short time your petitioner had to prepare for his trial, which he apprehended was by order postponed until the next summer assizes, and the confusion he was in, he was not able to procure all his material witnesses to attend on said trial, or to make that just defence that he would have been able to make, if he had more time to prepare for it, which is manifest from the want of recollection in Travers, the butcher, produced on behalf of your petitioner, who, on the very next day after the trial, perfectly recollected, and is now ready to swear, he saw your petitioner and the bullocks at the fair of Clogheen. Nor had Mr. Tennison sufficient time to recollect himself, supposing him

quite free from the influence of those who managed the prosecution, who were the said Tennison's allies; circumstances that did not appear to your lordship and honours, of whose mercy, humanity, and justice, your petitioner has a due sense, which he shall retain unto death, whatever his fate may be.

"That your petitioner has a wife *and five small children*,* the eldest about nine years old, who, together with an aged father and three sisters, principally depend upon your petitioner's industry as a farmer for support.

"That your petitioner forbears stating the nature and circumstances of the evidence which appeared upon your petitioner's trial, but refers to your lordship and honours' recollection thereof. However, from the nature of your petitioner's defence, in part supported by the positive evidence of James Prendergast, Esq., who is a gentleman of unexceptionable good character and of a considerable fortune, notwithstanding the prejudices that were entertained by some against the persons who were to be tried, your petitioner, from the evidence and a consciousness of his own innocence, entertained hopes that he would have been acquitted. But in regard that he was found guilty,

"Your petitioner most humbly implores your lordship and honours to take his unhappy case and the character of the several witnesses into consideration, and to make such favourable report of your petitioner and his family's case to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant as to your lordship and honours shall seem meet.

"And he will pray,

"EDMUND SHEEHY".

"Notwithstanding", Curry states, "that frequent and earnest solicitations were made by several persons of quality in the favour of the prisoners, who, being persuaded of their innocence, hoped to obtain for them, if not a pardon, at least some mitigation of their punishment, by transportation or reprieve—the chief and most active of these worthy personages was the Right Honourable Lord Taaffe, whose great goodness of heart and unwearied endeavours on all occasions to save his poor countrymen, add new lustre to his nobility, and will be for ever remembered by them with the warmest and most respectful gratitude—it is no wonder that their solicitations were vain, for the knight (baronet) so often mentioned (Sir Thomas Maude), Mr. ——, etc., had been before with the Lord Lieutenant, and declared that, if any favour were

* One of these children, Ellen Sheehy, became the wife of Edmund Power, Esq., of Curragheen, county of Waterford, and by that marriage became the mother of the late Countess of Blessington, Lady Canterbury, and the Countess of St. Marsault.

shown to these people, they would follow the example of a noble peer, and quit the kingdom in a body. The behaviour of the prisoners at the place of execution was cheerful, but devout, and modest, though resolute. It was impossible for any one in their circumstances to counterfeit that resignation, serenity, and pleasing hope which appeared so strikingly in all their countenances and gestures. Conscious of their innocence, they seemed to hasten to receive the reward prepared in the next life for those who suffer patiently for its sake in this".*

In the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* of May, 1766, there is "an authentic narration of the death and execution of Messrs. Sheehy, Buxton, and Farrell, with their declarations attested and carefully compared with those in the hands of Mr. Butler, sub-sheriff of the county Tipperary, who received them from these unfortunate people at the place of execution".

These documents I have likewise compared with copies of the same declarations, furnished me by some of the surviving friends of these unfortunate gentlemen, and, except in the omission of some names, I find no material difference.

"The sheriff, who proceeded with decency, called upon the prisoners early in the morning of the 3rd instant, so as to leave the gaol of Clonmel for Clogheen about six o'clock, to which place he was attended by the regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, and two companies of Armiger's foot: these the commander had previously made ready for the purpose, by an order from government. Edmund Sheehy and James Buxton were put on the same car, James Farrell on the next, and the executioner on another, with his apparatus, and the gallows so contrived as to be immediately put together; they thus proceeded in awful procession to Clogheen, where they arrived about twelve o'clock, the distance being above eleven miles.

"In the most open part of the village the gallows was erected, and that in a very short time, while the prisoners remained at a small distance, in devotion with their priest, for about two hours, when it was thought necessary to execute the sentence the law of their country had doomed them to suffer. They were then all three put upon one car, and drawn under the gallows, where, after remaining some time, they were tied up, and in that situation each read his declaration, and afterwards handed it to the sheriff.

"Sheehy met his fate with the most undaunted courage, and delivered his declaration with as much composure of mind as if he had been repeating a prayer. When this awful scene was

* "A Candid Inquiry", pp. 13, 14.

finished, they were turned off, upon a signal given by Sheehy, who seemed in a sort of exaltation, and sprung from the car; he was dead immediately; and after the criminals had hung some time, they were cut down, and the executioner severed their heads from their bodies, which were delivered to their respective friends.*

"Sheehy's intrepid behaviour, set off by an engaging person, attracted much pity and compassion from all present; but the most oppressive part of this tragic scene yet remains to be told, when I say that Sheehy has left a widow with five children to bemoan his unhappy fate; Buxton, three; and Farrell, who had not been married more than three months, has left his wife pregnant. They were all buried the evening of that day, as particularly requested by themselves, where, we hope, they rest, having made atonement for their crimes; and let not the imputation of the fathers' misfortunes be remembered to the prejudice of their families.

"Your constant reader, etc.

"Cashel, May 28, 1766".

"THE DYING DECLARATION OF MR. EDMUND SHEEHY.

"As I am shortly to appear before the great tribunal of God, where I expect, through the passion and sufferings of my Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences which I have committed against so great and merciful a God, I sincerely forgive the world, I forgive my judges, jury, prosecutors, and every other who had a hand in spilling my innocent blood; may the great God forgive them, bless them, and may they never leave this world without sincerely repenting, and meriting that felicity which I hope, through the wounds of Christ, soon to enjoy.

"I think it incumbent, as well for the satisfaction of the public, as the ease of my own mind, to declare the truth of every crime with which I was impeached, from the beginning to the day of my conviction.

"*First.* The meeting at Kilcoran, sworn by James Herbert, and the murder of John Bridge, sworn to by him and the rest of the informers.

"*Second.* The meeting at Ardfinan, sworn by Guinan, in October, 1763, and several other meetings and treasonable practices, at all which I was sworn to be present as the principal acting person.

* The statement is incorrect with respect to the heads of Buxton and Farrell. —R. R. M.

"*Third.* That I had a hand in burning John Fearise's turf, and extirpating his orchard, taking arms from soldiers, *burning Joseph Tennison's corn*, levelling walls, and many other atrocious crimes against the peace and tranquillity of the present happy constitution.

"1st. I now solemnly declare that I did not see a Whiteboy since the year 1762, and then but once or twice; and that I never was present at the levelling at the Rock of Cashel, or any other wall or commons in my life, nor even gave counsel or advice to have it done, or ever had any previous knowledge of such intentions; nor do I know to this minute any one man that was at the levelling of the said wall.

"2ndly. I declare that I never saw Herbert until the day of my trial, and that I never was at a meeting at Kilcoran; never heard an oath of allegiance proposed nor administered in my life to any sovereign, king, or prince; never knew anything of the murder of Bridge, until I heard it publicly mentioned; nor did I know there was any such design on foot, and if I had, I would have hindered it, if in my power.

"3rdly. The battle of Newmarket, for which I was tried—I declare I never was at Newmarket, nor do I know there was a rescue intended, nor do I believe did any man in the county of Tipperary.

"4thly. I declare that I never meant or intended rebellion, high treason, or massacre, or ever heard any such wicked scheme mentioned or proposed, nor do I believe there was any such matters in view, and if there was, that I am wholly ignorant of them.

5thly. I declare that I never knew of either French or Spanish officers, commissions, or money paid to those poor, ignorant fools called Whiteboys, or a man held in the light of a gentleman connected with them.

"I was often attacked, during my confinement in Kilkenny, by the Rev. Lawrence Brodrick and the Rev. John Hewson, to make useful discoveries, by bringing in men of weight and fortune, that there was an intended rebellion and massacre, French officers, commissions and money paid, and by so doing, that would procure my pardon, difficult as it was.

"The day after my trial, Edmund Bagwell came to me from the grand jury, and told me if I would put those matters in a clear light, that I would get my pardon. I made answer that I would declare the truth, which would not be heard. Sir William Barker's son and Mr. Matthew Bunbury came to me the same evening, with words to the same purpose, to which I replied as before. Nothing on this occasion would give sufficient content,

without my proving the above, and that the *priest died with a lie in his mouth*, which was the phrase Mr. Hewson (Hewetson) made use of. I sent for Sir Thomas Maude the day of my sentence, and declared to him the meeting at Drumlemmon, where I saw nothing remarkable, but two or three fellows, who stole hay from Mr. John Keating, were whipped, and sworn never to steal to the value of a shilling during life. I saw Thomas Bier there, which I told Sir Thomas and Mr. Bunbury, and begged of them never to give credit to Herbert, who knew nothing of the matter except what Bier knew.

"I do declare I saw Bier take a voluntary oath more than once, in the gaol of Clonmel, that he knew nothing of the murder; nor do I believe he did. May God forgive him, and the rest of those unhappy informers, and all those who had a hand in encouraging them to swear away innocent lives.

"I further declare that I have endeavoured, as much as was in my power, to suppress this spirit of the Whiteboys, where I thought or suspected the least spark of it to remain.

"The above is a sincere and honest declaration, as I expect to see God; nor would I make any other for the universe, which must be clear to the gentlemen who offered me my life if I would comply. May the great God forgive them, and incline their hearts to truth, and suffer them not to be biassed nor hurried on by party or particular prejudices, to persevere any longer in falsely representing those matters to the best of kings and to the humanest and best of governments, which I pray God may long continue.

"I die, in the thirty-third year of my age, an unworthy member of the Church of Rome: the Lord have mercy on my soul!—Amen! Amen!

"I was informed that Mr. Tennison's corn was burnt by one of his own servants, but accidentally, and that since my confinement; I thought so always.

"Signed by me this 2nd of May, 1766.

"Edmund Sheehy.

"Present—James Buxton, James Farrell".

A COPY OF THE DYING DECLARATION OF JAMES BUXTON, OF CENTRAL KILCORAN, IN THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY, CHARGED WITH THE MURDER OF ONE JOHN BRIDGE: JOHN TOOHY AND THOMAS BIER, PROSECUTORS; GOD FORGIVE THEM.

Whereas I, the said James Buxton, was arraigned at my trial, for having aided and assisted, and committed many flagrant

crimes against his Majesty's law and government, since the rise of the Whiteboys, upon the information of Michael Guinan and John Toohy, I thought it proper to disabuse the public by this declaration, which I make to God and the world, concerning my knowledge of these matters.

"First. As to the murder of John Bridge, I solemnly declare in the presence of God, before whose holy tribunal I shortly expect to appear, that I neither consulted nor advised, aided nor abetted, nor had I the least notion of any one that did, to the killing of John Bridge; nor did my prosecutor, John Toohy, ever serve me an hour since I was born; neither did I ever, to the best of my knowledge, lay my eyes on him but one night, on the 18th September last, when he lay at my house, and went by the name of Lucius O'Brien. He was pursued next morning by one William O'Brien, of Clonmel, whom he robbed of some clothes two days before, and was taken in Clogheen for the same robbery, and said O'Brien's clothes and other things were found upon him, for which he was committed to gaol, and then turned approver.

"As to every other thing that Michael Guinan and said Toohy swore against me, I further solemnly declare, in the presence of my great God, that I neither did any such thing, nor was at any such meeting or levelling as they swore against me, except Drumlemmon, and upon the word of a dying man, neither of *them* was there. Nor was any man, upon the same word of a dying man, that was yet apprehended or suffered, in my belief, concerned in the murder of Bridge: and that I verily believe and am persuaded that no prosecutor that yet appeared was present or any way concerned in that murder, though Thomas Bier, God forgive him, swore that he and I were within two yards of John Bridge when he was murdered by Edmund Meehan with a stroke of a bill-hook.

"Secondly. I solemnly declare and protest in the presence of my great God, that I never heard, nor ever learned of a rebellion intended in this kingdom; nor never heard of, nor ever saw any French officers or French money coming into this country; nor ever heard that any merchants supplied, or intended to supply any money for the Whiteboys, or for any other purpose; nor ever saw, heard, or could discover, that any allegiance was sworn to any prince or potentate in the world, but to his present majesty King George the Third; and I further declare, on my dying words, that I never knew nor discovered, nor even imagined, that any massacre whatsoever was intended against any person or persons in this kingdom. And I declare in the presence of

Almighty God, that I positively believe and am persuaded that, if any of the foregoing treacherous or treasonable combinations were to be carried on, I would have learned or heard something of them.

"Thirdly. That last Lent assizes, in Kilkenny, where I stood indicted, and was arraigned for the battle of Newmarket, that the Rev. John Hewetson and Rev. Lawrence Broderick tampered with me for six hours and more, setting forth the little chance I had for my life there at Kilkenny; and though I should, that I would have none at all in Clonmel; but that they would write Lord Carrick immediately to procure my freedom, if I would turn approver, and swear to an intended rebellion, treasonable conspiracies, and a massacre against the principal Popish clergy and gentlemen of my county, whose names they had set down in a long piece of paper; but wanted me particularly to swear against Squire Wyse, Philip Long, Dominick Farrell, Martin Murphy, Doctor Creagh, and Michael Lee; and that I should also swear the *Priest Sheehy* died with a lie in his mouth. Likewise that I was at the battle of Newmarket, and received a letter from one Edmund Tobin, to be at said battle, and this in order to corroborate the informer Toohy's oath, and the oaths of three of the light horse, who swore they saw me there. One in particular swore he broke his firelock on my head. Now, as I expect salvation from the hands of God, I neither received a message or letter, nor heard or discovered that this battle of Newmarket was to occur, nor any circumstance regarding it, until it was advertised. And I further declare in the presence of my great God, that I never was nearer this place they call Newmarket than the turnpike road that leads from Dublin to Cork, for I never was two yards eastwards of that road. As to the schemes of the Whiteboys, as far as I could find out in the parish of Tubrid, where I lived, I most solemnly declare before Almighty God, nothing more was meant than the detection of thieves and rogues, which the said parish was of late remarkable for; an agreement to deal for tithes with none but the dean or minister whose tithe was of his or their immediate living; as to levelling, that I never found out any such thing to have been committed in said parish of any consequence, but one ditch belonging to John Griffin, of Kilcoran; nor was I ever privy to any wall or ditch that ever was levelled by Whiteboys in the county of Tipperary, or any other county.

"I also declare, that I never approved of the proceedings of levellers, and that my constant admonition to every person whom I thought concerned in such vile practices, was to desist, for that the innocent would suffer for the guilty.

"Given under my hand this 2nd day of May, and the year 1766.

"JAMES BUXTON.

"Present—Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell".

THE DECLARATION OF JAMES FARRELL.

"As I am shortly to appear before the great God, where I expect, through the passion of our dear Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences which I have committed against so great and just a God, I now sincerely forgive the world in general, and in particular them that have been the cause of wrongfully spilling my blood.

"1st—The crime for which I am to die is the murder of John Bridge, and swearing at Kilcoran.

"2ndly—The burning of Joseph Tennison's corn, John Fearise's turf, and all other things that belonged to the Whiteboys.

"3rdly—The battle of Newmarket, which I stood a trial for in Kilkenny. I now declare to the great tribunal, that I am as innocent of all the aforesaid facts which I have been impeached with, as the child unborn, in either counsel, aiding, assisting, or knowledge of said facts. I therefore think it conscionable to declare what the following gentlemen wanted me to do, in order to spill innocent blood, which was not in the power of any man in the world to perform.

"These are the gentlemen as follow:—The Rev. John Hewetson, John Bagwell, Matthew Bunbury, Mr. Toler, William Bagnell, Edmund Bagnell, and some of the light horse officers. The day I was condemned, they came along with me from the court-house to the gaol, where they carried me into a room, and told me it was in my power to save my life. I asked them how? If I swore against the following persons, they told me they could get my pardon.

"The people are as follows:—Martin Murphy and Philip Long, both of Waterford, and some other merchants of Cork; likewise Bishop Creagh and Lord Dunboyne's brother, and a good many other clergymen; likewise James Nagle, Robert Keating, John Purcell, Thomas Dogherty, Thomas Long, John Baldwin, Thomas Butler, of Grange, and Nicholas Lee, with a great many others of the gentlemen of the county, and responsible farmers, to be encouraging French officers, enlisting men for the French service, to raise a rebellion in this kingdom, and to distribute French money.

"4thly, If in case they should get a person to do all these things, it would not do without swearing to the murder of John

Bridge, to corroborate with the rest of the informers, and strengthen their evidence.

"5thly, I solemnly declare to his Divine Majesty, I was never present at the levelling of a ditch or wall in my life, nor never was at a meeting of Whiteboys in my life.

"6thly, I likewise declare, that I had neither hand, act, nor part in bringing James Herbert from the county of Limerick, and also declare, to the best of my knowledge, he swore not one word of truth, and, in particular, what he swore against me was undoubtedly false.

"The great God bless all my prosecutors, and all other persons that had hand, act, or part in spilling my blood innocently, which the Divine tribunal knows to be so.

"Given under my hand, this 30th day of April, 1766.

"JAMES FARRELL.

"They also wanted me to swear against Thomas Butler, of Ballyknock, Edmund Dogherty, and Philip Hacket.

"In the presence of us: Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, Catherine Farrell".

The wretched wife of Edmund Sheehy, immediately after his conviction, proceeded to Dublin, with the hope of procuring a pardon for her husband. His enemies were, however, beforehand with her. Their pernicious influence was exerted in every department at the Castle to frustrate her efforts. They prevailed, as they had hitherto done there, whenever the favour or the anger of the Molock of their faction was to be propitiated or appeased, by handing over to them their defenceless persecuted victims. Some idea may be formed of the promptitude with which the foul proceedings against these gentlemen were followed up, when it is borne in mind that their separate trials commenced on the 11th of April, and the following official notice is to be found in the record of these proceedings. "Crown *warrant* for Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell, and James Buxton, given to F. Butler, Sub-Sheriff, 15th April, 1766".

Mrs. Sheehy, on her return to Clonmel, after her fruitless journey, had not even the melancholy satisfaction of finding her husband in prison. On her arrival there in the morning she learned that he and his companions had been taken from the gaol a short time before, and were then on their way to Clogheen, the place of execution. This wretched woman, worn down with affliction, with the previous conflict between hope and fear, with the shock she had received on her return, at finding her last hope of beholding her beloved husband, and of bidding him farewell, had yet

sufficient strength, or the kind of energy which arises from despair, to hurry after that mournful *cortege*. About half-way between Clonmel and Clogheen she overtook it, and rushing forward passed through the soldiers, and threw herself into the arms of her husband.

The scene was one which the few surviving friends of this unhappy couple speak of as causing the very soldiers who surrounded them to weep and sob aloud. This scene took place about two hours before the execution. Before they separated, Sheehy resumed his former apparently unmoved demeanour, and addressed a few words, expressive of his last wishes, with extraordinary firmness of tone and manner, to his distracted wife. He told her *to remember she had duties to perform to her God, to herself, to their children, and to his memory;* and then praying that Heaven might pour down all its blessings on her head, he tore himself from her embrace, and the procession moved on. The officers, soldiers, sub-sheriff, all around them were in tears during this melancholy interview; and at their separation, Sheehy himself, evidently struggling with his feelings, endeavoured to suppress any appearance of emotion, recovered his self-possession, and from that time seemed to be unmoved.

The day before the execution, Mrs. Kearney, an aunt of Edmund Sheehy, applied to one of the officers who was to be on duty the next day, to save his unfortunate family the pain of seeing his head placed on a spike, over the entrance to the gaol, in the High Street, in which it was situated. Her interference was not ineffectual: he told her he had no power to interfere with the civil authorities; but when the head was separated from the body, if any person were in readiness to bear it off, the soldiers, probably, would not be over zealous to prevent its removal.

For this act it was wisely thought that the resolution and promptitude of a woman would be likely to prove most successful. Ann Mary Butler, a person devoted to the family, and in her attachment to it incapable of fear and insensible to danger, was selected for this purpose. The head of Edmund Sheehy was no sooner struck from the body, than this woman suddenly forced her way through the soldiers, threw her apron over the head, and fled with it, the soldiers as she approached opening a free passage for her, and again forming in line when the executioner and his attendants made an effort to pursue her, and thus the military prevented their so doing.

The woman, at the place appointed at the cross-roads near Clogheen, met the funeral (for the mutilated body had been delivered over to the friends for interment), the head was put into the coffin, and was buried at a country churchyard, about three or

four miles from Clonmel, attended by a vast concourse of people. The executions took place on a temporary scaffold in an open space called the Cock-pit. The heads of Farrell and Buxton were brought to Clonmel, and, together with those of Father Sheehy and Meehan, were spiked and placed over the entrance to the gaol, where, for upwards of twenty years, these wretched trophies of the triumphant villainy of Messrs. Maude, Bagwell, Bagnell, and Hewetson continued to outrage the feelings of humanity and justice, and to shock the sight of the surviving relatives of the judicially murdered men, every time those relatives entered the town or departed from it.

The services of Mr. John Toohy were again called into requisition at the assizes which opened the 1st of August, 1766, before Baron Mountney and Sergeant Denis. On his informations a new batch of indictments was sent up against a multitude of persons, beginning with another of the doomed race of Sheehy, Morgan Sheehy, Michael Meehan, John Hayes, Daniel Bryan, Mark Jackson, Thomas Fennell, James Coghlan, Laurence Murphy, Edmund Whelan, Bartholomew Kennelly. They were arraigned on the charge of being present at the murder of John Bridge, and a large number of them were tried and acquitted. True bills were likewise found at the same assizes, on the same informations, against Messrs. Doherty, John Baldwin, John Burke, John Purcell, and seven others, charged with Whiteboy tumults, on the 31st of May, 1764. They were also tried and acquitted.

True bills were likewise found on the same evidence, against Messrs. Roger Sheehy, David Nagle, of Flemingstown, Richard Buller, of Glanbeg, Thomas Bryan, *alias* Colonel Bryan, Robert Drake, Edward Butler, John Hickey, James Hyland, Maurice Eustace, Michael Loughnan, on a similar charge, who were likewise tried and acquitted, some of them the second time.

New bills were again sent up against Roger Sheehy, T. Bryan, R. Drake, E. Butler, J. Hickey, J. Hyland, M. Eustace, M. Loughnan (the prisoners acquitted on the preceding indictment), charging them with "assaulting a certain unknown man at Ballyporeen". And these bills were found against them. Thus we see that the instances are rare indeed wherein any safety was to be expected for those who were singled out by the prosecutors for vengeance; for, no sooner were they acquitted on one charge than they were transmitted to gaol (to give time for instituting new proceedings), to be indicted on another. It is evident, however, from the acquittal in the late cases, that the managers, though determined to persevere in their proceedings, had pretty well worn out the services of Mr. Toohy.

The thirst for Catholic blood was not yet appeased. Another batch of Catholic gentlemen, charged with treason, with acting as leaders in the Munster plot, were brought to trial at Clonmel, in the month of March, the following year (1767). Mr. James Nagle, of Garnavilla, a relative by marriage of the celebrated Edmund Burke, Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, Mr. Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Mr. Edmund Burke, of Tubrid, and Messrs. Meighan, Lee, and Coghlan, all charged with high treason, and aiding and abetting Whiteboyism.* For some of these gentlemen, when first arrested, bail to the amount of several thousand pounds had been offered and refused. They had lain in gaol for several months previously to trial, and the charge that eventually was attempted to be supported against them by the same miscreant who had sworn against Father Sheehy, was completely disproved. The "managers" of the prosecution had omitted no means to procure evidence of the right sort. In the middle of July, the preceding year (1766), ample encouragement for new perjury was held out in the public papers. It was therein stated that, "the reward promised for prosecuting and convicting the other rioters, the sum of three hundred pounds, had been paid".†

Several of these gentlemen were of the most respectable families in the county. Messrs. Keating and Dogherty were persons who moved in the best circles of society, and whose descendents still hold a prominent station in it. The two latter owed their safety to a circumstance which came to the knowledge of one of the friends of Keating while he was in gaol. One of the dismounted dragoon soldiers, then doing duty in the gaol, saw the well-known Mary Dunlea privately introduced into the prison by one of the active magistrates in these proceedings, and taken to a window, where she had an opportunity of seeing Messrs. Keating and Dogherty, without being noticed by them. This was for the purpose of enabling her to swear to persons whom she had never before seen.

On the morning of the trials, the friends of the prisoners, keeping a watchful eye on the movements of the same woman, saw her standing in a doorway in front of the dock, and Mr. John Bagwell in the act of pointing out the prisoners. The friend of Keating lost no time in hurrying to the dock, and telling them to change their coats. They did so, and the coats were identified, but not the men. The witness, on being asked to point out Keating, singled out Dogherty: and the manifest ignorance of the witness of the persons of those two prisoners was mainly instrumental in causing all to be acquitted.

* "Dublin Gazette", April, 1767; and "Saunders's Newsletter", July, 1767.
† "A Candid Inquiry".

The trial of these gentlemen, on account of the great number of witnesses examined, lasted from ten o'clock on Wednesday morning until four o'clock on Thursday morning. The jury, after much deliberation, brought in their verdict, "Not guilty", upon which the prisoners were enlarged. "Not, however, without the factious, bold, and open censures, and secret threats against the humane and upright judge who presided at the trial (Baron Mountney),—so enraged were they to find the *last* effort to realize this plot entirely frustrated".*

Curry is mistaken in terming it the last effort. Two other attempts were subsequently made before Judge Edmund Malone and Prime Sergeant Hutchinson. John Sheehy, John Burke, E. Prendergast, and several others, were tried and acquitted on the same charge and evidence. On the 5th of September, 1767, once more, "Mr. Roger Sheehy, and six others, were tried on an indictment of high treason, for being concerned with the Whiteboys, on the testimony of Toohy, "who, prevaricating, as we are told by Curry, in his testimony from what he had sworn nearly two years before, Mr. Prime Sergeant desired the jury to give no credit thereto, upon which Sheehy was acquitted".†

Thus terminated a most foul conspiracy against the lives of innocent men. The name of Sheehy's jury became a term of reproach in the south of Ireland, that was applied to any inquiry that was conducted on principles at variance with truth and justice, and which made an indictment tantamount to a conviction.

A passage in Sir Richard Musgrave's history throws some light on the implication of Mr. James Nagle, whose name is mentioned on the list of prisoners at the former trial, in March, 1767. "When the enormities", says Sir Richard, "committed by the Whiteboys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and some time before Sir Richard Aston proceeded on his commission to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke sent his brother Richard (who died recorder of Bristol) and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the Popish body, for the use of the Whiteboys, who were exclusively Papists". The obvious drift of this passage can hardly be mistaken; but as Sir Richard Musgrave appears to have had some misgivings as to the success of the attempt to cast suspicion on the loyalty of Edmund Burke, he added the following passage in a note, in type sufficiently small to afford a chance of its escaping observation: "I have no other proof that these gentlemen were employed by Mr. Burke, than that they declared it without reserve to the persons from whom

* "A Parallel between the Plots of 1679 and 1762", p. 39; "Saunders's Newsletter", July, 1767.

† Freeman's Journal, September 8, 1767.

they obtained money. In doing so he might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity". But in the next edition of his work, in 8vo, 2 vols., Musgrave struck out the concluding words of the paragraph—" In so doing he might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity". But utterly unreliable, as all statements of Musgrave are, in relation to persons who did not participate in his ferocious sentiments, the biographers of Burke, I am persuaded, have much to learn respecting his early career, the cause of his permanent establishment in England, after being called to the bar, and the relations in which he stood towards several of those Catholic gentlemen of Tipperary who were marked out for persecution by the Bagwells, Maudes, and Bagnells, from 1765 to 1768.

The extraordinary judgments which fell on the persons who were instrumental to the death of Father Sheehy, are still fresh in the memory of the inhabitants of Clonmel and Clogheen. Several of the jury met with violent deaths; some dragged out a miserable existence, stricken with loathsome and excruciating maladies; madness was the fate of one, beggary the lot of another, recklessness of life and remorse, I believe it may be said with truth, of the majority of them.

This is no overcharged account. On the contrary, it falls short of the reality. One of the jury, named Tuthill, cut his throat; another, named Shaw, was choked; another, named Alexander Hoops, was drowned; the last survivor of them was said to have been accidentally shot by Mr. Sheehy Keating, in Rehill-wood, on a sporting excursion. Ferris died mad. One of them dropped dead at his own door, Another, at a gentleman's house, where he spent the night in company with Mr. Pierce Meagher, the brother-in-law of Edmund Sheehy, was found dead in a privy. Dumville, by a fall from his horse, was frightfully disfigured. Minchin was reduced to beggary; and of all, I have heard only of one, named Dunmead, who died a natural death, that was not signally visited with calamities of some kind or other.

Sir Thomas Maude, the ancestor of a noble lord, died in a state of frenzy, terribly afflicted both in mind and body. In his last moments his ravings were continually about Sheehy, and the repetition of that name became painful to his attendants. Few death-bed scenes perhaps, ever presented a more appalling spectacle than that of Sir Thomas Maude is described to have been.

Bagwell, of Kilmore, was reduced to a state of fatuity for some time before his death. His eldest son shot himself in a packet going over to England, his property became involved, and a miserable remnant of the wreck of it is all that is now left to one of his descendents living in a foreign land.

How are the proud oppressors fallen! Where now are the Bagwells of Kilmore, the Bagnells, and the Carricks? the reverend persecutors, the Brodericks and the Hewetsons? those magisterial ministers, not of the gospel of peace, but of injustice and fanaticism; where are their possessions, the honours that are paid to their memories, or bestowed on their descendents? and echo answers, Where?

The catastrophes which we have spoken of may be the results of natural causes, the consequences of violent courses, of unbridled passions, leading from one species of excitement to another, and to excesses destructive to reason, and ultimately of life itself. The deaths of the persecutors recorded by Lactantius, were not the less evident manifestations of the divine displeasure, though the earth did not swallow them up, or the thunder-bolt did not fall upon them, and the food and fuel of the disorders which consumed them, were their own violent and headstrong passions. "*Urerentur lentis ignibus*", says Lactantius; and on the same authority, by the operation of nature's specific laws, "*datis legibus*", the ends of retributive justice were accomplished.

The success at Clonmel of the prosecutors in the management of the trials of 1766, which terminated in the conviction and execution of the Sheehys, Farrell, and Buxton, one might have thought would have been sufficient for the satisfaction of Tipperary justice. It would seem, however, that it was not sufficient for the character of the persecutors. These convictions took place in the spring of 1766, long after which, and in some instances upwards of a year after which period, they got the old discredited witnesses to come forward and swear to new depositions, reiterating the former statements; and for the purpose of sustaining their damaged testimony, other miscreants were procured, who made similar informations upon oath, the copies of which are triumphantly paraded in Sir Richard Musgrave's history. All of these, with one exception, are sworn before the Rev. Mr. Hewetson. The date of one is the 24th January, 1768; of another, the 15th March, 1767; of another, the 7th March, 1767. Three other depositions are dated 1766, and were all sworn to subsequent to the execution of Nicholas Sheehy. The one which is inserted first in Sir Richard Musgrave's work, paraded as the most important corroboration of the former testimony on the trials, is that of an unfortunate reprobate Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Matthias O'Brien, of the city of Kilkenny.* The new feature in this important deposition is, that "the disorders in the south were

* The renunciation of the errors of the Church of Rome, on the part of the Popish priest, the Rev. Matthias O'Brien, was announced in the papers of the day subsequently to the date of his deposition.

originally fomented by foreign agents, in conjunction with some Popish bishops, particularly Dr. James Butler, titular Archbishop of Cashel". . . . "That he (Matthias O'Brien) was the co-adjutor to the said Archbishop of Cashel; that more than once in his chair of confession, he had saved the life of the Rev. John Hewetson, by dissuading the assassins from their bloody purposes; and that the rebellion would have broken out long since, were it not for the zealous, vigilant, and indefatigable labours of the said John Hewetson and William Bagwell, Esqrs., who, by the activity and spirit they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to justice some of the chief leaders of these insurrections, checked and suspended for a time their bad designs". . . . "That he was cognizant of their schemes, because he had been sworn by the archbishop (Butler) 'to be true and faithful to the Church of Rome, and to promote its interests, and to be faithful to him, Dr. Butler, for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith'". . . . "That the said archbishop supplied Father Sheehy with sums of money for rebellious purposes", etc., etc., etc. This reverend gentleman deposes that he was sworn by his archbishop, to be faithful to him, etc. He makes no scruple, however, about breaking that oath: in a previous part of his evidence, however, he accounts for his knowledge of the intention to assassinate Mr. Hewetson by the revelations made to him in the confessional, but he declines to enter into any particulars, and "thinks he cannot, consistently with his obligation as a priest, divulge them".

The certificate of character from the reprobate priest, as to the zeal and activity of the Rev. Mr. Hewetson and his worthy compeers, does not appear to have set their minds at rest as to the opinion, when the frenzy of the time should pass away, that was likely to be formed of their conduct. They had recourse to the old expedient of complimenting one another with addresses and resolutions on the rigour and unceasing vigilance displayed in their proceedings. To one of those addresses we find the names of those grand jurors appended who had found the bills of indictment in the preceding cases. In the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* of April 22, 1766, we find a resolution of the high sheriff and grand jury of the county Tipperary, expressive of their gratitude to William Bagnell, Esq., one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, "for the spirit and good conduct which he has so eminently shown in bringing to justice numbers of the persons who have so lately disturbed the peace of this county.

(Signed), "*Daniel Toler, sheriff;* Samuel Alleyn, John L. Judkin, Richard Perry, William Perry, Geoffrey Walshe, John Lloyd, Brook Brazier, Godfrey Taylor, John Toler, Edward

Cooke, Thomas Hacket, William Chadwick, *Thomas Maude*, Richard Moore, *John Bagwell*, William Barker, Matthew Jacob, *Matthew Bunbury*, Nathaniel Taylor, Cornelius O'Callaghan, jun., John Carleton, John Power, William Barton".

The grand jury of the county of Dublin could not let pass so favourable an opportunity of eulogizing the energetic measures of their Tipperary brethren.

On the 29th, 1767, "they presented their hearty thanks to the Right Honourable the Earl of Carrick, Sir Thomas Maude, Bart., the Rev. John Hewetson, John Bagwell, Esq., and William Bagnell, Esq., for their zealous endeavours to bring those delinquents to the punishment they deserved, and to support the laws of their country". Their conviction, they state, was, "that those late riots in the south were fomented as well by foreigners as domestic enemies of our *happy constitution in Church and State*, in order to overthrow the same".

The Earl of Carrick, in reply, assured the grand jury of the county of Dublin, "he heartily concurred with them in thinking that the late troubles in the southern districts were not owing to the pretended grievances, but to a settled intention of overthrowing our present *happy constitution in Church and State*".

The notes of the cuckoo are not more invariable than those of the party who arrogate to themselves the especial protection of the constitution in Church and State. Happiness, indeed, in those times of terror for the people subjected to that power which domineered over the government itself, perverted justice, and sacrificed the true interests both of Church and State to its own inordinate ambition and selfish aims!

These were evermore the notes of the ascendency faction, at the fag end of their "life and property" orations at their grand jury dinners and corporation orgies. The best comment on the conduct of this faction, and the absurdity of its bombastic protestations of anxiety for the welfare of religion, or the maintenance of the constitution, is to be found in the significant remonstrance addressed by Lord Halifax, in 1762, to the gentry, in the persons of their representatives in parliament, at the close of the session, and evidently in reference to their conduct in the administration of the laws in the districts which were then the scenes of Whiteboy disturbances. "I doubt not that by justice and lenity, by your influence as men of property, by your authority as magistrates, you will reconcile the minds of the people to peace, civilization, and order, and perfect *that reformation in which the mere execution of the laws, without the example of those who execute them, must always be defective*". (See *Irish Votes*, April, 1782, p. 706).

THE PEDIGREE OF MR. EDMUND SHEEHY'S FAMILY.* FROM AN ORIGINAL DOCUMENT IN THE HANDWRITING OF LADY BLESSINGTON.

THIS ancient family possessed a large estate on the banks of the river Dee, in the county of Limerick, from the time of Maurice, the first Earl of Desmond, whose daughter was married to Morgan Sheehy, who got the said estate from the earl as a portion with his wife.

From the above Morgan Sheehy was lineally descended Morgan Sheehy, of Ballyallenane. The said Morgan married Ellen Butler, daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, and the widow of Connor O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and had issue Morgan Sheehy.

The said Morgan Sheehy married Catherine Mac Carthy, daughter to Mac Donnough Mac Carthy More, of Dunhallow in the county Cork, and had issue Morgan Sheehy.

The said Morgan Sheehy married Joan, daughter of David, Earl of Barrymore, in the county of Cork, and secondly, Lady Alice Boyle, eldest daughter of Richard, Earl of Cork, and had issue Morgan Sheehy and Meanus, from whom the Sheehys of Imokilly and county of Waterford are descended

The said Morgan married Catherine, the eldest of the five daughters of Teige O'Brien, of Ballycovrig, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice, Earl of Desmond. He had issue three sons, John, Edmund, and Roger, and five daughters. Of the daughters, Joan married Thomas Lord Southwell; Ellen married Philip Magrath, of Sleady Castle, in the county of Waterford, Esq.; Mary married Eustace, son of Sir John Brown, of Cammus, Bart.; Winifred married Sir James Galloway, Bart.; and Anne married Colonel Gilbrern, of Kilmallock.

Of the five daughters of the above Teige O'Brien, Catherine married the above Morgan Sheehy, Esq.; Honoria married Sir John Fitzgerald, of Cloyne, Bart.; Mauden married O'Shaughnessy, of Gort; Julia married MacNamara of Cratala; and Mary married Sir Thurlough MacMahon, of Cleane, in the county of Clare, Bart.

Of the three sons of Morgan Sheehy, Esq., and Catherine

* It has long been the custom in Ireland to represent the character of those men who have been basely sacrificed to the Moloch of Orange ascendency (under any of its names or forms) as persons of desperate fortunes, men of no rank in society, or repute, or property in the country. The policy that dictated this course was not an unwise one for the interests of oppression. Edmund Sheehy is only heard of in the various accounts to which I have referred, as an associate of low and lawless wretches banded together for the purpose of marauding and murdering their opponents. The following account of his origin and the family connexions of Edmund Sheehy will perhaps be read with more interest than ever will be felt in the memories of the persecutors of his race, the Tolers, the Hewetsons, the Bagnells, the Bagwells, and the Maudes.

O'Brien, John, the eldest, married Mary, daughter of James Casey, of Rathcannon, in the county of Limerick, Esq. (It was in this John's time, about 1650, that Cromwell dispossessed the family of their estates.) The said John had issue John Sheehy.

The said John married Catherine, daughter of Donough O'Brien of Dungillane, Esq. He had issue Charles Sheehy.

The said Charles married Catherine Ryan, daughter of Matthew Ryan, Esq., and of Catherine Fitzgerald, daughter of Sir John Fitzgerald, of Clonglish, Bart.; and had issue John and William Sheehy, of Spittal.

The said John married Honoria Sullivan, maternal granddaughter to Mc Brien, of Bally Sheehan, and had issue,. one son and two daughters, viz., William Sheehy, Esq., of Bawnfowne, county of Waterford, and Eleanor and Ellen.

The said Eleanor married William Cranick, of Galbally, Esq., and had issue Ellen, who married Timothy Quinlan, Esq., of Tipperary. (Here there is an omission of any mention of William Sheehy's marriage, or of the issue of it, except one son, Edmund. There were three daughters: Bridget married Pierce Meagher, of Rathclough; Honora married James Fitzgerald, of Kilkanabrui; Ellen married Anthony Dwyer, of Ballydenaugh. The late Counsellor Ronayne's mother was the daughter of Pierce Meagher. The mother of the present parish priest of Clogheen, Dr. Kelly, was the daughter of James Fitzgerald. R. R. M.).

Edmund Sheehy, Esq., son of the above-named William Sheehy, the brother of Eleanor and Eller, married Margaret O'Sullivan, of Ballylegate, and had issue Robert and James Sheehy, and two daughters, Ellen and Mary.

Robert, son of the above-named Edmund, married, and had issue three sons: leaving no issue. Mary married —— Collins. Ellen married Edmund Power, Esq., of Curragheen, in the county of Waterford; and had issue Anne, who died in her tenth year, Robert, Michael, Margaret, Ellen, and Mary Ann. (*There are now only two surviving grand-children of Edmund Sheehy.*)*

CHAPTER III.

ILLEGAL ASSOCIATIONS — AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES IN THE NORTH — "OAK BOYS" AND "HEARTS OF STEEL".

From 1762 to 1770, the northern counties were the scenes of new risings of the peasantry, under the name of "Oak Boys" and

* This document was given to me in 1843, by the late Countess of Blessington. Her grandfather, Edmund Sheehy, was the unfortunate gentleman who perished on the scaffold at the hands of a sanguinary faction, in 1766.

" Hearts of Steel". The Oak Boys' combination sprang up in opposition to the impositions that were practised on them by the gentry, under the sanction of an oppressive law, which had thrown on the unpaid labours of the poor, to a large extent, the charge of repairing the public roads, and not only those roads, but, according to Plowden, the law was perverted to the employment of their labour on private job roads.

From combining for the purpose of redressing those grievances, they eventually proceeded to the attempt of regulating tithes and prescribing terms to the proctors and their employers. A military force was sent to the disturbed districts, some lives were lost, the obnoxious Road Bill was repealed, and quiet partially restored.

The Hearts of Steel combination arose in the county Down about 1762, out of the proceedings of an absentee nobleman (Lord Downshire) possessing one of the largest estates in the kingdom, who had adopted a new mode of letting his land when out of lease, by requiring large fines, and reducing the rents in proportion to the latter. The poor occupiers of the land were unable to compete with the wealthy speculators, who had the means of making the required advance of rent in the way of fines, the lands were taken by middlemen, and rack-rents, beggary, and wholesale eviction were the results. The causes of the northern disturbances at this period will be found clearly and succinctly detailed in the following statement, which will bring this introductory notice, already too far extended, to a close.*

" My first recollection of public affairs commenced about 1770, when the country was agitated by the arrest of a farmer in Belfast, on the charge of being a captain of the Hearts of Steel, and, from the neighbours whom I heard in conversation with my father, I remember the following facts, which time and mature age have confirmed in my mind, especially from conversing with many who were then at age.

* It would have been an easy matter to have referred to historians of literary eminence for an account of the northern disturbances, but it seemed to me desirable to learn the views and objects of the people engaged in those disturbances from a man of their own rank, and brought up amongst the actors in those combinations. The statement above referred to respecting the Hearts of Steel, etc., was communicated to me by James Hope, of Belfast, a man whose recollection carries him back to the events in question, and on whose vigorous mind their causes and results had left a deep impression. This extraordinary man, at the time the statement was made to me, I believe, was verging on his eightieth year, yet in the full possession of all his mental faculties, owing no advantage to birth, fortune, or education, and yet endowed with a more singular combination of excellent qualities and of natural endowments than is often to be met with in one similarly circumstanced. This self-educated man has lived for more than half a century by the labour of his own hands, and chiefly at the loom.

"The linen trade had flourished in Ulster, and enabled the families who worked at it to live comfortably by renting a house and garden, with grass for a cow, and sometimes for two, from the farmers; and many such families who were industrious became enabled to rent a small farm when a lease fell, or to purchase from others, who were emigrating to America, or who, owing to their indolence or profligacy, or both, had fallen into poverty.

"The high rents which the farmers charged to those weavers, and which they considered fair profits, taught the landlords the rising value of their land, and in some degree justified the *cottager* in yielding to the temptation of offering a higher rent to the landlord than what a farmer could pay, but which *he* was enabled to do by the profits arising from his trade. He then divided his farm amongst his children as they grew up, and few men of that period seemed to consider any provision necessary for their descendents, except placing them on a level with, or, if practicable, above their neighbours, in point of property.

"Education was, of course, in a great measure, neglected, and the richer a man grew, the less he cared about any other knowledge than that which enabled him to extend his worldly possessions.

"Blindly pursuing gain, and overlooking the main point, social security, men bred in the country settled in Belfast, and became wealthy by means of commerce, chiefly in the provision and linen trades. Having intercourse with people from all parts of the country, and being ever on the look-out where a pound, or even a penny might be made by a bargain, they began to purchase whole townlands from the head landlords, and to turn large farms into stock-farms, to answer the export provision trade, while the people confined to the surface paid more attention to cultivation.

"The unthinking country squire, deceived by his sycophantic agent, who was paid by the pound for collecting his rents, imagined that high rents enhanced the intrinsic value of his land; and finding from the face of his books that his nominal rental was increased, and forgetting that the law of nature *will be* obeyed, and that the ocean itself has its bounds, yet, feeling that the entail of his estates gave them only to *one* heir, he lent to the crown his surplus income, and thus created, on usury, estates for the younger branches of his family.

"Things went on in this way; but some persons had different views from this, which were deeply impressed on their minds. Finding their necessities increase beyond the power of productive labour, they discussed in the field and at the loom questions re-

specting their social condition, the privileges of some, and the privations of others.

"A man will think what he will not always venture to express, and will say to some what he would not say to all; and thus an under-current of opinion began to run through society, which no act of parliament could reach.

"That class from whose ill-paid labour these means of enjoying the luxuries of life were drawn, brooding over their want and wretchedness, became reckless or vindictive; many, for the sake of better food and clothing, and comparative idleness, engaged in the trade of war. But the mass preferred a short life, as they expressed it, and a *merry one* at home, and thus originated the Hearts of Steel.

"In 1775 the linen trade had received its death-blow, by the consequences of the American war, and the introduction of the cotton manufacture.* The independent spirit of Ulster was now on the decline, and in the towns sordid, selfish speculators began to replace the respectable linen merchants. In the meantime, gaudy calicoes and paper money supplanted the precious metals and fine linen. Factories came into vogue. The people had to leave their own firesides; and children of a tender age, girls in the bloom of youth and innocence, were transplanted from the cheerful spinning-wheel, under the roof of their parents, to loathsome workhouses or manufactories, in which they breathed an air that was mixed with the fumes of heated oil and cotton dust, and were consigned to the tuition of an overbearing, and often vicious manager. At that time a cotton weaver could earn from a pound to thirty shillings a-week, working only four days, with less labour than a linen weaver could now earn five shillings, working six days, late and early. The various circumstances in operation produced a change of mind and manners before unknown in the country. But the variety of man's inventions produces effects in every age, which, being unforeseen, leave the mass unprepared to accommodate itself to new circumstances, and turn them to advantage, which to some extent accounts for the slow progress of social improvement.

"Observing these evils early in life, I set my mind to contem-

* Previous to 1775, "the exportation of Irish linen to America had been very considerable; but now this great source of national wealth was totally shut up by an extraordinary stretch of prerogative, under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being supplied with provisions from Ireland, which, in prejudicing that kingdom served only to favour the adventures of British contractors. This embargo, combined with other causes, produced the most melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell considerably in value, as did also land. The tenants in many places were unable to pay the rents, and public credit was almost extinct.—Plowden's "History of Ireland", vol. ii., p. 171.

plate the causes of social derangement, and by thinking rather than reading, to get at some knowledge of the matter. I am still an imperfect reader, and have learned more by the ear than the eye, and by thinking than talking on any subject. That all human invention has bounds which it cannot pass, is as evident as that empires have limits to their duration. Their fate is inherent in the principles upon which they rise, and their durability depends on the energy or inactivity displayed in their operation, or the carrying of them into practical effect. I could never view a system admitting one class to political privileges, and excluding another from them on account of class or creed, in any other light than an organization at war with the community, and those exclusive privileges but as so many altars on which human sacrifice was daily offered up, perhaps to a greater extent and variety than in any former age on record.

"To return to the Hearts of Steel. A farmer who resided near Belfast, and who was a *ruling elder* in the Presbyterian congregation of Carnmoney, persuaded the majority of his neighbours to allow him to take a lease of the townland in which he lived from the head landlord, with a promise that they should have every one his farm at the rate it should be obtained by wholesale. They all consented but two or three, who, nevertheless, shared the fate of the rest; for as soon as the elder got the lease, he raised all their rents, so as to have a considerable profit, besides requiring duty-work, a custom then claimed by the head landlords on their demesnes. One of those who had not consented, having refused duty-work, a custom then claimed by the head landlord, the elder's son set fire to a hedge of furze, on which some linen clothes of the non-conforming farmer had been put to dry, and this was the first incitement to retaliation. The elder's corn-kiln was set on fire *by his own nephew*, and a shot fired into his house (but *not* by the nephew), from which the aforesaid son narrowly escaped. This gave rise to the collection of bands in the districts where the raising of the rents had taken place, and each of these bands conferred the name of 'captain' on a resolute leader. If they went to burn a house, their captain's name was 'firebrand'; if to cut the corn on a farm that had been taken over another's head, as was their expression, before it was ripe, his name was 'long-scythe'. He also used to toss out hay to the rain, when the weather was likely to insure its destruction—his name was 'pitchfork': and this was the work of the brooding class mentioned above, few of whom were settled inhabitants, and none at all of either principle or character. This was manifest from their taxing the country by threatening letters for money to support their nightly revels. From their deliberate destruc-

tion of food, and their cruelty to animals, they were evidently such a class as were afterwards collected into Orange lodges by the landlords, whom they will eventually undermine, as those landlords, in former parliaments, have undermined the true interests of the crown, by involving the country in a debt so overwhelming, that the productive industry of the country is overloaded, and the united interest of king and people sacrificed to sustain their own.

"About this period, several merchants of Belfast had purchased large farms, and turned them into pasture, and these were the men, chiefly, who lost cattle, although the rage ran against every man who held land which he did not *labour*.

"A Belfast merchant, named Gregg, having taken some townlands in the neighbourhood of Ballyclare, employed an old woollen weaver, called Gordon, from the county Down, as bailiff and caretaker, who laboured some farms which the occupiers or tenants had left on account of the high rents demanded by Mr. Gregg. When the crops were ripe, no person would help to reap them, and Mr. Gregg prevailed on the officers of a detachment of a Highland regiment, then quartered in Belfast, to send the soldiers out to reap the oats, and cut the hay, which they did; but the country people, during the night, scattered all to the weather. On a further application, the soldiers were sent to gather it again, but the populace appeared in such numbers that the officer did not think it prudent to commence the work; and one David Douglas being seen among them, was identified by Gordon and others of Gregg's people. David Douglas being a man respectable in his rank, was accused of being one of the captains of the Hearts of Steel. He then lived in the Templepatrick (Lord Templeton's) estate, and his lease having expired, and the Douglases being stout, active men, had made some spirited remonstrances with Mr. Hercules Hyland, his lordship's agent, with respect to the extremely heavy rents he was demanding for the land. His harshness was the more felt, when placed in contrast with the late agent, Mr. John Birnie, then lately deceased, and who had been a feeling, conscientious man between landlord and tenant. The Douglases were accordingly pointed out to Waddell, Cunningham, William Wallace, the Greggs, and Stewart Banks, then sovereign of Belfast, as meriting punishment.

"These were some of the merchants before alluded to. David Douglas was arrested in Belfast on a Friday, and on the following Sunday the country people assembled and marched in a body into Belfast, where they attacked the military barracks where Douglas was confined. The attempt proving unavailing, with

the loss of three men killed, viz., William Russell, Andrew Christy, and Robert Walker, and a number of others wounded, they set fire to Waddell Cunningham's house, and threatened the same fate to every house in Belfast belonging to any of the merchant-middlemen. Doctor Haliday, an amiable man, who was respected by all classes of society, interposed, and Douglas was released. He gave bail to abide his trial at the assizes, and was acquitted; but others who were tried were not so fortunate, several having been convicted, and one man, named James M'Neill, whose innocence was afterwards fully established, was executed.*

"Men of loose, dissolute character were the chief perpetrators of the depredations of houghing, stabbing, and burning, and, as before mentioned, extorted money by threatening letters, and the people were obliged to submit, until military, both horse and foot, were stationed throughout the country. About this time Hyland was dismissed from the agency, and was succeeded by a Mr. Henry Langford Burleigh, who, by his prudence, firmness, and conciliating manner, joined with his equitable conduct, soon discontinued the dragooning system, and established confidence and good neighbourhood, and the country became perfectly quiet. When I say *quiet*, I do not mean *contented*, for the rise in the price of land, from the necessity of supporting immense armies, both by sea and land, for the aggrandizement of the few and the oppression of the many, has totally reversed the Christian rule on which all good government should be founded. Manners and customs underwent a revolution.

"People no longer thought of living by the proper exercise of their industry and the prudent direction of their means, and of labouring by their example and their efforts to enlighten and to better the condition of the mass of the people and enlarge the circle of social comfort. The evils, on the contrary, under which the people laboured were heightened by the rapacity of the landlords, the habits of settled opposition to improvements of all kinds on the part of the farmers, and the general dissipation of every class who could procure money by any means, stopping at none, however ruinous, or even criminal, to obtain it. The depredations of the Hearts of Oak, Hearts of Steel, and White-boys, and their punishment, and the provocation given them by the rapacity of landlords and tithe-mongers, formed the topics of conversation for winter nights, until the American troubles began to be noticed in the *Belfast Newsletter*. That paper was not opposed to the ministry, yet it did not suppress the opinions delivered on that subject by the Earl of Chatham in Parliament.

* Fact.

I did not comprehend the subjects then under discussion, but I saw there was a difference of opinion, and began to ponder on the arguments of the old men on the topics which have agitated Europe ever since that period. I fell into the habit of observing the difference between what people *said* and what they *did;* for some of the greatest declaimers against the oppression of the landlords and the clergy, and who considered them as the advocates and abettors of the system which caused so much bloodshed in America, were the least willing themselves to abate one penny in the price of a stone of meal or a bushel of potatoes, or anything else, in a time of scarcity, that a poor man wanted to buy, at the same time the most careful to pay the least possible rate of wages to their servants. Yet these men would keep up the laudable practice of worship in their families, and read the very texts of Scripture condemning the acts which they would do as soon as they rose from their knees, scarcely allowing their servants any time for rest after their meals, and keeping them to work late and early. The religious and moral instruction to which I had recourse was so much at variance with what I saw in daily practice, that I began to doubt the sincerity of the religious professions in some cases, and at length to question it in very many. Finding my own thoughts vary often on those subjects, I had no human guide on whom I could depend; and my thoughts then, as now, surpassing my powers of expression, I kept them to myself, and I am only surprised how I have been directed through the labyrinth of a long life, like a weakling on a journey, who keeps his feet only by the staggering of his fellow-travellers.

"When peace was made with America, our intercourse with that country began to prepare the Irish mind for a struggle for its own independence, and in my thoughts the subject had its portion of attention. I observed the pride of property, which is inherent in the aristocratic spirit of our country, was pretty much the same, whether in the man of a million or in the forty shilling freeholder. Looking out for its origin, I found it in those arrangements into which men enter for procuring money which they do not earn, or did not inherit, by means of credit. Government set individuals the example of incurring expenses it could not meet without accommodation.

"Force, fraud, and stratagem are essential to the existence of a state of society which is founded on fictitious credit.

"We have seen that the disturbed state of the country gave the land-agents opportunities of widening the breach between landlords and tenantry, and at the same time put good bargains into the hands of the merchants, by the facility given to the

landlords of drawing on them in foreign countries, where they might travel or reside. This increased the system of middlemen and rack-rents, and thus laid the foundation of future suffering for the people. To this system there appeared no bounds, and no prospect of setting limits to them, until the American revolution gave the public mind a fresh spring for exertion.

"The naval and military force of England being reduced by that unnatural war, and rendered unable to protect the trade or even the soil of Ireland, from the then powerful fleets and armies of France, the Irish people were under the necessity of arming for their own defence. They committed the direction of their force to such gentlemen as were resident in the country and considered men of public spirit. Many of these gentlemen went farther in professions than in subsequent times they would have wished, when political rights became more largely discussed and better defined.

"In other words, they overstepped the limited compass of their early prejudices and views of interest, as appeared afterwards in their conduct; for, although they attended public meetings where some of the soundest principles of political economy were developed and disseminated among the people, who heartily approved of the sentiments, yet those leaders secretly wished for an opportunity of abandoning the connexion, and this pretext they soon found in the crimes committed in the name of liberty, which succeeded the outburst of the revolution in France in 1789, which shook every throne in Europe. Such was the condition of the people, the nature of the disturbances in the north of Ireland, the origin of the Volunteers, the views of a large portion of its leaders, the seeds of disunion that were sown in its organization, and the results that were in embryo about the close of the year 1791.

"Thus far my notes were copied by Robert Montgomery, attorney-at-law, who founded the market that now bears his name.*

"James Hope.

"Belfast, March 8th, 1843".

The preceding notices of the condition of the people, the

* The vigour of a mind teeming with original thoughts (the matured production of strong sound sense), displayed in all the writings of this singular man, amply compensates for any defects of style or occasional abruptness in taking up or dismissing a subject. As to his orthography, nothing can be much worse; in fact, a richer mine of deep thought it would be difficult to find buried in such a mass of ill-spelled words. I claim some merit for the disinterment of the sense, but none beyond the discerning of it and the correction of the orthography.

Having frequently to recur to those writings of his which he has placed in my hands, the preceding observation will render any further reference to his peculiarity of style and diction unnecessary.

cruelty of their oppressors, and the various agrarian disturbances resulting from them during a period of thirty years, from the beginning of the reign of George the Third to the origin of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791, though apparently unconnected with the particular epoch which this work is intended to illustrate, are by no means irrelevant to the subject of it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PEEP-OF-DAY BOYS, WRECKERS, DEFENDERS, AND ORANGEMEN.

The Peep-of-day Boys sprung up in the year 1784, in the county Armagh. The members of this secret association were also known by the name of "Protestant Boys", and "Wreckers", and, finally, by that of "Orangemen". The character of their proceedings must have been particularly atrocious, when Sir Richard Musgrave felt the impossibility of palliating the exuberancy of their zeal in the cause of ascendency. He says: "They visited the houses of their antagonists (victims, he ought to have said) at a very early hour in the morning, to search for arms; and it is most certain that in doing so, they often committed the most wanton outrages—insulting their persons and breaking their furniture".*

The late Charles Teeling has given a graphic account of the proceedings of the Wreckers and Defenders in the county of Armagh,† and another remarkable writer, George Ensor, who had a personal knowledge of these factions, has treated of them.

The evils originating in Armagh had already extended to some of the adjacent counties, and conflicts had taken place between the Wreckers and large bodies of armed peasantry—the Defenders. In places where the contending parties were pretty nearly balanced, a salutary dread of each other, often produced a restraint on the movements of both; but where the Catholic population was thinly scattered, the latter were compelled for personal safety to establish nightly guards or patrols in the townlands or parishes, in proportion to the numbers of men, or extent of surface, furnishing its quota in arms. This served the double purpose, either of immediate defence or more distant alarm; similar posts being extended at times of increased apprehension for some miles over the face of the country. This system of nocturnal police—wearisome to the inhabitants and wasteful of their slender means—continued

* Vide Sir Richard Musgrave's History, p. 54.

† "The History and Consequences of the Battle of the Diamond", by C. Teeling.

in some of the more exposed districts, with little or no intermission for whole seasons, and finally merged into the United Irish system.

Tone entertained opinions of an extravagant nature in regard to the political weight of the Defenders. He considered their conspiracy a well-organized long-established confederation, which had been in secret communication with France for a great length of time. Teeling, however, positively asserts that Tone was mistaken, and that no such connexion existed.

He says: "The Defenders looked to France in the earlier period of her republic with a twofold feeling of alarm, alike regarding the invasion of the altar and the throne: for they had not then imbibed those democratical sentiments which subsequently became almost universal throughout Ireland. Indeed they rather prided themselves as being the descendents of men, whose devotion to monarchy had long been proverbial, though their fidelity was badly requited. The proscription and persecution of the clergy in France, many of whom fled to this country for an asylum, confirmed the Defenders in the opinion that the rising republic was the declared enemy of their religion".

In and prior to the year 1795, a considerable portion of the population of the county of Armagh, we are told by Teeling, was divided into two hostile parties. The Peep-of-Day Boy party was composed of Protestants and Presbyterians; the Defender party originally consisted of Roman Catholics; the Peep-of-Day Boys were so-called on account of the nature of their untimely visits—between dark and dawn—to the houses of their Roman Catholic neighbours for the purpose of despoiling them of their arms; the other, that of "Defenders", from their resistance to those aggressions.

From the spoliation of arms the "privileged" party proceeded to more general acts of plunder and outrage, which were perpetrated on most occasions with the most scandalous impunity.

The Catholic population of Ulster had acquired, in 1794 and 1795, a moral weight in the political scale of the province, which was rendered more manifest by the manly energy with which numbers of their Protestant and Presbyterian brethren came forward and protested against the longer continuance of those disabilities under which their great community had laboured throughout ages of injustice and unexampled oppression. Matters had thus far progressed, when the old policy of Irish rule was again had recourse to, efforts were made to infuse into the mind of the Protestant, feelings of distrust in his Catholic fellow-countrymen. "Popish plots and conspiracies" were fabricated with a practical facility, which some influential authorities conceived it no degradation to stoop to, and alarming reports of these dark confederations were circulated with a restless assiduity.

At this juncture Lord Carhampton was employed to *tranquillize* the west. The commander of his Majesty's forces in Ireland engaged with signal energy in the new campaign against the peasantry. Hundreds of persons without form or trial were sent to serve on board the British fleet, or transported to the British colonies.

The subjoined "Declaration and Resolutions", from a wealthy and populous parish, bordering immediately on the district to which they advert, will serve, without the introduction of others, to inform the reader how far public opinion corresponded with Lord Gosford's representations of that persecution, which he so feelingly described and so forcibly denounced:—

"*Declaration and Resolutions of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Tullylish* (*County of Down*), *George Law, Esq., in the Chair.*

"RESOLVED—That we hold in just contempt and abhorrence the criminal advisers and wicked perpetrators of that inhuman, murderous, and savage persecution which has of late disgraced the county of Armagh.

"That if these barbarities are not immediately opposed, and some wise, firm and effectual steps taken by men in authority to arrest their progress, they will instantly involve this kingdom in all the *horrors of a civil war*, and deluge our land with *blood.*

"That, in our opinion, the present existing laws are fully adequate to the detection and punishment of every species of offence, in case the civil magistrate do his duty", etc.

The public journals of that period afford extensive information on the subject of those outrages. The following extract is taken from a provincial paper of the day:—

"Armagh, January 23, 1796.

"General Craddock arrived here to-day, in order to take upon him the command of the troops in this town and neighbourhood. We sincerely hope that he may be successful in rooting from amongst us that vile spirit of persecution and lawless depredation which has too long disgraced us".

It could not have been credited that those ruthless depopulators of Armagh would have carried their daring to the extent of marching on the town of Belfast, had not General Nugent, then district-commandant of his Majesty's forces in Ulster, conceived it his duty to make such arrangements for the protection of the town and the security of its inhabitants as his military foresight suggested. Extra guards were mounted. Lord Gosford observes, the "picture of those horrid scenes was sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms".

Denouncing the crimes of those oppressors, in his place in the Irish House of Commons, on the 20th of February, 1796, Mr. Grattan observed, "that of these outrages he had received the most dreadful accounts. Their object was, the extermination of all the Catholics of that county". He pronounces it "a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry—carried on with the most ferocious barbarity by a banditti, who, being of the religion of the state, had committed, with greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to *extermination!* They had repealed by their own authority all the laws lately passed in favour of the Catholics—had established in the place of those laws the inquisition of a mob, resembling Lord George Gordon's fanatics—equalling them in outrage, and surpassing them far in perseverance and success. These insurgents", continues Mr. Grattan, "call themselves Orange Boys, or Protestant Boys, that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty".

I turn now to the battle of the Diamond, which was fought on the 21st of September, 1795. It is asserted by a writer on this subject, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, that about the middle of the month (September) it was discovered, suddenly, that the Defenders were encamped—that they had congregated some thousands in number—and that, undiscovered until their work was complete, they had drawn a trench, constituting a species of rude fortification around them. In this writer's words: "The incorrect report of a spy, it is said, occasioned the first engagement at the Diamond". He qualifies his statement by, "it is said", and then proceeds as follows: "On a Saturday night in August, some young people acting as a watch having posted their sentinels, agreed to pass away the heavy hours in dancing or other amusements. In one of the games, a young man having appeared enveloped in a sheet, tidings of the circumstances were conveyed to a party of Defenders, accompanied by an explanation that it was designed to burlesque the Mass".

That a challenge was sent out by the Defenders, is asserted by Mr. Plowden, and admitted by the more modern historian. On that point both are agreed.

The ever memorable engagement, we are told by this writer, commenced with "a species of rifle warfare, followed up during two successive nights and days by an intermitting fire of musketry".

He states that "during a period of more than a week, within a range of six miles of the Diamond, every house had some of its inmates who kept a constant watch throughout the day as well as

the night; and within that distance they could hear the report of musketry by night, in frequent, but not general discharges, as if the videttes of the opposite party fired to keep their enemies at a distance; but as soon as the morning light appeared it was saluted by a loud volley, quickly returned and repeated from both armies, with little intermission, until the evening had faded away".

" Whenever", he continues, " after a short pause, or at the commencement or conclusion of the day's battle, the combat was renewed or concluded on each side by a general discharge, it was possible, at the distance of six miles, to distinguish the party who gave fire, and the hearts of Protestants, according to their characters, died or burned within them, when they compared the faint report from their friends with the heavy and artillery-like thunders of the far outnumbering enemy". The historian, on this point, seems to be somewhat doubtful of the faith of his reader; and, in an explanatory note, thus accounts for the acute sense of hearing, which, at a distance of six Irish miles, could distinguish between Popish and Protestant fire: " The great superiority", he tells us, in " point of numbers, on the side of the Defenders, is universally admitted: Emmet, and even Plowden, confess it". This may be so, though one might be disposed to conclude, that " the heavy and artillery-like thunder" was more likely to proceed from the better armed and better disciplined body of the combatants. I shall give the reader, however, the advantage of Mr. Emmet's testimony touching " the great superiority in point of numbers", from " Pieces of Irish History", p. 137: " The Defenders were most numerous, but the Orangemen had an immense advantage in point of preparation and skill, many of them having been members of old Volunteer corps, whose arms and discipline they still retained, and perverted to very different purposes from those that have immortalized that body".

George Ensor, in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Evening Post*, some years ago, gave an interesting account of the consequences of the wrecking system, and of the orgies of the descendents of the Wreckers, the Orangemen of Armagh, and the military exploits of one of their leaders in particular, " the renowned James Verner".

Mr. Ensor says: " At an election dinner in the county of Armagh, besides many toasts of cordial warmth, the festival was wound up by toasting the ' Battle of the Diamond'. This being reported to his Excellency, Lord Mulgrave, he directed Mr. Drummond to address each of the magistrates reported to have been present, requesting to know ' if he were a party to the commemoration of a lawless and disgraceful conflict, in which much blood had been spilled, and the immediate consequence

of which was, as testified at the time by all the leading men and magistrates of their county, to place that part of the country at the mercy of an ungovernable mob'. That much blood was spilt in the commemorated battle, is certain. Colonel Blacker, who was on the ground immediately after the fight, states that he saw about thirty Catholics carrying away dead on cars; but not one Protestant was killed *that he could hear of.* This, by-the-by, is rather an extraordinary issue of a fight which, it is said, was recommenced by the Catholics in treachery and by surprise. Yet, it was a day worthy of being toasted at an election dinner in 1837, and honoured with an appropriate song; for on the day of this fight originated the Orange Society, according to Colonel Verner's evidence before the Orange Committee.

" To Mr. Drummond's letter Mr. Synnot published a short answer, and Colonel Verner published a long one. Sir Thomas Molyneux has published two answers. Sir Thomas asserts, in the first, that he had entered the county from Blaris camp the day after the fight, 'and I can confidently assert', he says, 'that no manner of disturbance afterwards took place, at least for the eighteen months that my regiment remained in the district'. Not satisfied with this indirect denial of Lord Gosford's address, and the resolutions voted in December, 1795, by magistrates and other gentlemen to the contrary, he attempts to corroborate his assertion in a second letter. The following is the first resolution in the document he contravenes:—' That it appears to this meeting that the county of Armagh is at this time in a state of uncommon disorder: that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons, who attack and plunder their houses by night, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations'. These resolutions were passed at the close of December, 1795, and subscribed by Lord Gosford, Capel Molyneux, William Richardson, Arthur Jacob M'Cann, Robert Bernard Sparrow, Alexander Thomas Stuart, Michael Obins, Hugh Hamilton, John Ogle, William Clarke, Charles M. Warburton, William Lodge, William Bisset, Thomas Quinn, Owen O'Callaghan, John Maxwell, Joshua M'Geogh, James Verner, Richard Allott, Stewart Blacker, Robert Levingston, William Irwin, Joseph Harden, Joseph Lawson, William Blacker.

" The purport of the address by the late Lord Gosford, and the resolutions so subscribed, Sir Thomas Molyneux denies, saying, in his second letter, ' that the speech and the resolutions must be taken to refer to *alarms* which the Roman Catholic part of the population professed to feel, and to the *threats* in which the Protestant party (exasperated by the treachery which led to the Battle

of the Diamond) may have indulged'. He adds, 'that the military in 1795 performed the duties that are now consigned to the constabulary, that he commanded the only infantry regiment in the county'. He then refers to his orderly-book, quotes an extract from it from the 9th of November, 1795, to the 28th of February, 1796; and as there are only five notices of military assistance inserted during this period, he concludes that the resolutions passed under Lord Gosford's auspices as Governor, and Mr. Drummond's letter, founded mainly on them, are not veracious, and that the alleged outrages at this period were merely *alarms* at one side, induced by *threats* from the other. This is rather preposterous logic; it runs thus—you, Lord Gosford, say, houses were attacked and plundered, etc.; and I, Sir Thomas Molyneux, say it is not so, for my orderly-book contains a very few notices of military assistance to repress such outrages. Yet the resolution I have quoted, is in itself a full answer to this objection; for it particularly states that the outrages were committed *by persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night.* What could the military do on such occasions? and supposing they could act to any purpose, who was to apply for assistance to the commanding officer? The person spoiled and plundered could not be attended to by him; he must be addressed through the magistracy; and were they likely to be on the alert in supporting the Catholics? Lord Gosford's address affords an answer. 'The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is no better than tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of this county is a topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom'. Sir Thomas Molyneux not only denies that the address and resolutions, sanctioned by twenty-four magistrates and clergymen of the county (and one of the subscribers he, for every reason, honours and respects); but he asserts that from the day of the Diamond Fight, 'I can confidently assert that no manner of disturbance took place, at least for the eighteen months that my regiment remained in the district'. Eighteen months, from the 21st of September, 1795, brings the period to the 21st of March, 1797. Now for further proofs of disturbance in these eighteen months of halcyon tranquillity. At Lent assizes, in 1796, the sheriff, grand jury, and magistrates of Armagh addressed unanimously Earl Camden, stating—'We have seen, with the deepest regret, the outrages which, for some time past, have disturbed the peace, and interrupted the industry, of this prosperous county', etc. How far the following memorial will be construed as a proof of disturbance I cannot divine; but it appears in a Belfast journal of that time that the Orangemen marched, on the 12th of July, 1796, through Lurgan, Warrenstown, Portadown, with

colours, King William the Third on one side, and on the reverse George the Third. The account concludes:—'One of their captains, of the name of M'Murdie, was killed in the afternoon, in an affray with some of the Queen's County militia'".

With respect to the consequences of these scandalous proceedings, the following observations are taken from Mr. Emmet's *Pieces of Irish History*.

"The Defenders were speedily defeated, with the loss of some few killed and left on the field of battle, besides the wounded, whom they carried away. After this, in consequence of the interference of a Catholic priest and a country gentleman, a truce between both parties was agreed upon, which was unfortunately violated in less than twenty-four hours. The two bodies that had consented to it for the most part dispersed; the district, however, in which the battle was fought, being entirely filled with Orangemen, some of them still remained embodied; but the Catholics returned home. In the course of next day about seven hundred Defenders from Keady, in a remote part of the county, came to the succour of their friends, and, ignorant of the armistice, attacked the Orangemen, who were still assembled. The associates of the latter, being on the spot, quickly collected again, and the Defenders were once more routed".

But Mr. Emmet adds:—"Perhaps this mistake might have been cleared, and the treaty renewed, if the resentment of the Orangemen had not been fomented and cherished by persons to whom reconciliation of any kind was hateful. The Catholics, after this transaction, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest dye. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up on the cabins of these unfortunate victims this pithy notice: 'To Hell or Connaught'; and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If, after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burned the habitations, and forced the ruined families to fly elsewhere for shelter". Mr. Emmet also states:—"While these outrages were going on, the resident magistrates were not found to resist them, and, in some instances were even more than inactive spectators".

"The county of Armagh and its neighbourhood", he asserts, "were not destitute of military force, able and willing to repress these outrages. The Queen's County militia, consisting mostly of Catholics, was there, and exceedingly incensed at the unresisted, unrestrained, and even unnoticed persecution against their religion which it was forced to witness". Mr. Emmet concludes

his fearful, but too faithful description of this persecution, with these memorable words: "Neither the protecting hand of the government nor of the magistracy was held forth to the oppressed".

The Orange institution grew up and found favour in the sight of both, and in all human probability is destined one day to bring the British empire to the brink of ruin.

THE ORANGE INSTITUTION.

Orangeism, in its present phase of being, is not above sixty-five years of age. But this Buddha of bigotry and knavery combined began its incarnation in Ireland centuries ago.

The Lord Deputy Strafford, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated 19th July, 1634, renders an account of the happy results of the policy of his government in *fomenting emulations*, *alias* discords, between Catholics and Protestants:—

"This letter is only to give your lordship a short account of our proceedings in parliament. The parties are in a manner equal. Some few odds on the Protestant party; and one watching the other, lest their fellow should rob them, and apply the whole of his Majesty's thanks to themselves from the other. *An emulation so well fomented underhand*, that when the motion was made for the King's supply yesterday in the House of Commons (the fifth of their session), they did with one voice assent to the giving of six subsidies to be paid in four years".*

The great art politic in the goverment of Ireland of *fomenting emulations*, in another letter of the Lord Deputy, dated 18th August, in the same year (vol. i. p. 297), addressed to Mr. Secretary Coke, we find thus set forth, the parliament being now the object of the Lord Deputy's governmental care, and the strife not to be sown between sects, but between Lords and Commons.

"There fell a breach betwixt the two houses, which kept them asunder all this session; the Commons would not confer with the Lords, unless they might sit and be covered as well as their lordships, which the other would by no means admit. *For my part I did not lay it very near my heart to agree them*, as having heretofore seen the effects which follow when they are in strict understanding, or at difference amongst themselves; *besides, I saw plainly that keeping them at distance, I did avoid* their joining in a petition for the Graces, which infallibly they would have done, which now come only singly from the Commons. I conceive it would be very easy the next session either to agree or keep them still

* Letters of Thomas Earl of Strafford, vol. i. p. 274.

asunder. I desire there may be a thought bestowed upon it, and let me have my directions, which *I shall readily conform myself either way*".

So the policy of governing a people by keeping alive discords among them was in being 223 years ago. A century nearer our own times, the demon policy, which it might be supposed none but a profligate courtier and statesman like Strafford could be found to practise, and to boast of, we find a Christian prelate, the Lord Primate Boulter, exercising high state authority in Ireland, proclaim the benefits of with a loud voice. The divine doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, breathing peace and concord, contrasts strongly and strangely with that of the state policy of Primate Boulter. Lamenting the union of Catholic and Protestant subjects of the same state as likely to follow from certain circumstances, he writes to his good masters:—

" The worst of this affair is, that it unites Protestants and Papists, and if that reconciliation takes place, farewell to English influence in Ireland".

The Orange system is perhaps the most unchristian institution that has sprung up in any European country in modern times. From its origin it was eminently hypocritical, its votaries professing a strong zeal for the interests of true religion, and burning with a fierce lust of lands and tenements in the possession of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.

In the fervour of the assumed enthusiasm of Orangemen for the diffusion of pure religion, they posted the following pithy controversial notice on the door of the benighted Romanists—"To Hell or Connaught": now, as the Catholic people were held to be going to the former region their own way, in turning them out of their houses and homes, it would seem that it was their lands and tenements, and not the cause of true religion, about which these champions of the church were interested. Lord Chesterfield speaks of Lady Palmer, a young Irish lady of the old religion, who frequented the Castle in his time, as "a very dangerous Papist". The possession of beauty, like the occupation of land, on the part of the Romanists, was no doubt of a very dangerous tendency.

In the beginning of 1796, "it was generally believed (says Plowden) that 7,000 Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh; and that the ferocious banditti who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the government".* In the analysis of the report of the committee on Orange institutions, in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1836, the following account is given of the proceedings

* Plowden's "History", vol. ii. p. 377.

of the Peep-of-Day Boys, and of their more systematic atrocities in 1795, under the newly-adopted name of Orangemen:—

"The first Orange lodge was formed on the 21st September, 1795, at the house of a man named Sloan, in the obscure village of Loughgall. The immediate cause of those disturbances in the north that gave birth to Orangeism, was an attempt to plant colonies of Protestants on the farms or tenements of Catholics who had been forcibly ejected. Numbers of them were seen wandering about the country, hungry, half-naked, and infuriated. Mr. Christie, a member of the Society of Friends, who appears to have passed sixty or seventy years on his property as quietly as a man may in the neighbourhood of such violent neighbours, gives a painful account of the outrages then committed. He says (5,573) 'he heard sometimes of twelve or fourteen Catholic houses wrecked in a night, and some destroyed' (5,570): 'that this commenced in the neighbourhood of Churchill, between Portadown and Dungannon, and then it extended over nearly all the northern counties. In the course of time, after the Catholics were many of them driven from the county, and had taken refuge in different parts of Ireland, I understood they went to Connaught. Some years after, when peace and quietness was in a measure restored, some returned again, probably five or six years afterwards. The property which they left was transferred in most instances to Protestants: where they had houses and gardens and small farms of land, it was generally handed over by the landlords to Protestant tenants. That occurred within my knowledge'. He further says: 'It continued for two or three years, but was not quite so bad in 1796 and 1797 as it was earlier. After this wrecking, and the Catholics were driven out, what was called "The Break-of-Day" party merged into Orangeism; they passed from the one to the other, and the gentlemen in the county procured what they termed their Orange warrants, to enable them to assemble legally, as they termed it. The name dropped, and Orangeism succeeded to Break-of-Day Men' (5,575).

"At first the association was entirely confined to the lower orders; but it soon worked its way upwards, and, so early as November, 1798, there appears a corrected report of the rules and regulations officially drawn up, and submitted to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, under the presidency of Thomas Verner, Esq., Grand Master; J. C. Beresford, Esq., Grand Secretary, and others. The state of the country, soon after the formation of these societies, is faithfully described in an address which the late Lord Gosford, as governor of Armagh, submitted to all the leading magistrates of the county. His lordship stated that he had called them together to submit a plan to their consideration

for checking the enormities which disgraced the county. He then proceeds: 'It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. Neither age, nor even acknowledged innocence as to the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with, is a crime of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible: it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attended the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can afford; for where have we heard, or in what history of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement winter, to seek a shelter for themselves and their hapless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest heart. Those horrors are now acting, and acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this country; and the supineness of the magistracy is a topic of conversation in every corner of this kingdom'.—*Evidence*, 3,251.

"The resolutions moved by Lord Gosford were adopted and signed by all the leading magistrates, who thus bore undeniable testimony to the persecution the Catholics were then suffering in that county, which was the cradle, and has ever been the hotbed, of Orangeism.

"We have carefully examined the documents submitted by the Orange society to the committee, respecting the objects of their institution, the motives of its members, and the qualifications necessary for candidates; and nothing apparently can be more humane, tolerant, and praiseworthy. Certain doubtful features occasionally, however, do peep through this coating of amiable professions. For instance, this society enforced on its members an oath of qualified allegiance:—'I, A. B., do solemnly swear', etc., 'that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and

defend' the King and his heirs, 'so long as he or they support the Protestant ascendency'. Another suspicious article (No. 5) declares—'We are not to carry away money, goods, or any thing, from any person whatever, except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy'—enemy no doubt meaning Catholic".

So much for the report, with regard to the objects of this society, and the obligations of its oaths, etc.

Now the oath above referred to is sufficiently objectionable on the score of the conditional allegiance it embodies; but the original oath or purple test of this society was not produced by the officers of this society on the inquiry entered into by the committee in 1835; but the existence of this diabolical test was given in evidence before the secret committee of 1798, by Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and the knowledge of it admitted by the committee on that occasion, when O'Connor's statement was answered by one of the members belonging to the administration, in these words: "Government had nothing to do with the Orange society, nor with their oath of extermination".

In the memoir of the examination of Messrs. O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Nevin, drawn up by themselves, O'Connor's answer is given to this observation:—"You, my Lord Castlereagh, from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know, from the secret nature of the Union, that the executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish government. As one of the executive (of the United Irishmen), it came to my knowledge that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the country in endeavouring to extend the Orange system, and that the Orange oath of extermination was administered; when these facts are coupled, not only with the general impunity which has been uniformly extended to all the acts of this diabolical association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from government, I find it impossible to exculpate the government from being the parent and protector of these societies".*

The fact of the protection of the "Peep-of-Day Boys", or the Orangemen, on the part of the government of those times, admits of no doubt. When the Insurrection Act and the Convention Bill were introduced, the excesses of the peasantry, whom they had goaded into resistance, were denounced by the Viceroy and the legal officers of the government; but not the slightest allusion

* Vide Memoir of the Examination of Messrs. O'Connor, Emmet, M'Nevin, etc.—(Published by the State Prisoners.)

was made to the outrages of the exterminators of Armagh; nay, bills of indemnity were passed to protect their leaders and magisterial accomplices from all legal proceedings on the part of their victims. As to the effect of these societies in promoting the views of the United Irishmen, it is clearly admitted by the members of the executive of the society of the United Irishmen, that the persecution of the people in Armagh, the protection of the exterminators, and the enactment of sanguinary laws, and especially the insurrection and indemnity acts, had not only filled the ranks of their society, but led the executive to the conclusion, that the government had forfeited all claims to obedience, and was to be resisted. "No alliance whatever was previously formed", says O'Connor, "between the Union and France"—namely, before the middle of 1796. The same answer is given by Emmet. So much for the power given to the United Irishmen, by the persecution of the people on the part of the Orangemen permitted by government; and as for the immediate causes of the outbreak of the subsequent and consequent rebellion, we can only refer to the question put by the Lord Chancellor, "Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late rebellion?" and the reply to it, of Emmet—"The free quarters, the house-burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow".* In fact, persecution and disaffection followed in the order of cause and effect; the turbulence of the Defenders can only be looked on as the consequence of the Orange depredations, and the excesses of both parties the plea for the attempt of uniting the people of all religious denominations in one great national society.

Sir Jonah Barrington considers the idea of Orange Societies arose from the association of the Aldermen of Skinners' Alley. The latter owed its origin to the restoration of the old corporate body to their former power and privileges at the departure of James the Second. Their meetings were chiefly for the indulgence of that kind of Cherokee festivity which is indicative of sanguinary struggles or successful onslaughts, past or expected. Their grand festival was on the 1st of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, on which occasion the charter-toast was drunk by every member on his bare knees. At the time of Sir Jonah's initiation, his friend Dr. Patrick Duigenan was the Grand Master. The *standing* dish, at the Skinners' Alley dinners, was sheep's trotters, in delicate allusion to King James's last use of his lower extremities in Ireland; and the cloth being removed, the charter-toast, the antiquity of which was of so ancient a date as the year 1689, was pronounced by the Grand Master on his

* Vide "Memoir of Examination", etc.

bare joints to the kneeling assemblage, in the following words:—"The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from Popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes", etc., etc., etc. The concluding part of this loyal toast is a tissue of vulgar indecencies and impious imprecations on "priests, bishops, deacons", or any other of the fraternity of the clergy who refuse this toast, consigning their members to the operation of red-hot harrows, and their mangled carcasses to the lower regions. In detailing the particulars of these brutal and bacchanalian proceedings, Sir Jonah says, "It may be amusing to describe them"—and then he denominates the association as "a very curious, but most loyal society"; and that their favourite toast was afterwards adopted by the Orange societies, and was still considered the charter toast of them all.* Sir Jonah's notions of mirth and loyalty were, no doubt, in accordance with those of the circle in which he moved. Indeed he prefaces this account of the exuberance of zeal of the Skinners' Alley aldermen, with a declaration of his own political sentiments, as being, though not an ultra, one in whom loyalty absorbed almost every other consideration.

Few of the Orangemen in the north were probably actuated by the motives to which their proceedings are commonly attributed. It is generally supposed that they were animated by a blind, indiscriminate fury against the people, solely on account of their religion. This is not a fair statement, and whoever inquires into the history of these times will find it is not true. These men were impelled, as their descendents are, by a simple desire to get possession of property or privileges belonging to people who had not the power to protect either, and to give their rapacity the colour of a zeal for the interests of their own religion.

It is doing the ascendency party a great injustice to suppose that their animosity to their Roman Catholic countrymen arose from a mere spirit of fanaticism, or of mistaken enthusiasm in their religious sentiments. The plan of converting souls by converting the soil of the old inhabitants of a country to the use of the new settler, is of an ancient date. With this party the matter is one of money, and patronage, and preferment, and of property in land, which wears the outward garb of a religious question.

The Puritans who sought a refuge in America, when they found the most fertile portion of Massachusetts in the possession of the Indians, did not think of dispossessing the rightful owners of the broad lands they coveted, without giving the

* Vide "Barrington's Irish Sketches", vol. i. p. 152.

sanctimonious air of a religious proceeding to their contemplated spoliation.

They convened a meeting which was opened with all due solemnity and piety, and the following resolutions are said to have been passed unanimously:—

Resolved—That the Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

Resolved—That the Lord hath given the Earth as an inheritance unto his saints.

Resolved—That we are the saints.

How far the ludicrous may be found herein to mingle with the historical data it is hard to say, but the spirit in which similar conclusions are arrived at in "the Island—proverbially—of Saints", it is impossible not to recognize, in the above-mentioned theological and political resolutions. The zeal of Orangeism in behalf of religion cannot impose on a close observer. The penal code was framed for the protection of confiscated property; and the assumed hostility to the religion of the people who were dispossessed, was only a practice in accordance with the purport and pretence of the iniquitous statutes, which had already legalized three general confiscations within a period of two hundred years. This legalized system of rapine and proscription has been productive of evils which still are felt; and those who, along with the lands of the proscribed people, obtained all the political privileges that were thought essential to the security of their new possessions, would have been more just than the generality of mankind, if, having power to protect the spoils they had obtained, or were encouraged to expect, they had not abused their privileges, and did not see in every extension of the people's liberties another encroachment on the limits, now daily narrowing, of their power, influence, and political preëminence.

The Defenders had their origin in the year 1785, but they were hardly known as a distinct and formidable body till the year 1792. Their first object, as their name imports, was self-protection, when the exterminating system was carried into effect by the Ascendency party in the north. But as their strength increased, their views became more political, and resistance to aggression led them to offensive measures against their enemies and the government which protected the latter.

After the battle of "the Diamond" had terminated in their defeat, the success of their conquerors was followed up by the rigorous measures of the military and magisterial authorities; the gaols were filled with these unfortunate people, and about thirteen hundred of them were taken from the prisons by Lord Carhampton, without any legal process or form of trial, and sent on board the ships of war or transport vessels.

This was the first display of "the vigour beyond the law" which had been openly announced in parliament, and when carried into effect was protected there by an act of indemnity.

Analogous Bills to the "Treacherous Correspondence Bill" were passed in Ireland in 1793, but one was of a nature which would not have been tolerated in England, namely, to prevent persons meeting *under pretence* of preparing or presenting petitions, etc. This act was reprobated in England no less than in Ireland.

A system of agrarian outrage had been dragging on a protracted existence in Munster, from the period of the suppression of the "Whiteboy" disturbances, and had even spread into the northern counties, under the name of "Oak Boys", and "Hearts of Steel Boys", but they had been subdued by the military long before the exterminating proceedings of the "Peep-of-Day Boys" had come into operation. Their system, however, had been revived in Munster by a new set of disturbers called "Right Boys", after the supposed leader, Captain Right.

Mr. Fitzgibbon's bill for preventing these tumultuous assemblages, contained a clause directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels in which any of these associations should have been formed or countenanced, which Mr. Grattan stigmatized as a legal sanction to sacrilege, and Mr. Secretary Orde declined to concur in such an enactment, and prevailed on his friend to withdraw it. Fitzgibbon was only desirous, whether in the extermination of the people or the demolition of their chapels, of carrying into effect the doctrine which had been laid down by the judicial authorities in 1759, on the trial of Mr. Saul, a Catholic merchant in Dublin, namely, "that the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they exist in it without the connivance of government".*

The Right Boys, however, had been likewise put down before the wrecking system began in Armagh. The former society was a feeble remnant of the Whiteboy Association, which had its origin in 1759 in the south of Ireland. The Whiteboys took their names from the frocks or shirts which they were in the habit of wearing when they assembled, and, armed with scythes, clubs, and swords, they sallied forth at night, and committed many acts of agrarian outrage. The wrongs they professed to redress were those connected with the holding of lands on exorbitant terms, the enclosing of waste lands, the extortion of tithe proctors, etc. Various laws were enacted to repress their excesses, all of which were of an agrarian character, wild, daring, ill-concerted, sometimes cruel, seldom premeditated, and, eventually, were easily put

* See "Plowden's History", vol. ii. p. 270.

down. The cause of these excesses is justly ascribed, by Plowden, to the agricultural distress which prevailed in the whole of the south of Ireland, consequent upon the practice generally adopted at that time, of converting the large farms into grazing lands, which were set to wealthy monopolists, who turned the wretched peasantry adrift. At the close of 1762, Lord Halifax congratulated parliament on the suppression of the insurrection of the Whiteboys.

In all these confederacies of the people, arising from agricultural distress, no matter how grinding the oppression of the authorities, how cruel the exactions of their landlords, how galling the exorbitant demands and proceedings of the tithe proctors, there was no availing sympathy for them either amongst the aristocracy or the squirearchy of the land.

The association of the Defenders, about 1792, had changed its character, from that of a society engaged in religious feuds, to one actuated by political motives, and the change was effected by the endeavours of the United Irishmen to reconcile the ultra Protestants and Catholics. Their views, however, continued so indistinct that Messrs. Emmet and M'Nevin could form no other opinion of their objects, except that a general notion prevailed amongst them, "that something ought to be done for Ireland". They had no persons in their body of the upper or even middling class in life. The only man known among them above the condition of a labourer, was a schoolmaster in Naas, of the name of Laurence O'Connor, who was executed in 1796. This man met his fate with a fortitude which has endeared his memory to the lower orders of his countrymen; his defence of the people, rather than his own, from the slanderous charges of his prosecutors, proves him to have been a person of no less intrepidity than superior talents.

In the same year it was discovered that an agent of the society of United Irishmen had interviews with the Defenders at Castlebellingham, in the county Louth, and had taken their oath of secrecy.

The object of Tandy's mission was to ascertain the real objects of the Defenders, with a view to the advantage of the Society of United Irishmen. The fact has not been avowed, but it cannot be denied. The aim of it was to turn the strength of that association of the peasantry into the channels of the United Irish system. One of the Defenders, who was present when Tandy was sworn, lodged informations against him, and he was fortunate enough to effect his escape out of the kingdom. The Defenders gradually merged into the United Irishmen, and in a short time there was no distinction between them

ORANGE ATROCITIES COMMITTED ON THE PEOPLE PREVIOUS TO THE REBELLION, DURING THE YEARS 1796–7.

The atrocities committed by the Orangemen on the people, not only in the north, but generally throughout the country, previously to the rebellion, especially during the latter part of 1796 and down to the autumn of 1797, when there was a temporary cessation of those enormities, have never been fully revealed. In fact little more is known of them than is to be gathered from general descriptions of house-wreckings and cabin-burnings—of wholesale extermination—of such events as six hundred families, at one fell swoop, having been swept off from a single county. But the particulars no historian of the time—no journalist—no writer living in the country dared to publish—and, accordingly, in Ireland we find no such record of them. Such a record, however, in the latter part of 1797, was published in London, by an Irish gentleman, a justice of the peace in one of the northern counties, under the signature of "An Observer". This pamphlet, now rarely to be met with, is called, "A View of the present State of Ireland, etc., addressed to the people of England". It is written with great ability, and bears throughout its pages the internal marks of authentic statements, wholly divested of exaggeration. The opinion entertained of its accuracy by James Hope, of Belfast, one well qualified to pronounce an opinion on that point, and whose opinion is entitled to respect, was conveyed to me in these words: "This pamphlet contains more truth than all the volumes I have seen written on the events of 1797 and 1798".

"Shortly after peace was concluded with America, ministers perceived they had been playing a losing game in Ireland; the Volunteer associations had materially altered the face of the country: in many places the Catholics had embodied themselves into Volunteer corps: a friendly intercourse with their Protestant brethren naturally followed; they felt that as Irishmen their interests were coëqual, hatred on account of religion was banished, harmony prevailed, and, if not an union of affection, at least an union of political sentiment appeared to exist amongst the people: of this, administration was well informed, and ministers trembled for what might be the result. To avert *reformation* they felt it *their duty* to create *division*. Various were the means employed to effect this immoral object; among others, they reverted to the old diabolical one of fomenting those religious feuds, which had so often consumed the vitals and palsied the native energy of the land...

"They taught the weak and credulous Protestant and Presbyterian to believe, that, if the Catholics who had obtained arms during the war, were suffered to retain them, they would seize on the first opportunity to overturn the government, and erect Popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. This, and other acts equally insidious, had the desired effect on the minds of many persons, particularly in the county of Armagh, where the metropolitan resided.

"Here fanaticism reared her standard, and a number of deluded people entered into a combination for the purpose of depriving the Catholics of their arms by force...

"For some time the Catholics remained patient and tranquil under their sufferings; at length they declared that all their efforts to obtain legal redress had been unavailing, and that the necessity of the case would oblige them to enter into counter-combinations to defend their lives and properties against a banditti of plundering ruffians, who appeared to be countenanced by authority, inasmuch as they were not punished by the criminal law of the land. These two parties had several encounters, in which victory was various; but many of the Catholic party, wearied out by continual persecution, fled from Armagh to different parts of the kingdom, particularly to the counties of Louth and Meath...

"Led by passion and goaded by persecution, they proceeded (like the Peep-of-Day Boys, who first set the example, and who never were punished), to acts of felony, by taking arms by force; but they soon fell victims to their folly and imprudence. This, then, whatever interesting and designing men assert to the contrary, *this* was the *true origin* and progress of Defenderism in Ireland...

"The tumultuous spirit, which manifested itself in several counties, could have been crushed on its first appearance with much ease; but administration looked on with an apathy, which many enlightened men declared criminal.

"Had administration, then, proclaimed an amnesty to all who might be willing to take the oath of allegiance, many lives would have been preserved, and those shocking massacres which have outraged humanity and tarnished the character of the government, would not have taken place...

"In the county of Meath a number of Defenders had assembled, and a part of the army was sent in pursuit of them. On the first appearance of the soldiers they dispersed; but a few, who were closely pursued, took refuge in a gentleman's house, where, after securing the doors, they defended themselves for some time; at length a capitulation was proposed; and it was agreed to by *all*

parties that the Defenders should deliver themselves up, to be conveyed to the county gaol, for trial at the ensuing assizes.

"The doors were opened, the military entered; but, instead of observing the terms of agreement, they put every Defender to death. The body of each man, '*killed off*', was cast from a window into the street, and for this brutal ferocity the soldiers were not even reprimanded. In the county of Louth, there was a party of these unhappy men attacked by a squadron of dragoons, who could have easily made the whole of them prisoners, but no mercy whatever was extended to them: those who escaped the sword were driven into a river and drowned.

"And at the head of this military corps was a magistrate of the county, a gentleman who holds an eminent seat in the Irish parliament.

"A party of the army was ordered out to attack a body of Defenders, assembled near the village of Ballanaugh, in the county of Cavan. On the approach of the military they dispersed; many of them sought shelter in the village, hiding themselves under beds, etc., which evinces that their resistance (if they made any) must have been feeble, and that it would be an easy matter to make them prisoners; but that would not satiate the vengeance of those monsters, who are stained with the blood of the Irish peasantry. The magistrates and officers commanding the party ordered the soldiers to surround the village and set it on fire, which order was readily obeyed. Every house, with the exception of one, was burned, and many innocent people perished in the flames with the guilty. No investigation, no legal process, took place; nor has the gentleman been indemnified, to whom the village belonged, for the loss of his property. In the counties of Westmeath, Longford, and Monaghan, similar excesses were committed. To mention the barbarities and scenes of horror which took place in the province of Connaught is unnecessary. The last parliament, by an act which disgraced it and betrayed the rights of its constituents, gave them more strongly to the world than any detailed account can possibly do. So flagitious, illegal, and unconstitutional was the conduct of the magistracy, that the administration (*yes, even the administration of Ireland!*) was afraid to let the atrocities which had been committed meet the public eye; and ministers procured a bill of indemnity to be passed in parliament, to screen from punishment those officers of the *peace* who, at the hour of midnight, tore men from the arms of their families, merely on the suspicion of their being *seditious*, and dragged them on board loathsome prison-ships, transporting them to destructive climates, without *examination*, without trial, *unheard, unpleaded!* And for these *services*

and *gallant exploits*, the man who figured foremost in the scene has been promoted to situations of the first importance in the nation.*...

"In January, 1796, a party of *Orangemen*, the Peep-of-Day Boys having adopted this new designation, headed by William Trimble, came to the house of Mr. Daniel Corrigan, a very reputable citizen, in the county of Armagh, parish of Kilmore, and, having before robbed him of his arms, which, being registered, he was by law entitled to retain, they demanded a pistol he had *subsequently* purchased to protect him as he travelled round the country (he being a dealer in cattle), which having obtained, they retired, promising his family protection; but returned in about twenty minutes, and, forcing the door, Trimble murdered Mr. Corrigan, by lodging seven balls in his body from a blunderbuss, and then destroyed the house and furniture. Trimble was afterwards apprehended, tried, found guilty, and ordered by the judge for execution in forty-eight hours; but through a *certain* interference he was respited. He continued in gaol till the ensuing assizes, when he was again arraigned for having murdered Mr. Arthur M'Cann, as also for several robberies; but his trial was put off, and in a few days he was ordered for *transportation*, when he was only sent to Cork, from whence he was *suffered* to go on board the fleet, like *a good and loyal subject*.

"The house of Mr. Bernard Crosson, of the parish of Mullanabrack, was attacked by Orangemen, in consequence of being a *reputed* Catholic. His son prevented them from entering by the front door, upon which they broke in at the back part of the house, and, firing on the inhabitants, killed Mr. Crosson, his son, and daughter. Mr. Hugh M'Fay, of the parish of Seagoe, had his house likewise attacked on the same pretence, himself wounded, his furniture destroyed, and his wife barbarously used.

"Information having been lodged against a few individuals living in the village of Kilrea, in the county of Derry, for being United Irishmen, a party of the military were ordered to apprehend them; the men avoided the caption, and about three o'clock in the morning, a *reverend* magistrate, accompanied by a clergyman of the same description, and the commanding officer of the party, ordered the soldiers to set fire to the houses of the accused: the men obeyed, and all was consumed. There were four houses which could not be burned without endangering the whole village; they therefore gutted them, and, having carried out the moveables, burned them in the street.

* Lord Carhampton.

"One circumstance peculiarly savage took place on this occasion:—The wife of one of the accused had been delivered of a child only the day preceding; she was carried out of her house, and, with the infant, thrown into the snow, while her blankets and wearing apparel were consigned to the flames. None of these savage violators of law and humanity were brought to justice; on the contrary, the reverend magistrate has since been promoted to a more enlarged benefice. It is a well known fact that, in the county of Armagh alone, *seven hundred Catholic families* were driven to poverty and desolation, their houses burned, and property destroyed by Orangemen. It may be said that administration was not the secret mover in these horrid scenes; but the following *facts* will, I think, enable the reader to form a tolerable opinion on the subject:—Three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of the county of Down and Armagh, that they met in committees; amongst whom were some *members of parliament*, known to be the tools of state, who gave these people money, and promised *they should not suffer* for any act they might commit, and pledged themselves that they should hereafter be provided for under the auspices of government. Furthermore, the said magistrate addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, inquiring of him how he should act in these critical times; that hitherto he had preserved peace on his large estate, but wished to know how he should act in future; and that if it was necessary for the preservation of the *present system* for him to connive at or encourage the Orangemen in their depredations, he said, as *a man*, he knew *his duty;* if it was *not* necessary, he hoped the magistrates of the county at large would be made responsible, and be compelled to act against these *depredators.* This letter was written in consequence of a large meeting which was advertised to be held by the Orangemen in about ten days after. Though he could have had an answer in four days, he did not receive one for two months; and when it did make its appearance, it was couched in such evasive and equivocal language, that it was impossible to comprehend its meaning. It is also worthy of remark that these unprincipled hirelings were never once mentioned in the answer...

"In the month of May last, a party of the Essex Fencibles, accompanied by the Enniskillen Yeomen Infantry, commanded by their first lieutenant, marched to the house of a Mr. Potter, a very respectable farmer, who lived within five miles of Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh. On their arrival they demanded Mr. Potter, saying they were ordered to arrest him, as he was charged with being an United Irishman. His wife, with much firmness, replied, 'that to be an United Irishman was an

honour, not a disgrace; that her husband had gone from home the preceding day on business, and had not yet returned'. They assured her that if he did not surrender himself in *three hours* they would burn his house. Mrs. Potter answered, 'that she did not know exactly where he then was, but, if she did know, she believed it would be impossible to have him home in so *short a time*'. In less than three hours they set fire to the house, which was a very neat one, only about five years built; the servants brought out some beds and other valuable articles, in the hope of preserving them, but the military dashed all back into the flames. The house and property, to the amount of six or seven hundred pounds, were consumed, and Mrs. Potter, with seven children, one of them not a month old, were turned out, at the hour of midnight, into the fields...

"In June, 1797, a party of the Ancient Britons (a fencible regiment, commanded by Sir Watkins William Wynne) were ordered to examine the house of Mr. Rice, an inn-keeper in the town of Coolavil, county of Armagh, for arms; but on making very diligent search, none could be found. There were some country people drinking in the house, and discoursing in their *native language;* the soldiers damned their *eternal Irish souls*, said they were speaking *treason*, and instantly fell on them with their swords and maimed several desperately. Miss Rice was so badly wounded that her life was despaired of, and her father escaped with much difficulty, after having received many cuts from the sabres of these assassins...

"In June, some persons had been refreshing themselves at an inn in Newtownards, county of Down, kept by a Mr. M'Cormick, and it was alleged that they were overheard uttering words termed seditious. M'Cormick was afterwards called on to give information who they were; he denied having any knowledge of them, observing that many people might come into his house whom he did not know, and for whom he could not be accountable. He was taken into custody, and next day his house and extensive property were reduced to ashes. The house of Dr. Jackson was torn down on *suspicion* of his being *an United Irishman;* and many other houses in that town and barony were destroyed, or otherwise demolished, by English Fencibles, on similar pretexts.

"On the 22nd of June, Mr. Joseph Clotney, of Ballinahinch, was committed to the Military Barracks, Belfast, and his house, furniture, and books, worth three thousand pounds, destroyed; also the valuable house of Mr. Armstrong, of that place, was totally demolished.

"In the month of April last, a detachment of the Essex Fen-

cibles, then quartered in Enniskillen, were ordered, under the command of a captain and adjutant, accompanied by the First Fermanagh Yeomanry, into an adjoining county to search for arms. About two o'clock in the morning they arrived at the house of one Durnian, a farmer, which, without any previous intimation whatever, they broke open, and on entering it, one of the fencibles fired his musket through the roof of the house: an officer instantly discharged his pistol into a bed where two young men were lying, and wounded them both. One of them, *the only child* of Durnian, rose with great difficulty, and on making this effort, faint with the loss of blood, a fencible stabbed him through the bowels. His distracted mother ran to support him, but in a few moments she sank upon the floor, covered with the blood, which issued from the side of her unfortunate son; by this time the other young man had got on his knees to implore mercy, declaring most solemnly that they had not been guilty of any crime, when another fencible *deliberately knelt down*, levelled his musket at him, and was just going to fire, when a sergeant of yeomanry rushed in, seized, and prevented his committing the horrid deed. There were persons present *who smiled* at the humanity of the sergeant...

"Information had been lodged that a house near Newry contained concealed arms. A party of the Ancient Britons repaired to the house, but not finding the object of their search, they set it on fire. The peasantry of the neighbourhood came running from all sides to extinguish the flames, believing the fire to have been accidental—it was the first military one in that part of the country. As they came up they were attacked in all directions, and cut down by the fencibles; thirty were killed, among whom were a woman and two children. An old man (above seventy years), seeing the dreadful slaughter of his neighbours and friends, fled for safety to some adjacent rocks; he was pursued, and, though on his knees imploring mercy, a brutal Welshman cut off his head at a blow...

"I have stated incontrovertible truths. Months would be insufficient to enumerate all the acts of wanton cruelty which were inflicted on the inhabitants of Ireland from the 1st of April to the 24th of July, 1797".—*A View of the Present State of Ireland*, etc. By an Observer. London, 1797.

Specimens of the Summary Notices of the Wreckers of Armagh and Down, addressed to the Catholic inhabitants of those counties, extracted from a tract called "Lysimachia", *published in Belfast in* 1797, *and ascribed to a Scotch Clergyman, Dr. Glass, who held the Church of Connor.*

"To John Hollan, Coopernack, Gilford.

"John Hollan, you are *desirred* to abandon *you* house *agen* the 21st of March; and if you don't, we will *reck* you worse than *never* we did Devlin, and the *resen* is this—that you *preten* to be a Protestant, and is not; moreover, you have a Papish wife. You also harbour at you house one Lenny Lennon, one of the Lisnagade Defenders, who fired a pistol at an Orangeman. We *pipered* him, and gave him a fortnight's warning, and *sin* he is not gone yet, but if he waits our coming he shall pay double for all his iniquities. Given under our hand this —— day of March, being the second year of the destruction of the Pope, the great scarlet wh—re of Babylon, and his infernal imps, the priests".

"To the Inhabitants of ————.

"Take Notice.—If any person will buy any turf from any *Papis* in the Glass Moss, that we will *sow* no *feaver* to any person, friend or *stronger*, by any means; for, by the living G—d, if you will go against my word, that *Captin* Racker will *vizet* you when *you* not thinking of him. Bold Anty. M'Cusker, Dannal Hogen".

"Morthugh M'Linden, we have *speared* you as long as *possable*, but we will see you shortly; we come unexpected. *Now* more at present, but *romains* your humble servant, *Captin* Racker: and brave old Humpy will be there also".

"Farrell, we desire you to clear *aff*, and if you do not, we will fetch *Catin* Slasher *Raker*, G—d's *cratur*, and Humpy to you, and *Captin* Slasher wh—re. Go to H—ll, *Connat*, or *Butney* Bay. And if *ony* one harbours you or your goods, by *Hevens* we will pitch the Thatcher and Glasser to them".

Emmet, M'Nevin, and O'Connor, give the following account of the influence of the Armagh persecution in driving the people to desperation.

"The provocations of the year 1794, the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the reassumption of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelt on. The county of Armagh had been long desolated by two contending factions, agreeing only in one thing, an opinion that most of the active magistrates in that county

treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated, that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers and those who sympathized in their misfortunes. It was urged with indignation, that notwithstanding the greatness of the military establishment of Ireland, and its having been able to suppress the Defenders in various counties, it was never able, or was not employed to suppress these outrages in that county, which drove 7,000 persons from their native dwellings. The magistrates, who took no steps against the Orangemen, were said to have overleaped the boundaries of law to pursue and punish the Defenders. The government seemed to take upon themselves those injuries by the Indemnity Act, and even honoured the violators, and by the Insurrection Act, which enabled the same magistrates, if they chose, under colour of law, to act anew the same abominations. Nothing, it was contended, could more justly excite the spirit of resistance, and determine men to appeal to arms, than the Insurrection Act; it punished with death the administering of oaths...The power of proclaiming counties, and quieting them, by breaking open the cabins of the peasants between sunset and sunrise, by seizing the inmates, and sending them on board tenders, without the ordinary interposition of a trial by jury, had, it was alleged, irritated beyond endurance the minds of the reflecting and the feelings of the unthinking inhabitants of that province".—*Memoir of the Irish Union*, p. 14.

CHAPTER V.

THE VOLUNTEERS—THEIR EFFORTS FOR REFORM—ORIGIN AND DISSOLUTION.

The period between the successful issue of the struggle for the independence of the Irish parliament, and the outbreak of the rebellion in 1798, was one of the most stirring and memorable epochs in the history of Ireland. The momentous events which were then taking place in other countries exerted a powerful influence on the political sentiments of the upper and middle classes of our people.

This period abounded with events of greater importance than any that preceded it for many centuries. The evil genius of George the Third, which strongly disposed him to take the side most adverse to the people on any popular question, and invariably opposed his inclinations to the extension of freedom, civil

or religious, succumbed eventually to the spirit of liberty in another hemisphere, and *the independence of a New World was the consequence.*

In France, the royal adherence to despotic principles, rather than the King's abuse of despotic power, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the ends of those political philosophers who, in the words of Condorcet, "without foreseeing all that they have done, have yet done all that we have lived to see accomplished". The arrogance of a nobility enervated by luxury, and emboldened in its vices by the servility which had been long regarded as the allegiance of the vulgar to its pomp, had brought the court into contempt, and militated at last against the monarchy itself. In Ireland, the two great examples I have quoted, of the power of the people, and the success of its united efforts for the attainment of objects nationally desired, were not overlooked; on the contrary, they were regarded with feelings of wonder and admiration. No country in the world at that period stood in a position more likely to be affected by such examples: everything was anomalous in her condition. She belonged to England, and was said to be an independent nation; she had a parliament, and, it might be presumed, therefore, legislative power; she owned allegiance to a king who owed his crown to a revolution which was risked in defence of civil and religious liberty. It might, therefore, be expected that the creed of his Irish subjects could not prejudice their civil rights; nevertheless, Ireland at this period was regarded by England, not as a sister, but as a rival whose clashing interests were constantly to be repressed. Her parliament was a theatre of automaton performers, with an English minister behind the scenes: he pulled the wires, and as he willed, the puppets moved; and while the spectators wondered at the nimble members that were set in motion, and listened to the words that seemed to issue from their mouths, they almost forgot the British mechanist who stirred or stayed the "fantoccini" of the Irish parliament. Her judges were dependent on the crown. Her military establishment was independent of her parliament. Her trade was impeded by prohibitory statutes which utterly sacrificed her interests to the aggrandizement of England. The result of three general confiscations of the property of the natives of the country in the course of two hundred years, had left five-sixths of the landed property of the nation in the hands of the Protestant inhabitants, who hardly amounted to one-tenth of the whole population. It unfortunately was considered, at the time of King William's settlement, that the Reformation was not sufficiently cemented to bear the weight of toleration on the same pedestal on which religion was placed by

Henry the Eighth. The old plea for spoliation—the civilization of the subdued by means of compulsory conversion—had never been abandoned; but the effort was not successful, and the church gained only a few indifferent members, whilst the sovereign lost the affections of some millions of subjects by the attempt.

In the early part of the reign of George the Third, Roman Catholics were debarred from holding any office in the state, civil or military, above that of constable, parish overseer, or any like inferior appointment. They could not endow any school or college; they could not contract marriage with Protestants, without subjecting the priest who solemnized such marriage to the penalty of death, if unfortunately discovered; any justice of the peace, even without information, might enter their houses by day or night to search for arms; they could obtain no degrees in the University of Dublin; they, with all the inhabitants of this realm, were charged to attend divine service, according to the established religion, upon Sundays and holidays, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, and forfeiture of twelve pence for every time of absence; their clergy dared not officiate at any funeral, or any other public ceremony, outside their own place of worship. A child of a Catholic (by the 8th of Queen Anne), at any age, on conforming to the Protestant faith, might file a bill against his father, and compel him on oath to give an account of his property: whereupon the Chancellor was empowered to allot, for the child's immediate maintenance, one-third of the father's goods and personal chattels, and, on the death of the father, the statute assigned no limits to the power of the Chancellor over the property in favour of the Protestant child. Neither the concessions of 1778, nor those of 1782, secured the Catholics in property acquired in that interval against the provisions of the 8th of Anne. Every Catholic (male or female), of every grade, was compellable, on pain, not only of fine and imprisonment, but of the *pillory and whipping*, to appear, when summoned before any justice of the peace, to give information against any Papist he or she might know to keep arms in his house; and not the least offensive of these disabilities was, their exclusion from the exercise of the elective franchise, a right enjoyed by the Catholics from the first adoption of the English constitution, secured to them by the treaty of Limerick in 1691, guaranteed by King William and Queen Mary, and even ratified by Parliament, and which was taken from them in the first year of the reign of George the Second. Even by the Act of Concession of 1778, "no Popish university or college" could "be erected or endowed". The chief concessions of the act of 1778 were the following:—Papists

were empowered to take leases for any term, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or any number of lives, not exceeding five; to purchase or take by grant, descent, or devise, any species of property; to educate youths of their own persuasion; to be guardians of their own children; to intermarry with Protestants, provided the marriage was solemnized by a Protestant clergyman; and a Popish clergyman duly licensed to officiate in any church or chapel, without a bell, or any symbol of ecclesiastical dignity or authority; and, by subscribing the oaths of allegiance, Papists might qualify to be called to the bar and to become attorneys. Such was the state of Ireland, when "a voice from the New World shouted to liberty", in the words of Flood, and the example of America found a plea, in the apprehension of invasion, for calling forth the Volunteers of Ireland. Their first demands were made somewhat in the spirit of the Spanish beggar's supplication. Their artillery corps appeared on parade in Dublin, with labels on the mouths of their cannon, bearing the words: "Free trade or speedy revolution". Their importunity increased with their strength, and at length they demanded from England *the independence of their country*, and England was not then in a condition to refuse it.

This extraordinary association of armed citizens owed its origin to a letter of Sir Richard Heron, in reply to an application from the inhabitants of the town of Belfast to government, for the protection of a military force, on the alleged ground of the danger of invasion, the apprehension of which was then loudly talked of over the country. To this demand, the answer of the secretary, Sir Richard Heron, was, that Government could afford none.

In fact, in 1777 the Government had no means of national defence, and "the people", says Hardy, "were left to take care of themselves". An English army at that time was captive in America—the war had drained both countries of their forces. Previously to the secretary's admission of the weakness of the Government, or the negligence that had left the country without defence, a few straggling corps of armed citizens were formed for the protection of the coasts; but the Volunteer institution soon spread over the country, and in one year its members amounted, we are told by Hardy, to 42,000 men. The number in a short time had nearly doubled.

An army of volunteers of 80,000 men, self-raised, self-supported, self-commissioned, in a country hitherto treated as a conquered one, which was only to be governed by the weakness of a divided people, was a strange phenomenon. Grattan and other enlightened chiefs of the new army declared the essential strength of the volunteer association was the union of Catholic, Protestant,

and Presbyterian—"of Irishmen", in short, "of every denomination". The reader need not look further for the origin of the "United Irishmen": the latter association naturally sprung out of the former institution, when it departed from its original principles and dwindled away and died rather ingloriously.

The following document is a copy of the original compact, entered into for the formation of the first volunteer corps, with the signatures of the members of the association, bearing date, the 26th of March, 1778, and styled the "Belfast First Volunteer Company". This curious documeut, which may be regarded as the Magna Charta of the Irish Volunteers, a few years ago was in the possession of Mr. Francis M'Cracken, of Belfast, one of the original members, and, as he informed me, then the only surviving one of them. This gentleman, then in extreme old age, spoke of the establishment of the association—of its noble appearance and its admirable discipline, with all the enthusiasm of his early days in its service. The uniform he wore on the first parade-day of his company, was produced on the occasion of my seeking a copy of this document, and, at the expiration of sixty-four years, was once more put on by the old gentleman, to show me how it looked; and the spirit of the old volunteering times seemed, for a moment, to animate the features and to set up the stooping form of the old soldier of his country, as he paraded his drawing-room, recalling the stirring times of his volunteering days, and the glorious scenes he had witnessed when that old uniform was first in requisition.

This sort of practical connexion of two links of time, many years apart, and replete with so many striking reminiscences, was not without a touching interest.

The immediate cause of the formation of the Belfast Volunteer Association, is said to have been, the receipt of the letter that has been referred to from the chief secretary of state, Sir Richard Heron, in reply to a communication from the principal inhabitants of Belfast, through the sovereign of that town, Mr. Stewart Banks. The reply was to the following effect:—

Dublin Castle, August 14, 1778.

Sir—My Lord Lieutenant having received information that there is reason to apprehend three or four privateers, in company,* may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom; by his Excellency's command, I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and

* In the month of April, 1778, the "Ranger" privateer, Captain Paul Jones, mounting eighteen guns, had sailed round H.M.'s sloop of war "Drake", lying in the harbour of Belfast.

immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his Excellency cannot, at present, send *no* further military force to Belfast than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids; and his Excellency desires you will acquaint me, by express, whether a troop or two of horse may be *properly* accommodated in Belfast, so long as it may be *proper* to continue them in that town, in addition to the other two troops now there.

I have the honour to be, etc., etc., etc.,

RICHARD HERON.

The Volunteers appear to have first determined on uniting, and then asking, in a dutiful manner, for the consent of the guardians of the public peace. The above letter is dated the 14th August, 1778, when the first Volunteer Association had been already nearly five months in existence in Belfast, having been formed the 26th of March. Paul Jones's appearance off the harbour, and sailing round the "Drake", did not take place till the 13th of April; so that the sound of the loud voice that was shouting across the Atlantic appears to have reached the shores of our modern Athens before the fear of foreign invasion or piratical attempts had inspired much alarm, or stimulated the military ardour of the sturdy spirit of the northern Presbyterians:—

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of the town of Belfast, in consideration of the impending war with France, and the apprehension of a hostile invasion of the country, and of the consequent intestine commotions that may arise therefrom, do hereby associate ourselves together to learn the military discipline, for defence of ourselves and this town and county, under the name of the Belfast First Volunteer Company; and we plight our faith, each to all, to be governed in this our design, in every case that may arise, by the voice of the majority; and that we will not withdraw from the Company from any other cause than removal or bodily indisposition; and that we will each bear a proportional share of the expenses that may arise to the Company, and that we will never accept of any wages or reward from government as a Volunteer Company, or submit to take any military oath or obligation therefrom.

Given under our hands this 26th March, 1778.*

Thomas Brown,	Robert Hyndman,
Stewart Banks,	Robert Linn,

* There was another draft of the above document, dated the 17th March, in the possession of Mr. M'Cracken, which was lost.

Joseph Murray,
James Joy,
William Caldbeck,
Jones Park, jun.,
James M'Comb,
Thomas Mostyn,
Robert Bradshaw,
William Caldbeck,
Val. Joyce,
George Wells, jun.
Francis Barron,
Henry Haslett,
James M'Kain,
Shem Thompson,
James Ferguson, jun.
John Neilson,
James Hyndman,
George Joy,
John Stevenson,
John S. Ferguson,
Charles Lewis,
James Fitzgerald,
William Thompson,
Francis Joy,
Robert Murray,
James Arthur,
William Wilson,
Andrew Hyndman,
Samuel Robinson,
William Ware,
William Lyons,
J. Tisdall,
James Cleland,
John Callwell,
Alexander Sutherland,
Robert Hodgson,
Alexander Holmes,
Richard Seed,
Cr. Salmon,
David Dinsmore,
Samuel Stewart,
Thomas Harden,
James Martin,
Samuel Ferguson,
Francis Wilson,

Samuel M'Cadam,
William Duxen,
Henry Joy, jun.
Robert Wilson,
J. Alexander,
Alexander Searson,
Charles M'Kinney,
William M'Ilwrath,
John Murdock,
William Dawson,
John Elliott,
William Watson,
William Burgess,
Waddell Cunningham,
Alexander Arthur,
John Matthews,
William Magee,
John Burden,
Francis M'Cracken,
William Callwell,
David Tomb,
Hu. Warren,
James Graham,
Thomas Kirkpatrick,
William Byrtt,
William Milford,
Hugh Dunlop,
John Gowan,
Richard Maitland,
James Stevenson,
William Auchinleck,
Edward Harrison,
John Logan,
Hugh Lyndon,
John Miller,
Thomas M'Cadam,
James H. Fletcher,
Richard Armstrong,
Alexander M'Ilwrath,
Andrew Neilson,
Joseph Wilson,
William M'Ketterick,
Charles Boswell,
James Murray,
Marcus Ward,

Roger Mulholland,
John Barker,
Robert Watt M'Clure,
James Corry,
Robert M'Cormick,
John Boyle,
David M'Tear,
Thomas M'Comb,
John Park,
Thomas Lyons,
Hu. Harrison,
James Cunningham,
Baptist Johnston,
Hu. Crawford,
Robert Hyndman,
John Moore,
Thomas Sinclair, jun.
John Bullock,
Roger M'Clum,
Thomas Clonnes,
George Kelso,
Terry Fitzgibbon,
John Gowdy,
Robert M'Cleary,
John Stewart,
Thomas Frazer,
Alexander Anderson,
Hugh Willoughby Toft,
William Bryson,
Hugh Sloan,
Andrew Hannah,
Sampson Clark,
John Griffith,
James Liddon,
Henry Shaw,
James M'Pherson,
William Spencer,
Thos. Ludford Stewart,
Alexander Petherow,
Francis Davis,
David Logan,
William Crymble,
William Emerson,
James Kennedy,
Thos. Wm. Betterton,
James Henry.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of the town of Belfast, actuated by the same motives expressed in the annexed association, do hereby join therein under the conditions and obligations therein mentioned, in the capacity of a body for exercising and fighting the Artillery intended for the First Company of Belfast Volunteers.

Given under our hands this 6th day of July, 1778.

Hugh Henderson,
Daniel Boyd,
James Boyd,
James Bell,
Robert Steele,
Robert Torrens,
Thomas Ash,
Hugh Hawthorn,
Alexander Fidlie,
David Dunn,
Hugh Dickson,
John M'Cracken,
William Scott,
William Hilditch,
James Bashford,
John M'Cormick.

The Artillery Company never purchased uniform. The late Earl of Donegal, father to the present Marquess, presented each of the three Belfast Companies with two brass field-pieces (six-pounders), two of which, belonging to the second company, were

used by the people at the battle of Antrim, and taken by the military; the other four were given up to General Nugent, in 1798. The first uniform of the Volunteers of 1778, was scarlet with black velvet facings; five or six years later, it was changed to green with white facings, and in 1793, to yellow with white facings.

It is the fashion to assert that nothing but loyalty animated the Volunteers, and treason only, and the influence of French politics, the United Irishmen. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, it was something less than loyalty alone, and something more than the fear of invasion at all, that animated Ireland, and arrayed its spirit in the volunteer associations, when the voice from America was shouting "Liberty!" across the Atlantic, and a little later, when the first dawn of the revolution in France was beginning to dazzle the eyes of our long benighted country. It was the wrongs of Ireland which armed "its fears of French invasion": it was the undue influence exercised over its legislative rights that caused its people to demonstrate *their loyalty* at the head of an army over which his Majesty's government had no control; and it was to make a signal demonstration of the strength of their effective force, and the martial vigour of their collective wisdom, that they called together a national convention, first in Dungannon, and afterwards in Dublin. In the former place, two hundred delegates of the Volunteers, in their military uniform and accoutrements, marched two by two to the Protestant church of Dungannon, and there, after many days' deliberation, they agreed upon that celebrated declaration of their rights, which procured for Ireland the transitory, the illusory independence of her parliament. The views of the British minister, in reference to that measure, were rightly appreciated and characterized by Flood, when the declaration was made in parliament, purporting to be a message from the King, through the secretary, "that mistrusts and jealousies had arisen in Ireland, and that it was highly necessary to take the same into immediate consideration, in order to a final adjustment". On that occasion, to put the Duke of Portland's sincerity beyond a doubt, his friend, Mr. Ponsonby, took upon him to answer for his Grace, that "he would use his utmost influence in obtaining the *rights of Ireland*, an object *on which he had fixed his heart*".

It appears there was one man at least in that house who doubted the sincerity of the minister—and that man was Flood, to whose public character Lord Charlemont's biographer has done great injustice, and to whose views as a statesman, those of his great rival, Grattan, can bear no comparison, whatever superiority

the fidelity of his attachment to his country may give him over his rival.

That Flood was right in his scepticism, and Grattan wrong in his credulity, the event fully proved. In 1799, the same Duke of Portland openly avowed, that "he never considered the independence of the Irish Parliament a *final* adjustment".

It is perfectly evident that Pitt, from the moment he came into power, never ceased to regard that independence as a measure which had been unconstitutionally extorted, and at any hazard, cost, or sacrifice, was "to be re-captured". The course of the Irish Parliament on the regency question still more strongly fixed his determination. The incaution of that great and noble Irishman, our illustrious Grattan, enabled Pitt to place his finger on a flaw in the title to our Parliamentary independence, while an oversight in the Place Bill—the favourite bantling, as it has been called, of Grattan's patriotism—enabled the minister to pack that suicidal Parliament.

From the period of the Duke of Portland's unexpected announcement of the intention of the British Government to concede the demand of parliamentary independence to Ireland, the great intellect of Grattan appeared to sink under the obligation, and, to use his own words on another occasion, he "had given back in sheepish gratitude the whole advantage". After the speech of the viceroy was read on that occasion, Mr. Grattan, in seconding the address, observed: "I should desert every principle upon which I moved the former address, did I not bear testimony to the candid and unqualified manner in which the address has been answered by the Lord Lieutenant's speech of this day. I understand that *Great Britain gives up*, in toto, *every claim to authority over Ireland. I have not the least idea in repealing the 6th of George the First, that Great Britain should be bound to make any declaration that she had formerly usurped a power. No; this would be a foolish caution*—a dishonourable condition: the nation that insists upon the humiliation of another, is a foolish nation. Another part of great magnanimity in the conduct of Great Britain is, that everything is given up unconditionally; this must for ever remove suspicion"—*Commons' Debates*, vol. 20. This fatal security at the termination of a struggle like this, at the most critical moment of its history, in its fatuity, reminds one of the mournful fate of the wife of Lavalette; straining every mortal energy for the preservation of a life dearer to her than her own, and when all her efforts are crowned with success,—when the object of her love is restored by her to life and liberty,—the wonderful energy that braced up every faculty of her soul, and enabled her to make this great

effort, fails her only when the accomplishment of her hopes appears complete, and the noble mind that wrought the victory sinks under its success.

So far from giving up "*in toto*" every claim to authority over Ireland, the British Minister distinctly stated, that "*internal* interference with the Irish Parliament would no longer be attempted, but the right of external legislation remained unchanged". If the independence of the Irish Parliament was intended to be permanent, the repeal alone of the 6th of George the First, which made it legal to bind Ireland by English acts of Parliament, was inadequate to the final settlement of the question; the renunciation of the right for legislating for Ireland was requisite; and that right not being renounced, the simple repeal of an act in violation of it, so far "for ever from removing suspicion", left very great reason to fear a repetition of it whenever the suppression of the Volunteers deprived the country of the strength that had rendered her claims irresistible.

In the debate on this question, Flood ably pointed out the insufficiency of the repeal of the 6th of George the First. Notwithstanding the laudable acquiescence which appeared in the renunciation of English claims, "who could engage", he said, "that the present administration might not at some future time change its mind? The English House of Commons asserted a right to external legislation, and he who seconded the motion on the Irish question, did not give up that right, but as a matter of convenience and compact". A very able exposure of the illusory independence of the Irish Parliament was made in the debate on that measure, by Mr. Walsh, a barrister; he said: "With regard to the repeal of the 6th George the First, I rely on it as a lawyer, that it is inadequate to the emancipation of Ireland. This act is merely a declaratory law; it declares that England has a power to make laws to bind Ireland. What then does the repeal of this law do with respect to Ireland?—simply this, and not a jot more: it expunges the declaration of the power from the English statute book, but it does not deny the power to make laws hereafter to bind Ireland, whenever England shall think herself in sufficient force for the purpose. I call upon the King's new attorney-general, to rise in his place and declare whether the assumed and usurped power of England to bind Ireland, will not remain untouched and unrelinquished, though the 6th of George the First should be repealed?"—"With respect to the fine-spun distinction of the English Minister, Mr. Fox, between external and internal legislation, it seems to me the most absurd position that could possibly be laid down, when applied to an independent people. See how pregnant this doc-

trine of Mr. Fox is with every mischief, nay with absolute destruction to this country; the Parliament of Ireland can make laws for their internal regulation; that is, he gives us leave to tax ourselves, he permits us to take the money out of our purses for the convenience of England. But as to external legislation, there Great Britain presides; in anything that relates to commerce, to the exportation of our produce, there Great Britain can make laws to bind Ireland". "Ireland", continued Mr. Walsh, "is independent, or she is not; if she is independent, no power on Earth can make laws to bind her externally or internally, save the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; I therefore again repeat it, that until England unequivocally declares, by an act of her own legislature, that she has no power to make laws to bind Ireland, the assumed and usurped power of English legislation over this country is not relinquished".

The Recorder, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, forcibly pointed out the absurdity of that part of Mr. Grattan's address, "that there will no longer exist any constitutional question between the two nations that can disturb their mutual tranquillity"; he instanced the recent embargo, the possibility of another, the fact of the oaths taken that day by the Irish Secretary being under an English law, and the Speaker himself sitting in the chair under an English law: "were not these matters", he asked, "subjects for constitutional inquiry, and could any man say that the consideration of them might not interrupt the harmony between the two kingdoms?" To all these arguments Mr. Grattan replied, "An honourable gentleman supposes that England will again assume this power when she can find herself able; but that supposition must lose all weight from the solemn surrender England has made of this assumed power".

Thus did this great man allow his reason to become the dupe of a generous credulity, and by the power of his unrivalled eloquence he was enabled to carry away the sober judgment of the House, with the honourable exception of four dissentient votes. The division on the address determined the fate of Irish independence; there were two hundred and eleven ayes for Mr. Grattan's motion, and four votes against it.

This illusory phantom of national independence pointed out the way to parliamenty reform and Catholic emancipation, and these objects haunted the minds of the Irish people long after the expiring efforts of the Volunteers had ceased to be a mockery to the pride or hopes of Ireland. All the energy of the nation concentrated in that volunteer association, had been expended in obtaining this nominal independence, and had precluded its successful employment in the struggle for reform. The people, on

the disbanding of the Volunteers, discovered that they had been deceived, that the nominal independence of an unreformed parliament was worse than illusory, that the evils which sprung from it had become irremediable by ordinary means. Grattan himself found out, but when it was too late, that all his labours for the independence of Ireland, had only served to make the influence of the Irish Parliament a monopoly for an unprincipled faction, and its power and patronage the private property of a family hostile to the interests of the nation.

There can be no doubt that the inadequate measures taken by Grattan for the security of the independence of the parliament, was the cause of the rebellion of 1798; and little did he imagine, when he reviled the actors in it in his place in parliament, that all the blood that was shed in that struggle was spilt either in defence of the principles on which he advocated national independence, or in the re-conquest of that independence on the part of England, which he had imperfectly achieved.

In the first stage of the proceedings of the convention at Dungannon, the constitutional legality of the proceedings of deliberating soldiers was defended on the principle of the English revolution, namely, "on the people's right of preparatory resistance to unconstitutional oppression". Its members asserted, by their first resolution, "that a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights". Their other resolutions were expressive of their wrongs, and resolutely indicative of their disposition to redress them. The patriotism that dictated them was evident enough, but the manifestation of loyalty was by no means conspicuous. The invasion panic had afforded a pretext for putting arms into the hands of the advocates, first of national independence, and then of parliamentary reform; the Dungannon convention effected the former by its declaration of the 15th February, 1782.

On the 1st of July, at the Ulster meeting of the Volunteer Delegates at Lisburn, an address to the army on the subject of parliamentary reform was issued, signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman, Colonel Rowley, and others, calling on that loyal army to assemble with the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and firmness, which actuated them on the memorable 15th February, 1782, "*to deliberate on the most constitutional means of procuring a more equal representation of the people in the Parliament of Ireland*". And not the least singular circumstance in this requisition to the Irish soldiery to deliberate, sword in hand, on the most constitutional means of obtaining parliamentary reform, is to find that, in advocating the necessity for it, it is stated in the requisition, that "it was warmly supported by that consummate

statesman, the Earl of Chatham, and revived by the heir to his abilities and name, the present William Pitt".

At the meeting of the celebrated Dungannon convention, 8th September, 1783 (Colonel Robert Stewart having been called to the chair, vacated by Colonel J. Stewart), a communication was read from the 1st regiment of the Irish Brigade, dated 15th February, 1782, which concluded in these terms:—"At this great crisis, when the western world, while laying the foundation of a rising empire, temptingly holds out a system of equal liberty to mankind, and waits with open arms to receive the emigrants from surrounding nations, we think it a duty we owe to our country, *to promote, as far as our example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants of Ireland.* Animated by this sentiment, and convinced that national unanimity is the basis of national strength, this regiment affords a striking instance how far the divine spirit of toleration can *unite men of all religious descriptions* in one great object—the support of a free constitution".*

The next most remarkable meeting of the Volunteers, was that of the Delegates from the "Volunteer Army of Leinster", which sat on the 9th October, 1783, at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, Lord Charlemont in the chair. It is a striking feature in the proceedings of the Volunteers, that, almost invariably, the first resolution at every meeting was, "that the present state of the representation of the people of this kingdom requires to be reformed". On this occasion Colonel Hatton opposed the resolution, and moved one to the effect: "That it is only through the medium of the legislature that we do hope for constitutional redress".† "This brought on (says the history I have already quoted) a debate, in the course of which it was urged, 'that the sacred majesty of the people was, in all times, fully competent to correct the abuses which might arise in the constitution, *and to control and direct that branch of the legislature to which they had only delegated a power*, but which interposition on the part of the people, it was allowed to be impolitic to exercise, save only on the most important occasions'"; and, in support of this doctrine, the secretary urged the authority of the celebrated Dr. Jebb, etc. The resolution, however, of Colonel Hatton, materially amended by Counsellor Michael Smith, was eventually carried.

On the 10th November, 1783, the grand National Convention met at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, and subsequently adjourned to the Rotundo, Lord Charlemont in the chair, and continued to

* "History of the Proceedings and Debates of the Volunteer Delegates", p. 13.
† Idem, p. 17.

meet till the 2nd of December, 1783. The sub-committee of the Convention, consisting of one delegate for each city and county, by whom the business of the Convention was regulated, chose Colonel the Right Honourable Robert Stewart for their chairman.

On the 21st of November, the chairman of the sub-committee reported to the convention a series of resolutions of that committee, on the subject of reform, to the following effect:

"That it was the unanimous opinion of the committee, that no non-resident elector should be permitted to vote for any representative in Parliament, unless his right of voting arose from landed property of £20 per annum.

"That no elector be deemed a resident, who had not resided for six months in the year previous to the day of issuing the writ for the election, and unless that borough, town, or city, had been his usual place of residence during the period of his registry.

"That the sheriff of each county do appoint a deputy, to take the poll in each barony on the same day.

"That all depopulated places, or decayed boroughs, which had hitherto returned representatives, by an extension of the franchise to the neighbouring barony, be enabled to return representatives to Parliament.

"That every borough, town, or city, which hitherto had returned representatives, be deemed decayed, which did not contain two hundred electors, over and above potwallopers, according to the plan for the province of Leinster, and should cease to return representatives till the aforesaid number of electors be supplied.

"That every *Protestant*, possessed of a freehold, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for such city, town, or borough.

"That any bye-law made by a corporation to contract the franchise, shall be declared illegal.

"That every Protestant possessed of a leasehold of the yearly value of £10, in any city, town, or borough, not decayed, for thirty-one years or upwards, and of which ten years are unexpired, be entitled to vote; and every Protestant in any decayed city, town, or borough, having a leasehold of £5 yearly value, for thirty-one years, ten of which are unexpired, be permitted to vote.

"That every freeholder of 40s. per annum, in any decayed city, town, or borough, be entitled to vote.

"That the duration of Parliament ought not to exceed the term of three years.

"That all suffrages be given *vivâ voce*, and not by ballot.

"That any person holding a pension, except for life, or under the term of twenty-one years, be incapable of sitting in parlia-

ment; and if for life or twenty-one years, should vacate his seat, but be capable of reëlection.

"That any member accepting office under the crown, do vacate his seat, but be capable of reëlection.

"That every member, before he took his seat, should take an oath that he has not, nor any other person for him, with his knowledge or consent, given meat, drink, money, place or employment, or any consideration, for any expenses whatsoever voters may have been at for procuring votes at his election; and do further swear, that he will not suffer any person to hold any place or pension in trust for him while he serves in Parliament.

"And, lastly, that any person convicted of perjury by a jury, relative to the above oath, be incapable of ever sitting in Parliament".*

Such was the plan of reform submitted to the convention by the chairman of its sub-committee, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart; and, though not "the first whig", one might suppose there was something prophetic in the definition of the term that had reference to Irish politics, when it turns out that Lord Castlereagh was the first reformer in 1783. This plan of reform, with the exception of two sittings, in which the claims of the Catholics to the elective franchise were discussed and scouted by the assembly, occupied the attention of the Convention during the whole time it sat, till the 2nd of December, the day of its dissolution, and, it may be added, the date of the downfall of the Volunteer association. The National Convention, which assembled in Dublin, the 10th of November, 1783, consisted of three hundred delegates, who represented one hundred and fifty thousand Volunteers. The Volunteer grenadiers attended as a guard on the Convention during its sittings; the delegates were escorted into town by troops of armed citizens; the firing of twenty-one cannon announced the commencement of their proceedings. The various battalions proceeded from the Exchange to the Rotundo, the seat of the Convention, in grand military array, displaying amongst their banners the national standard of Ireland, and devices and mottoes on their flags which were not to be mistaken. Broad green ribbons were worn across the shoulders of the delegates, and according to Barrington, the lawyers even acknowledged the supreme power of the will of the people—the motto on their buttons was, "Vox populi suprema lex est".

This national convention of armed citizens was assembled within sight of the Irish House of Parliament, and both these parliaments were sitting at the same time, and the leading popu-

* "History of the Volunteer Convention", p. 49.

lar gentlemen who were members of both, went from one assembly to the other, as the affairs under deliberation required their presence in either house. Lord Charlemont, the chairman of the convention, we are told by Hardy, spoke of the majority of the members as "men of rank and fortune, and many of them members of Parliament, lords and commoners". No sooner had the chairman taken his seat, than innumerable plans of reform were presented, which to Lord Charlemont and his biographer appeared all utterly impracticable; "so rugged and so wild in their attire" were they, "as to look" not like the "inhabitants of the Earth, and yet were on it": and yet "this motley band of incongruous fancies", as the latter terms them, "of misshapen theories, valuable only if efficient, or execrable if efficacious", contained a vast number of proposals for parliamentary reformation, which, in the course of half a century, have been found not only plausible but practicable suggestions, and have been of late years carried into execution. Mr. Flood's plan of reform was at length adopted by the convention. The Bishop of Derry then brought forward his resolution in favour of the immediate and complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and the good and virtuous Lord Charlemont strenuously and successfully resisted the resolution! To this same bishop the noble earl replied, in defending himself from the charge of being a lukewarm reformer, "that in the struggle for an independent parliament, he had been willing to risk his life, and, what was far more important—the peace of his country, but for reform he was willing to do everything not inconsistent with the public peace". There were many in that assembly who did not participate in the sentiments of Lord Charlemont, and his lordship well knew it, for he trembled for the result of their determinations, and at last had recourse to a subterfuge for obtaining a final adjournment of the Convention. The House of Commons, during the sitting of the Convention, had refused Flood's motion for leave to bring in a bill for a reform of parliament, on the ground of its emanating from a body illegally constituted. Mr. Fitzgibbon openly and violently denounced the Volunteers, and his denunciations were compared by Curran "to the ravings of a maniac and an incendiary". The language of Fitzgibbon was of a very different description, when, carried away by the stream of patriotism at the close of the struggle for parliamentary independence, he addressed the House of Commons, to the astonishment of its members, in terms that might have been expected from a Lucas or a Molyneaux: "No man", said he, "can say that the Duke of Portland has power to grant us that redress which the nation unanimously demands; but as Ireland is committed, no man, I trust, will shrink from her

support, but go through hand and heart in the establishment of our liberties: and as I was cautious in committing myself, so am I now firm in asserting the rights of my country. My declaration therefore is, that as the nation has determined to obtain the restoration of her liberty, it behoves every man in Ireland to stand firm!!!"*—The language of abuse a few years later was new to the Volunteers. Hitherto they had been accustomed to constant commendation: every year they received the unanimous thanks of parliament, the king applauded their loyalty, the whole country rang with their praises; but the government looked on their proceedings with the most serious apprehensions; as they had regarded their origin as an evil that was only to be tolerated because it could not for the time being be conveniently resisted or violently opposed. It was determined to make their own leaders their executioners, and for this purpose they contrived, in the first instance, to disarm the opposition of Lord Charlemont to their designs, by artful representations of apprehensions from the intemperance of his rival brethren in the convention, especially of the Bishop of Derry and Flood, and by insidious assurances of confidence in his loyalty and enlightened patriotism. Lord Charlemont was the best and most honest of men, but in public matters he carried the refinement of a man of elegant manners to the extreme verge of plastic courtesy; as a man of honour, no Earthly bribe could have caused him to swerve from his principles; as a courtier, the smiles of a viceroy or the blandishments of a minister might have caused him to listen far too attentively to the suggestions of those in power. The proceedings in the House of Commons on the rejection of the Reform Bill, brought the question of the loyalty of the Volunteer Convention to an issue. It was now a crisis, which left no alternative but resistance or dissolution. The chairman dared not propose a dissolution; he proposed an adjournment till the Monday following, when they were to meet at the usual hour. On the Monday, accordingly, he repaired to the Rotundo at an earlier hour than usual; after passing some resolutions, he and a few of the partizans who accompanied him, dissolved the Convention. On the arrival of the great body of the delegates, they found the doors closed, they learned with astonishment that the Convention was dissolved, and when it was too late, they discovered they had been deceived by their general. From this time the power of the Volunteers was broken. The Government

* A singular commentary on these opinions is to be found in the speech of this gentleman on the Union, in which he declares that he had never ceased urging the necessity on the British Minister of the impracticability of the measure of Irish parliamentary independence, "for the last seven years".— *Vide* "Earl of Clare's speech on the Union". By Authority, 1800.

resolved to let the institution die a natural death—at least to aim no blow at it in public; but when it was known that the Hon. Colonel Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, was not only a member of the Convention (a delegate for the county Down), but a chairman of the sub-committee, and that he was the intimate friend of Lord Charlemont, the nature of the hostility that Government put in practice against the institution will be easily understood. While the Volunteers were parading before Lord Charlement, or manifesting their patriotism in declarations of resistance to the parliament, perfidy was stalking in their camp, and it rested not till it had trampled on the ashes of their institution.

Of the esteem in which Lord Charlemont held Colonel Robert Stewart, we may judge by his letters: in one he says—"I have seen Robert, and have given him but little comfort with regard to his friend's administration. I cannot but love him; yet why is he so be-Pitted?"

The first proclamation against the Volunteers of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Westmoreland, was issued the 11th of March, 1790, denouncing lawless and seditious proceedings which had taken place in the town of Belfast, on the plea that the object of the said armed bodies was redress of alleged grievances, but that the obvious intention of most of them appeared to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both.

"And whereas these dangerous and seditious proceedings tend to the disturbance of the public peace, the obstruction of good order and government, to the great injury of public credit, and the subversion of the constitution, and have raised great alarms in the minds of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

"And we do charge and command the magistrates, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other peace-officers, having jurisdiction within the said town of Belfast, and the several districts adjacent thereto, to be careful in preserving the peace within the same, and to disperse all seditious and unlawful assemblies; and if they shall be resisted, to apprehed the offenders, that they may be dealt with according to law.

"(Signed) FITZGIBBON, etc., etc., etc."

In compliance with the proclamation, the Volunteers ceased to parade or any longer to appear in military array.

The Catholics, who had flocked to the standard of the Volunteers on the first cry of French invasion, were groaning under the tyranny of the penal laws, and, at the prospect of a deliverance, one cannot wonder at "their patriotism catching fire at the

Presbyterian altar of parliamentary reform". But, when they discovered the bigoted opposition of the leader to their claims—when the Earl of Charlemont publicly resisted the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholics, and the national convention had the folly to let their prejudices defeat their interests, by withholding from the Catholics (the great bulk of the people) their just rights, the hopes of the latter were destroyed; their attachment to the cause of the Volunteers declined, and when the last blow was struck at the existence of this force, the Catholic population of Ireland looked on with unconcern; and never did an institution, so big with the highest political importance, dwindle away into such insignificance, and fall so little regretted by the majority of the people.

The services of the Volunteers are, on the whole, greatly exaggerated by our historians; the great wonder is, how little substantial good to Ireland was effected by a body which was capable of effecting so much. As a military national spectacle, the exhibition was, indeed, imposing, of a noble army of united citizens roused by the menace of danger to the state, and, once mustered, standing forth in defence of the independence of their country. But it is not merely the spectacle of their array, but the admirable order, conduct, and discipline of their various corps—not for a short season of political excitement, but for a period of nearly ten years—that, even at this distance of time, are with many a subject of admiration. Their admirers certainly did not exaggerate their utility as preservers of the public peace, when they asserted, at one of the last resolutions passed at the dissolution of the Convention, that, through "their means, the laws and police of this kingdom had been better executed and maintained, than at any former period within the memory of man". But what use did the friends and advocates of popular rights make of this powerful association of armed citizens, which paralyzed the Irish government, and brought the British ministry to a frame of mind very different to that which it hitherto exhibited towards Ireland? Why, they wielded this great weapon of a nation's collected strength to obtain an illusory independence, which never could rescue the Irish Parliament from the influence of the British minister without reform, and which left the parliament as completely in the power of the minister, through the medium of his hirelings in that House, as it had been before that shadow of parliamentary independence had been gained. The only change was in the mode of using that influence in the Parliament; the material difference was but between an open and a secret interference in its concerns. The other adjuncts to this acquisition were, a Place Bill and a Pension Bill, which had

been the stock in trade of the reforming principle of the opposition for many years. No great measure of parliamentary reform, or Catholic emancipation, was seriously entertained, or wrung from a reluctant but then feeble government. The error of the leaders was, in imagining that they could retain the confidence of the Catholics, or the coöperation of that body, which constituted the great bulk of the population, while their Convention publicly decided against their admission to the exercise of the elective franchise. At the great Leinster meeting of the Volunteer delegates, in October, 1783, the first serious attempt to force the claims of the Catholics on the delegates was made by Mr. Burrowes. He said: "He was instructed to move the extension of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics, whose behaviour had manifested their attachment to the constitution. He was surprised to find some gentlemen averse to entering upon the subject; he was afraid an idea would go abroad that they were not to receive the power of voting for representatives in parliament. It would be an idea of the most fatal nature, and gentlemen should consider that their resolution on this important question would, in all probability, affect that assembly more even than it would the Roman Catholics themselves".

Another delegate, Mr. Fitzgerald, asked, "Did the Convention, when seeking freedom, mean to make freemen of one million of subjects, and to keep two millions slaves?" Mr. Burrowes was compelled to withdraw his resolution; another was substituted, of a more general nature, by Major M'Cartney, namely, "That the extension of the elective franchise to the Catholics is a measure of the highest importance, and worthy the attention of the National Convention". But even this resolution had also to be withdrawn.

In the grand National Convention that sat in Dublin, the claims of the Catholics to the exercise of the elective franchise were refused to be entertained. An honourable delegate undertook, on the part of the Catholics, to object to that boon for them; that "they were so grateful for the great concessions already made to their body, that they could not think of asking for the elective franchise". This assertion was solemnly made by Mr. George Ogle, as he stated, on the part of Lord Kenmare and others of his particular friends of the Catholic persuasion; and it was gravely listened to by the enlightened legislating Volunteers: its moderation was highly commended, and it was in vain that a delegate, who appeared to have some common sense and some liberality, which was by no means common in that assembly, replied, that he could not think "the Roman Catholics were like the Cappadocians, who prayed for slavery". The Bi-

shop of Derry, on the part of the recognized agents of the Catholic body, submitted to the convention the following document, in disavowal of the sentiments imputed to them:

"At a meeting of the general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir P. Bellew, Bart., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the message relating to us, delivered this morning to the National Convention, was totally unknown to and unauthorized by us.

"That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind, as by our own act to prevent the removal of our shackles.

"That we will receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the Legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their efforts on our behalf".

This was tolerably explicit; but the medium of communication between Lord Kenmare and Mr. Ogle—Sir Boyle Roche—was one which must have reminded the Convention of the mental fallibility of that great bottle conjuror, who contended that every quart bottle should be made to hold a quart. The delegates said they did not know which of the declarations of the Catholics to believe; and, as the Catholics disagreed among themselves on the subject, they deemed it best not to decide upon it. Accordingly, in the plan of reform drawn up by their sub-committee, the chairman of which was Colonel Robert Stewart, good care was taken to exclude the Catholics from the elective franchise, by the heading of the different resolutions, viz.: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that every Protestant possessed of", etc., etc., etc. The sentiments of Lord Charlemont, no doubt, had considerable influence over the assembly; his character gave a factitious importance to his bigotry. His hostility to the claims of the Catholics had all the consistency of Lord Clare's, without the savageness of its spirit. Even ten years subsequent to this period, his lordship voted in Parliament against the extension of the elective franchise to the Catholics, thus contradicting, most absurdly, his own principles and those of the National Convention, which prompted their appeal for "a full and adequate representation of the people in Parliament", while, by excluding the Catholics, they virtually deprived the great majority of the people of that privilege.

Lord Charlemont probably was influenced by the opinions, or rather prejudices, of the celebrated Doctor Lucas, whose political views he adopted, and did not presume to deviate from them in the smallest degree. Lucas, like all his brother patriots of that time, was an uncompromising bigot. At a period when the unfortunate Catholics were crushed by oppression, this popular brawler about the independence of parliament was reviling his

Catholic countrymen with the bitterest invective in his *Barber's Letters*, and assisting, by his illiberal abuse, to forge new chains for the great body of the Irish people. All the patriotism of Lucas and his followers was expended on the parliament—they had none to devote to men who were not Protestants.

I am not writing a history of the Volunteers, or of the rebellion which succeeded the disbanding of that body; but it is necessary for me, in attempting to trace the motives of those who took a part in that rebellion, to inquire into the causes of the failure and ultimate fall of the Volunteer association; of the errors which deprived them of the confidence of the people; and lastly, to discover the origin of that rebellion, to find what objects it had in view at its commencement, and how far such objects differed from those of the Volunteers.

Without these inquiries, to consider the rebellion of 1798 as a mere isolated movement of the people at that period—as simply one of those periodical outbreaks of sedition, which mark an era of famine or oppression every forty or fifty years in the annals of Irish history—as a secret conspiracy suddenly concocted, on the spurt of the pressure of some particular grievance, unconnected with preceding events, and uninfluenced by them—would be to form a very erroneous opinion of the nature and causes of that rebellion, and consequently a very erroneous opinion of those engaged in it.

The principles advocated by the leading members of the Volunteer associations, the doctrines boldly promulgated by the political clubs in Ireland, and the language of the early champions of reform in parliament, from the period of 1782 to the dissolution of the Volunteer association, had roused the minds of the Irish people to the highest pitch of political excitement. It was only when the Volunteers had been disbanded, and the real worthlessness of the nominal independence of the Irish parliament began to be known; when the principal members of the Whig Club had seceded, and the patriotism of other similar societies had ceased to inspire confidence; when the avowed reformers of 1782 had become the declared opponents of reform, and when those who still lingered on the opposition benches of both parliaments, frightened at their own principles, and deterred from the maintenance of them by the excesses of the French Revolution, made but a feeble show of adherence to them, or waited in silence for happier times for their support—that people began to despair of obtaining or defending their rights by constitutional means: it was then only that the deserted principles of the Volunteers—the unsupported doctrines of the Whig Club—the relinquished or discomfited plans of the political societies, and the abandoned cause of par-

liamentary reform, were taken up by a new political society, and that the United Irishmen acted on the speeches, writings, and the stirring sentiments of the early reformers of both countries—of Pitt, Stewart, the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Sharman, Flood, Grattan, and their liberal cotemporaries.

The society of United Irishmen was called into existence to adopt the principles of parliamentary reform, which had been abandoned at that period—by some in disgust, by others in despair, and by many who had been prominent, but never honest, in the cause. Those principles did not originate with the United Irishmen, but were advocated, to the extreme of democratic doctrines, by Pitt himself, and even by the moderate and good Lord Charlemont, whose loyalty has never been impugned, and by Flood and Grattan, whose prudence at least would have preserved themselves from the consequences of actual sedition. A few extracts, a little farther on, from the speeches and writings of the first reformers will bear out the remark.

The origin of the Irish Volunteers, which, as an organized national military association, may be dated from 1777, ceased to exist as such in 1793. Its last effort was in Belfast, in defending the town from the earliest revival, at least in that century, of the dragooning system, by four troops of the 17th regiment, on the 15th of March, 1793.*

It is not inconsistent with truth, though it may be with the military glory of this institution of the Volunteers, to say that it combined in one great national phalanx the talent, the intolerance, the chivalry, the extravagance, the prodigality, the embarrassment, the republicanism, and patriotism, for one brief epoch, of all ranks and classes. Here we find the ill-assorted names of the Earl of Charlemont and the Right Hon. Robert Stewart—of John Claudius Beresford and Henry Grattan—of Toler and Ponsonby—of Saurin and Flood—of Colonel Rowley and Major Sandys—of Ireland's only Duke and Sir Capel Molyneux—of the rabid zealot, Dr. Patrick Duigenan, and the right reverend ultra-liberal the Bishop of Derry—of Archibald Hamilton Rowan and Jack Giffard—of the red-hot patriot, James Napper Tandy, and the facetious knight and slippery politician, Sir Jonah Barrington—and last, not least in celebrity, of George Robert Fitzgerald, of fighting notoriety, and Mr. Joseph Pollock, the great advocate of peace and order. These incongruous names are found jumbled together in the pages of the history of the Volunteer association. The world never saw an army of such heterogeneous materials collected from all conflicting parties for a patriotic purpose.

* "Pieces of Irish History", 55.

On the 1st of July, 1783, at the Ulster meeting of the Volunteer delegates at Lisburn, an address to the army, on the subject of parliamentary reform, was issued, signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman, Colonel Rowley, and others, calling on that loyal army to assemble with the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and firmness which actuated them on the memorable 15th February, 1782, "*to deliberate on the most constitutional means of procuring a more equal representation of the people in the Parliament of Ireland*". And not the least singular circumstance in this requisition to the Irish soldiery, to deliberate sword in hand on the most constitutional means of obtaining parliamentary reform, is to find that, in advocating the necessity for it, it is stated in the requisition, that "it was warmly supported by that consummate statesman, the Earl of Chatham, and revived by the heir to his abilities and name, the present William Pitt".

The first grand object of the United Irishmen—of that body, whose principles it is accounted treasonable to the loyal Volunteers to confound with theirs—was "to promote union amongst Irishmen of all religious denominations"; and the very principle, and even the words in which it is couched, the United Irishmen borrowed from the Volunteers. At the meeting of the celebrated Dungannon convention, 8th September, 1783 (Colonel Robert Stewart having been called to the chair, vacated by Colonel J. Stewart), a communication was read from the first regiment of the Irish Brigade, dated 15th February, 1782, which concluded in these terms: "At this great crisis, when the western world, while laying the foundation of a rising empire, temptingly holds out a system of equal liberty to mankind, and waits with open arms to receive the emigrants from surrounding nations, we think it a duty we owe to our country, *to promote, as far as our example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants of Ireland.* Animated by this sentiment, and convinced that national unanimity is the basis of national strength, this regiment affords a striking instance how far the divine spirit of toleration can *unite men of all religious descriptions* in one great object, the suppport of a free constitution".*

This idea of general union is said to have originated with the rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone; but the merit or the demerit of its origin evidently belonged to the Volunteers, whom the King himself, and parliament, session after session, thanked for their devoted loyalty. When the meeting took place in Dungannon, in which the Irish people were told the western world was temptingly holding out a system of equal liberty to mankind,

* "History of the Proceedings and Debates of the Volunteer Delegates", p. 13.

to profit by which these Volunteers declared it was necessary to unite men in Ireland, of all religious persuasions, for one common object,—when this meeting took place, Tone was a loyal subject, and Colonel Robert Stewart was the chairman of a meeting at which sedition was pretty plainly inculcated, in the example held forth of the successful struggle for American independence.

But, in the course of the extraordinary events of this world, Tone was sentenced to be hanged for attempting to carry into effect the project implied in the example so temptingly held forth, by "uniting men of all religious descriptions"; and Colonel Robert Stewart (subsequently Lord Castlereagh), who sanctioned with his presence the sedition of the sword-in-hand deliberators on reform, became a foremost man in those councils which consigned the United Irishmen to the gallows. The meeting I speak of was not an obscure county meeting—it was not what could be well called "a farce": the aggregate number of Volunteers represented at the meeting exceeded the regular military force of the whole country.*

The fears of Lord Charlemont, and the mistaken views of Grattan, in holding himself aloof from the proceedings of the convention of November, 1783, and depriving the question of reform of his powerful support, mainly contributed to accomplish the ruin of the Volunteer association. In thus declining to advance the cause of reform, the only chance was abandoned of maintaining the advantages which had already been acquired. It would seem at this period as if his great mind reposed under the shadow of the laurels that had been planted around a partial victory, and had become unconscious of the danger of leaving the security of the independence of Ireland to an unreformed parliament, under the secret supremacy of British influence. The Volunteer association, in fact, became a gorgeous pageant of national chivalry, to be remembered in after times with wonder at the power and the pomp it exhibited, and surprise at the insignificance of its results.

But Grattan, from the time he imagined he had gained his great object, turned away his face from the ladder by which "he upward climbed", and bid the Volunteers farewell—"the plumed troop and the big wars, that made ambition virtue"; "his occupation was gone". The wooden horse of national independence was received into Ireland, and the hands of the opposition were held forth for the "dona ferentes" of the British ministry. On the 5th of March, 1782, Grattan stated in the House of Commons —"he was far from saying that, under the present administration,

* "History of the Proceedings and Debates of the Volunteer Delegates", p. 9.

independent gentlemen might not accept of places. He thought that places were now honourable, and in taking one he should be the friend of the people and of his Majesty's government. He had no personal knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant; he was not acquainted with those about him; *nay, if he had sent for him, he was persuaded he should have declined the honour of seeing him.* But, as he believed him to be virtuous, so far he should have his free support".*

In 1785, Grattan discovered that the independence of the Irish parliament was but in name—that he had been deceived. The acknowledgment is made in plain and affecting terms, in his speech on the 12th of August, 1785, on the question of the final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between the two countries. To effect this adjustment, commissioners had been appointed in Ireland to arrange the basis with the British government: eleven resolutions were proposed and agreed upon. But when these propositions were brought forward by Mr. Pitt, ten new ones were found appended to them—nominally supplemental, but virtually striking at the very root of the independence of the Irish parliament. These were thrown into the heads of the bill introduced into the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde. In presenting that bill, Mr. Secretary Orde deprecated the idea of there being anything derogatory in its provisions to the constitution of the country, "which had been", he said, "repeatedly and recently recognized on the other side, and which, after so many full, open, and decided declarations made by Great Britain, there does not remain the least shadow of a reason for supposing she would be *so wild, so absurd (I want words to express my abhorrence at the idea), so ungenerous as to attack*". Such was the language of the Irish secretary of that day; and yet, even then, the Union was meditated, and, on the secretary's showing, the conduct of the British minister towards Ireland was wild, absurd, abhorrent, and ungenerous; and yet there are people who wonder at the events which followed. The wonder is, that any one should be affected by the remembrance of their causes, except with feelings of shame or sorrow.

Mr. Grattan endeavoured to stimulate the House to one great effort, to retrieve the error which left the independence of his country at the mercy of an administration adverse to its existence. There is a thrilling eloquence in the alternate appeals, on this occasion, to the pride and fears of his auditory, and he can have little sympathy with the sufferings of a noble mind, struggling ineffectually against predominant injustice, who can read this

* "Parliamentary Debates". Dublin, 1782.

JAMES NAPPER TANDY

From an original portrait drawn and engraved by Petrie.

Dublin. James Duffy 7 Wellington Quay.

speech unmoved: one can trace the workings of the mind of the deceived patriot, in the stirring outbreaks of his indignation, and the mournful presentiment of impending evils breaking through the hopes he affected to feel, in order (vain effort!) to infuse a new spirit of liberty into the breasts of his auditors. One is reminded, even by the change of circumstances which had taken place, of the triumph of the father of his country in 1782,—the idol of a nation's gratitude, the object of a senate's homage: proud of his success, yet ashamed of a suspicion of a jealous nation's sincerity in her acquiescence in it: ardent in his expectations, strong in his security, and, with generous confidence, disdaining to render that measure "humiliating to England", by calling for the renunciation of a power which had been usurped. And, within the short period of three years, we find his parliamentary influence gone, his popularity diminished; conscious, at last, of having been overreached—deceived—by one party, and well aware that he is soon to be deserted, with a few honourable exceptions, by his own. It is impossible, without sentiments of mournful interest in the feelings of Grattan on that occasion, and of more than public sympathy for the adversity of public life, to read the following passages from the speech in question:—"Sir, —I can excuse the Right Hon. Member who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Englishman and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine. His comment on the bill is of little moment; a Lord Lieutenant's secretary is an unsafe commentator on an Irish constitution. The Irish parliament is now called on to determine, that it is most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations. Not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; an extensive interdict! Not only neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation! Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint. This resembles rather an act of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it but its presumption. To proposals, therefore, so little warranted by the great body of the people of England, so little expected by the people of Ireland, so heedlessly suggested by the minister, and so dangerous to whatever is dear to your interest, honour, and freedom, I answer, No!—I plead past settlements, and I insist on the faith of nations. If, three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by

your example, will surrender; but if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, you afford instruction to his Majesty's ministers, and make (as the old English did in the case of their charter) the attempt on Irish liberty its confirmation and establishment. This bill goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity: *it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union, where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment, without any proportion of parliamentary representation.* If any body of men can still think that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire —a doctrine which I abjure, as sedition against the connexion— but, if any body of men are justified in thinking *that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, perish the Empire! live the Constitution!* Reduced by this false dilemma to take a stand, my second wish is the British empire; my first wish and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland. Whence the American war? whence the Irish restrictions? whence the misconstruction, of suffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of instituting, under the name of general protectress, a proud domination, which sacrifices the interests of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the monopolist with the sovereign potency of an imperial parliament? for great nations, when cursed with unnatural sway, follow but their nature when they invade, and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety, than by limiting the principles of human power. We, the limited trustees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpose, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people, who sent us to parliament, cannot break that relationship, counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preserve. I rest on authority as well as principle—the authority on which the Revolution rests. Mr. Locke, in his chapter on the abolition of government, says, that the transfer of legislative power is the abolition of the state, not a transfer. If I am asked how we shall use the powers of the constitution?—I say, for Ireland, with due regard to the British nation: let us be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connexion. But when the mover of this bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him; I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade for which

we strained every nerve in 1779! that free constitution for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives at the service of the empire; but our liberties! No: we received *them* from our 'Father which is in Heaven', and we will hand them down to our children. In the mean time, we will guard our free trade and free constitution as our only real resources; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action".*

It is pretty evident that the Union, "the incipient, creeping Union", was, in Grattan's opinion, a project to be resisted to the last extremity: that the British government, in 1785, was inimical to the independence of Ireland, and that the Irish parliament was not to be relied on for its defence.

The Volunteers were no longer able or inclined to maintain what they had gained. They found they had wasted their strength on an object valueless without reform, and England was now in a condition to resist that measure.

They lingered on in military array, occasionally exhibiting, on a parade day, their diminished strength to their enemies—all that was left of their martial character, the trappings of their corps, at an annual review. In 1793, an order from government to disperse every assemblage of that body by military force, gave the death-blow to the Volunteers: they made one faint effort in Antrim for their last review; the army was marched out of Belfast to prevent its taking place, and, in prudently giving up the review, the great body of the citizen-soldiers of Ireland gave up the ghost. But their principles were not then doomed to perish; they rose from the ashes of the Volunteers, and the course of reproduction was but a short transition from languor and hopelessness to activity and enthusiasm, and, with a perilous excess of energy in both, their principles became those of the United Irishmen in 1791. In noticing the error which led to the insecurity of the settlement of 1782, the object is not to depreciate the merits of a man, whose glory Ireland cannot afford to see disparaged. The highest political wisdom is not always combined with the most exalted genius; a patriot may be pure in his principles, gifted with the finest fancy, the most varied powers of wit and eloquence, yet he may not be a man on whose judgment alone a people would do well to rest the adjustment of a great national question at a momentous crisis. To no one patriot who ever existed,—not even to Washington himself,—would it be prudent for a nation, in political warfare, to confide alone a question on which its destinies depended.

In the field, weakness prevails in the multiplicity of counsel;

* "Parliamentary Debates", Dublin, 1785.

but the strife of war and the struggles of party demand very different combinations of mental faculties: in the former, the acutest perception, the promptest determination, united with the coolest judgment, constitute the able general; in the other, the qualities that are essential to great statesmen, are those which enable them warily and watchfully to approach the waves of public opinion, and to penetrate the depths of political cunning, to discern the distant dangers that beset advantages reluctantly conceded or fortunately obtained, and to look well to the intrenchments of the law which are thrown up around them. The single patriot, throughout the turmoil of a protracted session, is no match for an entire administration; and at a game of diplomacy, Grattan, it must be admitted, had but a poor chance of success with such skilful dealers and accomplished shufflers as his opponents.

The dissolution of the Volunteers was supposed to be atoned for by the appointment of a liberal lord lieutenant. Lord Fitzwilliam came over, but neither reform nor Catholic emancipation followed. In 1795 the Irish opposition began to retrieve some of its errors, and to regain a little of its former popularity; its hostility, however, to "the incipient creeping Union" had determined Mr. Pitt to direct its attention to other objects, and he accordingly amused the nation's hopes with a popular viceroy.

The coalition with the Duke of Portland made it necessary to concede to that nobleman the management of Irish affairs. His Grace knew Ireland, and was an enemy to her wrongs; he obtained Pitt's consent to the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam, and, what was more difficult, he obtained that noble lord's. During these arrangements, the duke was in communication with the leading members of the Irish opposition; many of them were his private friends. "Mr. Grattan, Mr. William Ponsonby, Mr. Denis Bowes Daly, and other members of that party, were therefore invited to London; they held frequent consultations with the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam, at which Mr. Edmund Burke also occasionally assisted".*

"The terms of the Irish members were, support of ministers, approbation of the war, and assent to the strong measures of government,—in consideration of Catholic emancipation, the dismissal of the Beresford faction (and for all reform), the prevention of embezzlement, and improvement in the mode of collecting and administering the revenues of the country. Burke alone had the boldness to demand, not only emancipation, but the im-

* "Pieces of Irish History", 79.

mediate promotion of Catholics, in some ascertained proportion, to places of trust in the state. This, however, was asked from the liberality of government, not demanded from its justice; and the preceding arrangements were communicated to the British government, as the terms on which they were willing to take a share in the Irish government".*

Office was not the object of the patriotism of a Grattan, but it became the consequence of it; and ministerial patriots in Ireland seldom have long preserved or deserved the people's confidence. The breath of administration is not the atmosphere for their sturdy principles. That ominous annunciation, in 1782, at the close of the battle for parliamentary independence, "I think that places are now honourable, and, in taking one, I should be the friend of the people and of his Majesty's government", was now acted on under an administration whose leader had become hostile to reform.

A man in the secrets of the opposition party of that time—the head-piece of that system which grew out of the insecurity of Irish independence and the failure of the measures which terminated in the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, a man whose word was never doubted by friend or foe—Thomas Addis Emmet—thus speaks of the proposals of the Irish leaders made to the Duke of Portland, and acquiesced in by Mr. Pitt: "Mr. Pitt wished, and indeed tried, to obtain that some of these measures should be at least delayed in the execution for the season; but Mr. Grattan and his friends insisted that they should be brought forward in the very first session, in order to give *eclát* to their administration. In the propriety of this demand the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred; and even Mr. Pitt himself, *who had previously kept in the background*, and avoided personal communication with Lord Fitzwilliam's friends, was present at some of the later interviews, and certainly did not prevent its being believed that he acquiesced in those demands, with which it was impossible to doubt his being unacquainted. The members of opposition had no great experience of cabinets; they conceived that they were entering into honourable engagements, in which everything that was allowed to be understood, was equally binding with whatever was absolutely expressed. They rested satisfied that their stipulations were known and acceded to; they neglected to get them formally signed and ratified, or reduced to the shape of instructions from the British cabinet to the viceroy; they put them unsuspectingly in their pockets, and set off to become ministers in Ireland".

The power of Lord Fitzwilliam was first tried on the dismissal

* "Pieces of Irish History", p. 79.

of the Beresford faction from the various offices which that grasping family had so long contrived to monopolize.

Pitt expostulated with the viceroy on the dismissal of the Beresfords, notwithstanding the institution of a parliamentary inquiry at this period, respecting a public fraud, in which a subordinate clerk of the revenue was put forward as a sort of vicarious victim for the great national jobbers, and in this single instance the public had been defrauded of £60,000. "Circumstances", on the same authority, "raised a suspicion that the transaction was the result of fraud and collusion, accomplished through the influence of one of this faction, who was generally believed to be a partner in the profits".* The family of the person referred to overran every department in the state; but in the revenue, they monopolized the Custom-house itself. That splendid palace for the collection of customs in a city without trade, remains a lasting monument of the venality of parliament, and of the power of a faction, which a British minister dared not to oppose, and a representative of royalty was not permitted to offend. "To aggrandize this faction, a commissioner of excise was protected by parliament with all the jealous care of royalty itself; nay, so sacred was the person of the meanest officer under this family department, that a bill was introduced into the house by Mr. Secretary Orde, 12th August, 1785, which declared it felony to strike an exciseman; but, even before that bill, the Chief Baron Burgh had asked the house "were they prepared to give to the dipping-rule what they should refuse to the sceptre?"

Such was the power of a faction which Mr. Pitt thought fit to uphold in Ireland. It is impossible to give any explanation of his conduct creditable to his character as a statesman. The faction was not essential to his policy with regard to the Union, for the best of reasons—some of its leaders were hostile to it; they knew their reign must terminate with the existence of an Irish parliament.

The following extracts from the two celebrated letters of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Earl of Carlisle, published in 1795, set the conduct of Mr. Pitt on this question in the plainest light:—"I made proposals", he says, "to the British minister for the removal of the attorney and solicitor-generals (Messrs. Wolfe and Toler); Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland knew perfectly well that the men whom I found possessed of these ministerial offices, were not the men in whom I meant to confide in the arduous measures I had to undertake. Was I, then, to have two sets of men—one possessing confidence without office; the other, office without confidence?

* "Pieces of Irish History", 107.

"And now for the grand question about Mr. Beresford:—In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this subject, I reminded him of a conversation in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put to him by me) my apprehension that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favour of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me suppose that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement, if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of *his dangerous power*, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified, when *he was filling a situation greater than that of Lord Lieutenant*, and when I clearly saw that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person *under universal heavy suspicions*, and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his maladministration, I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to show to the nation that he did not belong to my administration, to let him remain, in point of income, as well to the full as he had ever been. I did not touch, and he knew I had determined not to touch, a hair of the head of any of his family or friends, and they are still left in the enjoyment of *more emolument than was ever accumulated in any country upon any one family.*

"You will recollect that the measure of emancipation to the Catholics was originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and the Westmoreland administration. The (previous) declarations, both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, on this subject, are well known in this country and often quoted: 'they would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question'. But what they would not risk under Lord Westmoreland's administration, they are not afraid to risk under mine.

"But after all, why did not Mr. Pitt warn me of those horrid consequences (of emancipation) previous to my departure for Ireland, if he really felt them? Why was the subject left open for my judgment and discretion? I trust that the evil genius of England will not so far infatuate its ministers, as to induce them to wait for more decisive corroboration of the faithfulness and honesty with which I have warned them of the danger of persisting in their fatal change of opinion on this momentous question.

"The measure of arranging the treasury bench, the bare outline, or rather the principle, of which has been stated in the house preparatory to its introduction, was fully agreed on between Sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt.

"Are those the measures on which I am to be accused, when the House of Commons of Ireland had unanimously granted me the largest supplies that have ever been demanded, when I laid a foundation for increasing the established force of the country, and procured a vote of £200,000 towards the general defence of the empire?

"The Catholic question entered for nothing into the cause of my recall. From the very beginning, as well as in the whole proceedings of that fatal business, for such I fear I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and his Majesty's ministers previous to my departure from London. From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1793, I was decidedly of opinion that not only sound policy, but justice, required on the part of Great Britain, that the work which was left imperfect at that period ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion, the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when the question came under discussion, previous to my departure from Ireland, I found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same opinion. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government.

"As early as the 8th January last, I wrote to the Secretary of State on this subject; *I told him that I trembled about the Catholics.*

"On the 9th February, that gentleman (Mr. Pitt) wrote to me to expostulate on the dismissal of Mr. Beresford, and on the negociations with Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Toler. By the same mail, and in a letter dated the 8th instant, the very day before Mr. Pitt had written to me, came a letter from the Secretary of State, touching at length on the important subject (Catholic emancipation), and bringing it for the first time into play as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the British cabinet.

"Then for the first time, it appears to have been discovered that the deferring it (the question of emancipation) would not be merely an act of expediency, or 'a thing to be desired for the present', but '*the means of doing a greater service to the British Empire than it has been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the Union*' (with Scotland).

"In my answer to Mr. Pitt, a copy of which I send you, and which I wrote the very night I received his letter, I entered fully into the subject of my dismissals; I stated, as you will see, my reasons for having determined on them, as well as for adhe-

ring to them when once resolved on. I then put it to himself to determine for me and the efficacy of my government; *I left him to make choice between Mr. Beresford and me.*

"The same night I wrote to the Duke of Portland. I testified my surprise, after such an interval of time, and after the various details which I had transmitted to him, advising him of the hourly increasing necessity of bringing forward the Catholic question, and the impolicy and danger of even hesitating about it. I should now be pressed for the first time to defer the question till some future occasion. *I refused to be the person to run the risk of such a determination. I refused to be the person to raise a flame in the country that nothing short of arms would be able to keep down.*

"Had Mr. Beresford never been dismissed, we should never have heard of them (Mr. Pitt's objections to emancipation at that time), and I should have remained. But it will be said, in proving this point so strongly, I still leave myself open to other accusations which affect my character, when I avow the earnestness with which I had determined to pull down the Beresfords. Charged with the government of a distracted and discontented country, am I alone to be fettered and restrained in the choice of the persons by whom I am to be assisted?—and rather than indulge me in that single point,—even considering it in the light of indulgence,—*must the people of England boldly face, I had almost said, the certainty of driving this kingdom into a rebellion, and open another breach for ruin and destruction to break in upon us?*"*

Volumes have been written on the events that grew out of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, but here is the germ of them all. Few of those who are now aware of the existence of these letters, have leisure to consult them; and those who are desirous to know the true cause of the rebellion of 1798, will not find fault with the length of these quotations. These facts are to be gathered from them:—that the Union had been determined on at this period; that the peace of Ireland was to be sacrificed for its attainment, and that attainment promoted by the loss of influence on the part of the Irish opposition, and the confirmed power of the Beresford oligarchy, in order to exasperate the country—in one word, to goad the people into a rebellion.

Whether that attainment of a union was cheaply effected, or whether the beneficial effects expected from it have compensated for the terrible consequences of a civil war, the progress of events will tell, and not opinions founded on theories, or formed to support them.

But all the experience the world can afford, of subsequent ad-

* "Letters of a Venerated Nobleman, recently retired from this country, to the Earl of Carlisle, explaining the cause of that event". Dublin, 1795.

vantages arising from civil commotion, will hardly justify subscription to the doctrine, that political foresight can ever so far determine the aspect of future circumstances, dependent as they are on the mutability of all human governance, and influenced by every tide in the affairs of empire, as to render distant good and probable advantages, benefits to be sought after or secured by a wise statesman, at the cost of present evil, and a certain prospect of civil war.

Out of evil, good may no doubt come. The good effects of the legislative union may yet predominate over the evils that attended its attainment. The calamities of that period may be only remembered as curious historical facts; but the author of those evils, Mr. William Pitt, can find no justification in those results. In putting a people to the sword, every drop of blood that was shed in that rebellion must be laid to his account. And in Ireland, at all events, his barbarous policy can be remembered only to be abhorred.*

CHAPTER VI.

"THE BOROUGH PARLIAMENT"—ITS FACTIONS AND ITS FOES, ITS INTOLERANCE AND CORRUPTION, DEPRIVED IT OF ALL POPULAR SUPPORT.

THE preceding pages were intended to show the vast influence over the mind of the nation and its rulers, which the Volunteer association at one period exerted; the failure of the only measure effected by it, namely, the independence of the Irish parliament, and the necessity for reform, more than ever felt at the time of its suppression. The society of the United Irishmen was formed with a view of accomplishing those objects which it had failed to carry into effect. The written and spoken sentiments of the leaders of the opposition of that period, and the proceedings of

* On the motion for public honours to the remains of William Pitt, on the grounds of his excellence as a statesman, Mr. Wyndham said: "With the fullest acknowledgment, both of the virtues and the talents of the eminent man in question, I do not think, from whatever cause it has proceeded, that his life has been beneficial to his country". Fox, on the same question, said: "I cannot consent to confer public honours, on the ground of his being an excellent statesman, on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system, which I had been early taught to consider as a bad one". In 1785, Doctor Jebb declared that, politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty than any minister ever did before him.

There is some exaggeration in this assertion. There were two men then living, the sphere of whose action was beyond the range of Jebb's observation; and there were no lengths they would not have gone, not only to destroy liberty, but to bring its advocates, and their political opponents, to destruction; these men were Lords Castlereagh and Clare.

the various popular clubs from 1778 to 1795, had a powerful influence on the public mind. To this influence, fanned by the breath of Pitt, and kindled into flame by the eloquence of the reformers of that day, the leaders of the United Irishmen owed the early impressions they received of the rotten state of the representation, and the hopelessness of every attempt in parliament for its restoration.

Independently of the example of France, which, at revolutionary periods, has always exerted a great influence over the popular mind in Great Britain, the question of reform began deeply to engage public attention in that country; and the hostility of Mr. Pitt, who now hated that question and its advocates with all the rancour of an apostate, tended to exasperate the public, and call forth the various clubs, which gave vent to the public discontent. In Ireland the importance of the question of reform was enhanced by the great dangers apprehended for the national independence, and the slow and stealthy, but steady, progress of "the creeping and incipient Union", in every measure of the British minister in reference to Ireland.

The question that especially disclosed the views of the British minister with respect to the final nature of the settlement of the subject of Irish independence, was that which goes under the name of the Irish propositions, and which, only three years after the period of the supposed settlement of that question, left no doubt on the minds of the people of Ireland, that the British government meant not to maintain the compact into which they had entered.

The eleven propositions were introduced into the Irish parliament by Mr. Orde, on the 7th February, 1785, and on the 22nd February, by Mr. Pitt in England. He concluded his speech with bringing forward a general resolution, declaring "that it was highly important to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted, and engaging that Ireland should be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament should permanently and irrevocably secure an aid out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom towards defraying the expense of protecting the empire in time of peace".

In a subsequent debate, Mr. Pitt declared "that among all the objects of his political life, this was, in his opinion, the most important in which he had ever engaged, nor did he imagine he should ever meet another that could call forth all his public feelings, and rouse every exertion of his heart, in so forcible a manner as the present had done. In the progress of this measure

the house was astonished with an addition of sixteen new propositions to the original eleven: they were pretended by Mr. Pitt to be explanatory, but were wholly distinct, irrelevant, and contradictory to the first. It was evident to the whole of the house, that the measure was an insidious plan to regain the dependence of the Irish parliament. Mr. Sheridan said, that "Ireland, newly escaped from harsh trammels and severe discipline, was treated like a high-mettled horse, hard to catch; and the Irish secretary was sent back to the field to soothe and coax him, with a sieve of provender in one hand, and a bridle in the other". Fox was so astonished at the conduct of Mr. Pitt on this occasion, that he declared "in the personal and political character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there were many qualities and habits which had often surprised him, and which he believed confounded the speculation of every man who had much considered or analyzed his disposition. But his conduct on that night had reduced all that was unaccountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times past, to a mere nothing. He shone out in a new light, surpassing even himself, and leaving his hearers wrapt in amazement, uncertain whether most to wonder at the extraordinary speech they had heard, or the frontless confidence with which that speech had been delivered".

He accused him, from the first moment the system had been proposed, of one continued course of "tricks, subterfuges, and tergiversations, uniform alone in contradiction and inconsistencies". "That he had played a double game with England, and a double game with Ireland, and sought to juggle both nations, by a train of unparallelled subtlety". He concluded by saying, "*He would not barter English commerce for Irish slavery*".

The propositions were sent up to the House of Lords; here it was curious to see the question treated, not as a question of commerce, but as a proposal for a future union. The lords saw through the insidious project, and it was openly canvassed. Lord Lansdowne treated "the idea of an union as a thing that was impracticable. High-minded and jealous as were the people of Ireland, we must first learn whether they will consent to give up their distinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours which belonged to them". In the Irish parliament, the measures were no less freely canvassed, and the debate terminated in the rejection of the propositions,—an offence which Pitt never forgot or forgave to Ireland.

The conduct of the Irish parliament in reference to the regency question tended a good deal to precipitate events, and to render the course on which the English minister had already determined, one to be pursued more speedily and recklessly than it might

otherwise have been attempted. On this subject two motions were made in the Irish Commons; one by Grattan, the other by Mr. Conolly. By the first, the royal incapacity was declared; and by the second, it was proposed to present an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government, with its various powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives. This motion was opposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon: he said, "The fact was, that the government of Ireland, under its present constitution, could never go on, unless they followed Great Britain implicitly in all regulations of imperial policy". "And he would predict, that such unadvised rashness must ultimately lead to a legislative union with England, a measure which he deprecated, but which was more surely prepared by such violence than if all the sluices of corruption were opened together, and poured in one overwhelming torrent upon the country's representatives". Both motions, however, were carried in the Commons, and likewise in the House of Lords. The viceroy refused to transmit their address. Lord Clare must have forgotten his deprecation of the Union, when, five years subsequently, he declared in his speech in favour of the Union, that for the last six or seven years, he had been pressing this measure on the attention of the British minister.

There can be no question that Pitt's defeat in Ireland, on the great question of the commercial propositions, and the opposition to his views on the regency question, had exasperated the British minister against Ireland: in the words of the editor of the *Annual Register* for 1790, "the defeat of his commercial propositions, in the year 1785, had left an impression of resentment against the nation upon the mind of the minister". In 1787, De Lolme, the author of the work on the Constitution of England, published an essay, containing a few strictures on the union of Scotland with England, and on the situation of Ireland. The object of the work is to recommend an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland.

In the same year, a Mr. Williams published a pamphlet, entitled, *An Union of England and Ireland proved to be practicable, and equally beneficial to both kingdoms.*

The question of the Union was cautiously mooted in 1793, as will be seen by the debate on the bill for "prevention of traitorous correspondence with the enemy". Mr. Fox said that this bill necessarily included the people of Ireland, who were certainly the subjects of the king; and consequently, it went to legislate for Ireland, by making that treason in an Irishman, by an English act of parliament, which was not treason by an Irish act. Mr. Pitt said: "He felt this subject to be delicate,

but he thought he might venture to go so far as to say, that if England made an act treason in all his Majesty's subjects, which act was not such by any law of Ireland, if such act was done in Ireland by an Irishman, who should afterwards come into England, he might be tried and executed for it"; and *vice versa* with an Englishman in Ireland.

Mr. Fox called this the most extravagant doctrine he had ever heard.

Several members spoke upon the case when applied to Ireland, and lamented that so delicate a subject should have been discussed.

The *Annual Register*, in 1790, plainly stated the views entertained in England of the independence of the Irish parliament. "To whatever independence", says the editor, "Ireland may advance her claim, she is, in reality, nothing more than the province and servant of England. She is not the ally of the British government, but, on the contrary, acknowledges our king for her sovereign; that is, if we take into account the nature of the English constitution, acknowledges her dignities, her trusts, and her revenues to be in the gift of an administration that depends on the parliament of Great Britain: she may, in a few cases, or in some emphatical and singular instance, assert her prerogative, and pursue her own interests in preference to ours; but the daily routine of her affairs, and the ordinary course of her administration, will be modelled in conformity to the interests, the prejudices, and the jealousies of the country that is the seat of empire. She will not afford a theatre that will appear wide enough for the ardour of patriotism or the excursiveness of ambition"—*An. Register*, 1790, *p.* 33.

In England the democratic clubs began to be formed in 1780, and the greater number of them were suffered to subside without any prosecution. They again revived in 1794, and it was determined to put down democracy and the advocacy of parliamentary reform, by bringing the reformers to trial as traitors. In 1792, Pitt pledged himself that a traitorous "conspiracy did actually exist"; and a most insidious attempt to involve the opposition members in it was made, but quashed by the spirited conduct of some of them on that occasion.

In 1794, Pitt took up his pledge of the conspiracy of 1792. One of the reports on those societies states that the number of conspirators amounted to 20,000 persons. The arms found for them consisted of eighteen muskets, ten battle-axes, and twenty rough blades, and the general fund for the insurrection amounted to £9 sterling. Mr. Pitt, on bringing the conduct of these clubs before parliament, depicted this horrible conspiracy in the most

alarming colours—"that arms had not only been actually procured, but distributed by these societies", as the report states; and "that a conspiracy so formidable had never yet existed". The twelve honest men on their oaths, at the trials of these conspirators a short time subsequently, virtually decided that no such conspiracy existed. In the beginning of 1793, the ministerial prints, and even ministers themselves, made allusions on various occasions to plots and conspiracies, "the obvious intent of which was, indirectly to implicate the Whig members in the obnoxious charge" (see *Annual Register*, 1793). Under the auspices of government, a society had been formed, generally known under the name of Mr. Reeve's association, to procure information against seditious societies, and secret intelligence which might serve to bring persons of suspected loyalty before the proper tribunal. In Plowden's *History of the Last Twenty Months* (p. 225), he remarks: "The spirit of espionage and information first engendered by the proclamation, and since openly fostered by Mr. Reeve's association, and certainly not discountenanced by government, had now grown into such strength as to produce consequences of the most alarming nature. The agitated minds of the public were daily more and more inflamed by the most terrifying accounts of domestic insurrections and deep-laid plans to destroy the constitution. The dwindled phalanx of opposition was so openly, so grossly, and so confidently abused and calumniated, that to many their very names were synonymous with the term of traitor and enemy, even in the very houses of parliament: prejudices, alarms, and fears had operated upon many; a conviction that to disapprove of the war against France was treason to England; that to inquire into the grounds of public measures had almost ceased to be the duty of a senator; and to divide with opposition was little short of rallying under the standard of rebellion".

If the people pushed their efforts for reform to the length of resistance to authority, they were told by the Duke of Norfolk, in 1776, that "the doctrine of resistance was a principle of the constitution". Lord Lauderdale said, "that times and circumstances might be such as to make resistance become a duty". Lord Erskine, on the same occasion, in his place in parliament, declared, "he would say again, and again it was the right of the people to resist that government which exercised tyranny". Mr. Pitt, in 1782, asserted that "we lost America by the corruption of an unreformed parliament, and we should never have a wise and honourable administration, be freed from the evils of unnecessary wars, nor the fatal effects of the funding system, till a radical reform was obtained". The Duke of Richmond's plan of

reform embraced universal suffrage and annual parliaments: this plan he proposed to Colonel Sharman, at the head of an army in military array, namely, the Volunteers of Ireland. His Grace distinctly declared, "that he had no hopes of reform from the House of Commons—that reform must come from the people themselves". Burke said, "that no remedy for the distemper of parliament could be expected to be begun in parliament"; that "the value, spirit, and essence of the House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation"; and elsewhere—"by this want of sympathy with the people, they would cease to be a House of Commons". Mr. Pitt again, in 1785, in one of his last speeches in favour of reform, declared that, "without a parliamentary reform, the liberty of the nation could not be preserved". Fitzgibbon (afterwards Lord Clare), in 1782, said, in his place in parliament, that "as the nation was then committed to obtain a restoration of their rights, it behoved every man to stand firm". It would be tedious to adduce further instances of the mode in which the people's passions were inflamed, their hopes in the efficacy of legitimate means for the reformation of abuses dispelled, and their apprehensions of resistance removed, by constantly pointing it out as the only remedy for the evils of the nation.

"William Pitt of 1782", said Mr. Grey, "the reformer of that day, was William Pitt the prosecutor and persecutor of reformers in 1794. He, who thought fit to inflame the passions of the people, and to instigate them to contempt for the House of Commons at that time, now would not suffer the people to judge of their own dearest rights and interests, and persecuted, with the real bitterness of an apostate, his own partner in the question of parliamentary reform".

The 7th of May, 1782, Pitt made his first motion in furtherance of reform, for a committee of inquiry, which was lost by twenty votes. He renewed the motion in 1783, and it was lost by forty-four votes. In 1785 he brought forward a specific plan of reform for adoption, and it was lost by thirty-four votes. A part of his first plan was, the application of a million of money to the purchase of the rotten boroughs. In 1794 he had thrown off the domino of a reformer; he declared on oath, at the trial of John Horne Tooke, that he recollected no particulars of the proceedings at a meeting of the reformers of signal interest, which he attended the 16th May, 1782. He could not tell if Tooke was present; he could not say if delegates from cities and counties attended, but he believed not; but, on cross-examination, he admitted some of them might be deputies. One of the charges, be it remembered, against Tooke, was that of attending

meetings where the members were delegated by other bodies. Major Cartwright, in his *Constitutional Defence of England*, speaking of Pitt's speech on the 7th of May, 1782, says: "These very words were made the subject of a well-known resolution of the leading friends to a reform, assembled at the Thatched House very soon after the speech was delivered; the original draft of that resolution, in 1791 or 1792, was in the possession of the author of this book, and shown by him to the gentlemen present at a meeting of 'the Friends of the People', with corrections in Mr. Pitt's own handwriting".

At the meeting of reformers on the 16th of May, 1782, a copy of the resolutions was ordered to be printed and circulated by the society. It is in the following terms:—

"Thatched House Tavern, 16th May, 1782.

"At a numerous and respectable meeting of members of parliament, friendly to a constitutional reformation, *and the members of several committees of counties and cities:*

"Present,—The Duke of Richmond, Lord Surrey, Lord Mahon, the Lord Mayor, Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Duncombe, Sir C. Wray, Mr. B. Holles, Mr. Withers, the Hon. William Pitt, Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Major Cartwright, Mr. John Horne Tooke, Alderman Wilkes, Doctor Jebb, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Frost, etc., etc., etc.

"Resolved unanimously,—That the motion of the Hon. William Pitt, for the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the state of the representation of the people of Great Britain, and to report the same to the House, and also what steps it might be necessary to take, having been deferred by a motion for the order of the day, it has become indispensably necessary that application should be made to parliament, by petitions from the collective body of the people, in all their respective districts, requesting a substantial reformation of the Commons' House of Parliament.

"Resolved unanimously,—That the meeting, considering that a general application to the collective body of the House of Commons cannot be made before the close of the present session, is of opinion that the sense of the people *should be taken at such times as may be convenient during the summer, in order to lay their several petitions before parliament early in the next session, when these proposals for a parliamentary reformation (without which neither the liberty of the nation can be preserved, nor the permanence of any virtuous administration be secure) may receive that ample and mature discussion which so momentous a question demands*".

Now the document, corrected by Pitt himself, collated with the evidence given by him at the trial of John Horne Tooke, on the matters referred to in it, shows the most extraordinary forgetfulness of important facts it is possible to conceive. On his examination by Tooke, he stated he was present at the meeting, in May, 1782, at the Thatched House Tavern. "*He could not recollect with certainty, but rather thought the prisoner was present.* That it was recommended to obtain the sense of the people on the question of parliamentary reform".

Quest.—"Was it recommended to obtain that sense by parishes and districts?"

Ans.—"I have no particular recollection as to that point. I remember that it was agreed by the meeting to recommend to the people during the summer to petition parliament".

Quest. by the Attorney-General—"Was it, or was it not, a convention of delegates from different bodies?"

Ans.—"I do not, at this distance of time, remember how it was composed. *I did not conceive that the members were authorized to act for any particular body, but that each was acting for himself, and in his own individual capacity*".

On cross-examination by Mr. Erskine. Ans.—"I always understood that the members who composed that meeting were acting for themselves; *I don't know, however, but that some of them might be deputed.* I must again repeat that, at this distance of time, I cannot exactly ascertain how the meeting was composed".

Mr. Pitt's memory seldom failed him as it did on this occasion, when he could not remember how that meeting was constituted, described in the very resolution corrected by himself, as "consisting of members of parliament, and of members of several committees of counties and cities", and could not recollect John Horne Tooke having been present at that meeting, and having taken a part in its proceedings.

Mr. Pitt, in 1794, May 11th, brought forward his motion for leave to bring in a bill "to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government",—chiefly levelled against the London Corresponding Society and the Constitutional Society.

Fox, in opposition to this bill, said: "If he were asked without doors what was to be done, he would say, this was not now a question of morality or of duty, but of prudence. Acquiesce in the bill only as long as you are compelled to do so. It was a bill to destroy the constitution, and part of the system of an administration aiming at that end. No attempt of the Stuarts called for more opposition than the present bill, and extraordinary times demanded extraordinary declarations"—*Annual Register*, 1806.

The number of political clubs which sprung up at the end of Mr. Pitt's abandonment of the cause of reform, was considerable. The origin and object of some of the most important of these are deserving of notice.

The objects of these societies were similar to those of the "Society for Constitutional Information", whose origin was of an earlier date, and is attributed to a proposal of Major Cartwright, in 1778, to establish a "Society of Political Inquiry". This object was not accomplished; but its proposal laid the foundation of the "Society of Constitutional Information", which was formed in 1780.* Dr. Jebb, Major Cartwright, and Capel Lofft, were the founders of it. Among its distinguished members we find the Earl of Derby, the late Duke of Norfolk, then Lord Surrey, the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Roxburgh, Earl of Selkirk, Lord Dacre, Lord Sempill, Lord Kinnaird, Sir John Sinclair, R. B. Sheridan, the Earl of Effingham, Dr. Price, Dr. Towers, Granville Sharp, etc.† Its well-known "Declaration of Rights" was drawn up by Major Cartwright. Sir William Jones said this document "ought to be written in letters of gold".

This society thanked Tom Paine for his first and second parts of the *Rights of Man*; they sent addresses of congratulation on the French revolution to the Jacobin Club and the Convention of France. In these they assert, that "revolutions will now become easy". Horne Tooke, as a member of the committee, addressed a letter to Petion, then mayor of Paris, stating that 4,000 *livres* were sent with it, to assist the French in defraying the expenses of the war against all tyrants who might oppose the liberty of the French, without excepting any of them, even if it should be his own country.

On Tooke's trial, Major Cartwright deposed he had the honour to be called the father of "the Society for Constitutional Information"; that the original declaration of the Society for Constitutional Information was signed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, etc. The Chief Justice asked Mr. Tooke if his signature was to the declaration; to which Mr. Tooke answered, "God forbid! my lord, that I should ever have signed anything so criminal".

The society called the "Friends of the People", was established in 1792. The principal members were Charles Grey, the Earl of Lauderdale, Philip Francis, James Macintosh, Lord Kinnaird, the Hon. Thomas Erskine, G. Tierney, Esq., R. B. Sheridan, W. H. Lambton, John Cartwright, S. Whitbread, jun., Lord J. Russell, *Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, etc., etc. At the

* Vide "Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright", vol. i. p. 120.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 135.

first meeting, W. H. Lambton in the chair, 26th April, 1792, it was resolved unanimously—

"That a motion be made in the House of Commons, at an earlier period in the next session of parliament, introducing a parliamentary reform.

"Resolved unanimously—That Charles Grey, Esq., be requested to make, and the Hon. Thomas Erskine to second, the above motion.

"Signed, W. H. Lambton, *Chairman*".

The next meeting was held May 12, 1792, and the chairman of it was the Right Hon. Lord John Russell.

In 1795, this society suspended all proceedings on the subject of parliamentary reform by public advertisement. Its grand object, however, was not lost sight of by Charles Grey. For forty years his life was devoted to its accomplishment; and the forty years' war with corruption he lived to bring to a successful issue

The Revolution Society of London, in commemoration of the Revolution of 1688, sprung up in 1789, Dr. Price and Earl Stanhope being its leading members. They conducted a correspondence with the National Assembly of France. Towers and Cooper were the president and secretary. Cooper was a man of great abilities, bold, upright, and energetic; he fled to America, to avoid the fate of Muir and Palmer; he rose to distinction there, and died universally honoured and beloved, in the seventieth year of his age, the 22nd of October, 1829. Cooper and Watt were likewise members of the Manchester Constitutional Society, and in its name having presented an address in France to the Jacobin Society, were attacked for so doing by Burke, in the House of Commons; and Cooper defended himself and his brother delegate in one of the best written pamphlets of that time, *A reply to Mr. Burke's invective.* Watt was subsequently executed in Scotland on a charge of treason.

The other societies of this period, of minor importance, were, the "Friends of Universal Peace and the Rights of Man", originally established at Stockport. Of the "Westminster Committee of Reform", the first meeting took place in 1780: its resolutions in favour of annual parliaments were signed by Fox. The society called the "Friends of the Liberty of the Press" was established in 1792: the declaration of this society was drawn up by Erskine. In this admirable paper the system of espionage, which had been recently adopted by Pitt, was denounced.

The language and writings of the members of these different clubs were sufficiently strong to be taken, or mistaken, by many for sedition.

The "Society of United Englishmen", according to the account given of its ramifications in the "secret report" of 23rd January, 1799, had forty divisions formed in London, extended to Wales, Lancashire, and communicated with Ireland; had made great progress in Manchester, till checked by the arrest of its members in 1798; had eighty divisions there, and each consisted of not less than fifteen members. In the report, it is stated to have been very active in its attempts to seduce the soldiery,and that it had tests, signs, and symbolic devices. The whole of the divisions were governed by a committee, styled the National Committee of England, whose members were unknown to the rest of the society, and was said to have corresponded with the executive of the United Irishmen.

"The London Corresponding Society" originated about 1792, its grand object, parliamentary reform, on the Duke of Richmond's plan. Chief Justice Eyre, in his charge on the trial of Tooke, said, "It is so composed, as by dividing and subdividing, each division, as soon as it amounted to a certain number, sending off a new division so as to spread over the country, every other society, no matter how remote, it incorporates or affiliates, till it embraces an extent incalculable. It is undoubtedly a political monster", etc.

John Edwards, on Hardy's trial, deposed that this society was reading the address of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond, when it was assailed by the police.

"A National Convention" was first suggested in a letter from Stockport, 7th December, 1792.

The Convention in Scotland was set on foot in 1793. Watt's plan for seizing the castle of Edinburgh was formed at this period. He had previously been employed as a secret informer by government, and dismissed; had subsequently joined Cooper in Paris, and presented an address to the Jacobins from the Manchester society. In laying traps for treason in the Scotch conspiracy, he got entangled in his own snares, and was executed.

Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Fyshe Palmer, a dissenting clergyman of Dundee, a member of the University of Cambridge, were the two first reformers brought before the tribunal of justice on charges of sedition, trumped up on evidence of taking a part in the public proceedings of the associations at that time formed for the purpose of obtaining a reform. Both these gentlemen, men eminent for their talents, highly respected in their several professions, and amiable in private life, were convicted and sentenced to transportation, sent to the hulks chained, and worked in chains, previous to their departure for Botany Bay, with the common gang of convicts.

The formation of trades' unions appears to have been pointed out in 1782 by Sir William Jones: in writing to Major Cartwright, in a postscript, he states: "It is my deliberate, though private, opinion, that the people of England will never be a people, in the majestic sense of the word, unless 200,000 of the civil state be ready before the 1st of November to take the field without rashness or disorder, at twenty-four hours' notice".* This is a pretty plain manifestation of the power ascribed to the demonstration of physical force, in contradistinction to the employment of it, for I am persuaded the latter was never contemplated by Sir William Jones. Fox said, "All the proceedings of these societies went on the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform".

But is impossible not to perceive in the acts and words of these bodies the spirit of republicanism pervading their proceedings, whether infused by spies and informers, or fanatics and "exaltados" of their own party, it is hard to say: in all probability, by both.

The Manchester Constitutional Society was addressed by the members of the Jacobin Club in Paris, as "Generous Republicans".

One of the leading members of the Corresponding Society was J. Frost. In 1793 he was convicted of uttering seditious expressions, "I am for equality, and no king", etc. Another member, Mr. John Cook, for the words, "D—n the monarchy, I want none", etc.

The sentiments of reformers of the upper classes of society, a few years later, were couched in language better adapted for "ears polite", but certainly not less indicative of the strong spirit of democracy. The Duke of Norfolk, in 1798, presiding at a dinner at the "Crown and Anchor", gave for a toast, "The sovereign majesty of the people", and for this act he was dismissed from the office of lord-lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire. Fox followed it up at the Whig Club, shortly after, by another sentiment of a similar character, "I will give you", said he, "a toast, than which I think there cannot be a better, according to the principles of this club—I mean, 'the Sovereignty of the People of Great Britain'", and for this act he was dismissed from the Privy Council.

In Ireland, Lord Castlereagh imitated the example of Mr. Pitt. He entered on political life in the domino of a reformer, and aped the character, if not with all the tact, at least, with all the effrontery of his master. Of his early ardour for reform we have an account in Sampson's Memoirs: at page 43, he informs us, "Robert Stewart (afterwards Lord Castlereagh), at the general election in 1790, set himself up for representative of the county

* See "Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright", p. 150.

of Down, against what was called the lordly interest; and in order to ingratiate himself with the popular party, took the following oath or test upon the hustings, as a solemn compact between him and his constituents, namely: 'That he would, in and out of the House, with all his ability and influence, promote the success of a bill for amending the representation of the people; a bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the British House of Commons; a bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners, and the amount of pension; a bill for preventing revenue officers from voting at elections; a bill for rendering the servants of the crown in Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money; a bill to protect the personal safety of the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail, and against the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution'".*

In Ireland, at the same period, the formation of political clubs and societies kept pace with those in England. The Northern Whig Club, at a meeting held in Belfast, the 16th of April, 1790, Gowan Hamilton in the chair, passed a series of resolutions, the first of which was to the following effect: "Resolved unanimously, that when an unmasked and shameless system of ministerial corruption manifests an intention to sap the spirit, virtue, and independence of parliament, it is time for the people to look to themselves".

Among the original members of this society were Lords Charlemont, De Clifford, Moira, O'Neill, the Hon. Robert Stewart, Archibald H. Rowan, William Todd Jones, Colonel Sharman, Hon. E. Ward, Hon. H. Rowley, etc., etc. The toasts of the honourable members at their festive meetings comprised, "Our Sovereign Lord the People", etc.—Vide *Teeling's Narrative.*

"The Whig Club" was established in 1790, in Ireland, in imitation of that in England. "The frequent theme", says Plowden, "of panegyric to Mr. Grattan, and of invective to Mr. Fitzgibbon, the heads of most of the great families were members of it, and it contributed not lightly to give popularity to the leading objects of their institution, which it was the universal object of Mr. Pitt's system to counteract".—Vide *Plowden*, vol. i., page 293.

Against Fitzgibbon's abuse of this club, Theobald Wolfe Tone was the first to publish a defence, which recommended him strongly to the Whigs; but they found him too warm an advocate, and he appears to have found them too little to his mind for their acquaintance to be of long duration.

* See Appendix for his early career

The most memorable act of this club was its petition to the King, adopted at a meeting of the society, 5th April, 1798, Mr. Grattan in the chair, in order to lay before his majesty the state of the country, and "a vindication of his people against the traduction of his ministers". The Catholic question was not permitted to be discussed in the club.—*Plowden*, vol. i., page 324.

It may be here permitted me to state that Grattan entered parliament, and set out in public life, an opponent of the Catholic claims. He told the late Dr. Hussey, his most intimate friend, that he owed his change of opinion to the accidental perusal of Currie's *Civil Wars*.

The club called the "Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace", is described by Pollock in 1793 as a moderate club, and its members as "most respectable and independent gentlemen".

The "Friends of Parliamentary Reform" in Belfast, in 1793, made a declaration of their principles, stating "that the enemies of reform would be answerable to God and their country for the consequences that would ensue, for all the crimes and calamities that would follow".

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY IRISH REFORMERS.

The Revolution in France had a great influence on the public mind in Ireland; but, in all probability, the rebellion of 1798 would have taken place, had that revolution never been effected.

The necessity of reform, for the security of parliamentary independence, was strongly felt by the popular party so early as 1790, and that opinion was first acted upon by the northern Presbyterians. Various political clubs, emanating from the Volunteer Associations, had been formed in Belfast, advocating reform and Catholic Emancipation, before either of these questions had gained any ground in the metropolis. The Belfast leaders were so far in advance of those of Dublin on both subjects, that, long before the change in the organization of the United Irish Societies, ulterior views to those they set out with advocating, were entertained by a great many of the former.

The Dublin leaders were chiefly of the Protestant religion, and

till the year 1794, reform was not only the ostensible, but the real object they had in view. The Belfast politicians were Presbyterians, and the old leaven of republicanism unquestionably worked more or less in all their hostile feelings to parliamentary corruption. Both parties founded their hopes of success for the struggle they had engaged in, on the discontent of the people, who groaned under the burden of the penal laws.

Belfast stood foremost in the early struggle with intolerance and corruption, in the bold discussion of political subjects, and in the dissemination of reform principles. The latter were embodied, in 1793, in a series of papers written by several persons, called *Thoughts on the British Constitution.* This collection of pieces is one of the earliest and the ablest expositions of arguments in detail in favour of reform that is to be met with. Another admirable series of letters on the same subject, under the signature of "Orellana", were written at this time by Dr. Drennan. The subversion of the government was disclaimed by the leaders of the people, and there can be little doubt on the mind of any one who reads the discussions of the Belfast politicians, that, although many of them entertained views that went much farther than reform, it was long before they acted on them, or extended their projects beyond the attempt to strengthen the democratic principle, and to combine the monarchical form of government with republican institutions. They were content to see the constitution restored and perpetuated, though, in the abstract, the predilections of such men as Tone, Neilson, Russell, Emerson, Kelburn, Joy, Simms, M'Cracken, etc., might be in favour of republicanism; but they could not overlook difficulties that lay in the way of any efforts for obtaining that object, and the probability of so far assimilating existing institutions to the latter, by means of reform, as to prevent the evils which had arisen from the monarchical form of government having become (in Ireland at least) an oligarchical one.

To have taken the government out of the more than regal power of Clare and the Beresfords, and restored its usurped authority to the constitutional sovereign of these realms, with the guarantees for protection against the future inroads of this detested oligarchy, which they looked for in reform, would, at any period previous to 1794, have satisfied the expectations of the popular leaders in the north, and cut the ground for ulterior agitation from under the feet of the more violent and uncompromising adherents to republicanism. In Dublin, the popular leaders, at any period previous to 1797, would have gladly accepted the boon, and relinquished the idea of separation. Few of their leading men were, in ordinary circumstances, more than strenuous advocates of constitu-

tional liberty, while those of the north had certainly a considerable portion of their old attachment for republican principles remaining in their politics. But even the most uncompromising of them (and, amongst others, the Rev. Sinclair Kelburne), at a very critical period of their struggle, declared that rather than have recourse to violence, though they might esteem another form of government more perfect, their views went not beyond a government of King, Lords, and Commons, were that government to be the true and real representative of the people. The precise nature of their views, and the extent of them, can only be rightly appreciated by examining their proceedings in 1792 and 1793, and referring to their discussions and avowed writings. The following extracts, with the exception of the comments on them, are taken from a highly interesting, and now rare collection of these documents, published in Belfast by their body, and edited by one of them (Henry Joy) in 1794.

The first important movement in Belfast in the cause of reform was the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons, praying for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of Roman Catholics. And this petition is worthy of notice, as being the first that ever emanated in Ireland from a Protestant body in favour of emancipation. The avowed object of its advocates was the promotion of the cause of reform, arising from the conviction that every effort in that cause which did not embrace the interests and enlist the support of the Roman Catholics on its side, must prove abortive. Acting on this opinion, the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast set out with the following declaration of their principles:—

"We have agreed to form an association, to be called 'The Society of United Irishmen': and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:—

"I. Resolved—That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among *all the people of Ireland*, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

"II. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

"III. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion".

In the beginning of January, 1792, the following requisition was addressed to the inhabitants of Belfast:—

"GENTLEMEN—As *men*, and as *Irishmen*, we have long lamented the degrading state of slavery and oppression in which the great majority of our countrymen, the *Roman Catholics*, are held—nor have we lamented it in silence. We wish to see all distinctions on account of religion abolished—all narrow, partial maxims of policy done away. We anxiously wish to see the day when every *Irishman* shall be a citizen—when Catholics and Protestants, equally interested in their country's welfare, possessing equal freedom and equal privileges, shall be cordially *united*, and shall learn to look upon each other as brethren, the children of the same God, the natives of the same land—and when the only strife amongst them shall be, who shall serve their country best. These, gentlemen, are our sentiments, and these we are convinced are yours.

"We, therefore, request a general meeting of the principal inhabitants at the Townhouse, on Saturday next, at noon, to consider of the propriety of a petition to parliament in favour of our Roman Catholic brethren.

"We are, Gentlemen,
"Your most obedient servants,

Robert Thompson,
Thomas Sinclair,
Robert Simms,
Gil. M'Ilveen, jun.
Thomas Milliken,
Samuel Neilson,
Samuel M'Tier,
Hu. M'Ilwain,
Wm. M'Cleery,
Wm. Tennent,
Wm. Magee,
Wm. Simms,
Robert Calwell,
Hu. Montgomery,
John M'Donnell,
Henry Haslett,
David Bigger,
John Haslett,
Thos. Neilson,
Thos. M'Donnell,
Robert Hunter,
Thos. M'Cabe,
Wm. Martin,
James M'Cormick,
Hu. Johnson,
Christ. Strong,
George Wells,
James Stephenson,
Sam. M'Clean,
John Graham,
Wm. Bryson,
John Tisdall,
Hugh Crawford,
Robert Getty,
James Hyndman,
Robert Major,
Walter Crawford,
Samuel M'Murray,
Thos. Brown,
John Bankhead,
Isaac Patton,
J. Campbell White,
J. S. Ferguson,
John Todd,
Richard M'Clelland,
John M'Connell,
John M'Clean,
And. M'Clean,

James Luke,
James M'Kain,
Ham. Thompson,
Thos. Ash,
John Caldwell".

Names will be found in the above list which may afford ample food for reflection to the descendents of some of those who bore them, and show abundant reason for being tolerant to others whose opinions may differ from those they now profess. Some names in that list can suggest no other feeling than one of deep concern that the bearers of them—men of high intelligence, and then, at least, of pure and noble principles—should have fallen, or be driven, into desperate courses, and have been reserved for all their evil consequences; and not a few of these gentlemen have been forced to quit their country, and their friends and homes, for ever.

In the year 1816, when Lord Castlereagh came on a pilgrimage (of repentance for his early opinions, perhaps) to the scene of his first exertions in the cause of reform, and honoured with his presence the town of Belfast—the cradle, and then the grave, of public spirit—his lordship was publicly entertained by the *ci-devant* patriots and ultra-liberals of our Irish Athens. At that dinner the waters of Lethe must have been largely mingled with the wine of the masters of the feast.

The following names recall associations not quite in union with his lordship's repute "in those days of governmental abandonment", which it was not the fashion then in Belfast to mark with a white stone.

Gilbert M'Ilvaine,
Rev. Dr. Bruce,
Narcissus Batt,
Alexander Stewart,
Henry Joy,
Sir James Isaac Bristow,
John M'Cracken,
A. Crawford,
Cunningham Gregg,
Hugh Wilson,
John Sinclair,
Dr. Thompson,
John Vance,
etc., etc., etc.

14TH JULY, 1792.—BELFAST REVIEW AND CELEBRATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"On Friday evening, the several country corps marched into town, and were billeted on the inhabitants, who were happy in renewing expressions of affection for their neighbours and friends in the fourteenth year since the commencement of reviews, and in the *sixteenth* of the volunteer era. The number of corps having been considerably reduced, it was not thought proper to call on the Venerable General of the Volunteer Army of Ulster, the

Earl of Charlemont, to attend on this occasion. The gentleman appointed in his place was Colonel Sharman, of Moira Castle, who presided with such dignity last year in the civil assembly of the inhabitants of Belfast and its neighbourhood, at the celebration of the French Revolution. An unexpected illness having prevented that justly admired character from filling an office for which he was so eminently qualified, Major Crawford, of Crawford's-burn, was unanimously nominated to act as Reviewing-General, in testimony of the respect due to decided virtue in public and private life.

"On Saturday morning a brigade was formed in High Street, extending from the Bank to the Quay, and the whole were marched off to the old review-ground in the *Falls*, at about eleven o'clock, by the exercising officer, Major M'Manus.

"On their return to town, at three o'clock, there was a *grand procession*, the order of which is mentioned underneath, and *feu-de-joies* were fired in Linenhall Street, by the whole body, in honour of that day, which presented the sublime spectacle of near *one-sixth* of the whole inhabitants of *Europe* bursting their chains, and throwing off, almost in an instant, the degrading yoke of slavery.

Order of the Military and Civil Procession.

MAJOR CRAWFORD, GENERAL AND PRESIDENT FOR THE DAY.

Belfast Troop of Light Dragoons, Captain Thomas Brown.—17.

Major M'Manus, *Exercising Officer*,

And his Aides-de-Camp.

Artillery of the Belfast First Company

(their number included in that of the corps under-mentioned).

The Colours of Five Free Nations, viz.:

Flag of Ireland—motto, *Unite and be free.*

Flag of America—motto, *The Asylum of Liberty.*

Flag of France—motto, *The Nation, the Law, and the King.*

Flag of Poland—motto, *We will support it.*

Flag of Great Britain—motto, *Wisdom, Spirit, and Liberality to the People.*

A flag was prepared for the Dutch (but no one could be found to bear it), who were to be represented by a piece of *common*

woollen stuff, half hoisted on a pole, and to be hooted by the populace, on account of the States having joined the *wicked conspiracy of tyrants* against the LIBERTIES of MAN.

Motto, *Heav'ns! how unlike their Belgian Sires of old!*

Portrait of Dr. FRANKLIN— motto, *Where Liberty is*, THERE *is my Country.*

First Brigade of Volunteers—532 men.

Artillery of Belfast Blues.

THE GREAT STANDARD

elevated on a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, with two Volunteers as supporters, containing on one side of the canvas a representation of

The Releasement of the Prisoners from the Bastile—motto, *Sacred to Liberty.*

The reverse contained a figure of Hibernia, one hand and foot in shackles; a Volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty.

Motto, *For a People to be* FREE, *it is sufficient that they* WILL IT.

Second Brigade of Volunteers—258 men.

Portrait of MONS. MIRABEAU.

Can the African Slave Trade be morally wrong and politically right?

Motto, *Our Gallic Brother was born in* 1789: *alas! we are still in embryo*".

"REJOICINGS FOR THE RECENT VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH.

"The town of Belfast was almost universally illuminated. Everything demonstrated sincere pleasure in the disgrace of two tyrannical courts, that attempted to dragoon an united nation into that deplorable state of spiritual as well as political bondage, from which it was just recovering, and that dared to tell twenty-five millions of men—YE SHALL NOT BE FREE.

"In the windows of six or seven houses a number of transparencies presented themselves:—A few of the mottoes are subjoined, as trifling circumstances sometimes mark the disposition of the times.

"Perfect union and equal liberty to the men of Ireland.—Vive la Republique: Vive la Nation.—Church and State divorced.—Liberty triumphant.—The Rights of Man established.—Despotism prostrate.—The Tyrants are fled; let the People rejoice.—Heaven

beheld their glorious efforts and crowned their deeds with success.—France is free; so may we: let us will it.—Awake, O ye that sleep.—A gallows suspending an inverted Crown, with these words: 'May the fate of every tyrant be that of Capet'.—A check to Despots.—The cause of Mankind triumphant.—Irishmen! rejoice.—Union among Irishmen.—Rights of Man.—Irishmen! look at France. Liberty and Equality.

IRELAND.

8th Sept. 1783.—Armed Citizens spoke,
2nd Dec. 1783.—Their Delegates ran away.
30th Oct. 1792.—We are taxed, tithed, and enslaved, but we have only to unite and be free.

FRANCE.

14th July, 1789.—Sacred to Liberty.
10th August, 1792.—The people triumphant.
22nd October, 1792.—Exit of Tyranny.

"The night closed in the most orderly manner, without either bonfire, or any kind of irregularity whatever.

"The festival concluded with an entertainment at the Donegal Arms, where 104 persons sat down at dinner, when the General, who was also president of the day, announced the toasts prepared by a committee, of which the following is a copy.

"*The First Toast*—'THE FOURTEENTH OF JULY, 1789'.

"The King of Ireland.—The Constitution of France; may it be permanent.—The Constitutional Assembly of France.—The National Assembly of France: may wisdom, spirit, and decision, direct its counsels.—The French army; may an ardent love of their country be held paramount to every other duty in the character of a soldier.—Confusion to the enemies of French liberty. May the Glorious Revolution of France teach the Governments of the Earth wisdom.—May the example of one Revolution prevent the necessity of others.—Lasting freedom and prosperity to the United States of America.—The people of Poland, and success to their arms.—The Rights of Man: may all nations have wisdom to understand, and spirit to assert them.—The Union of Irishmen, without which we can never be free.—The Sovereignty of the People, acting by a just and equal representation.—The Liberty of the Press.—The Volunteers of Ireland, and their revered General, Earl of Charlemont.—The Constitutional Societies of Great Britain and Ireland.—The Society for the Abolition of the Slave

Trade.—President Washington.—Stanislaus Augustus: may his example be imitated.—Mr. Paine: may perverted eloquence ever find so able an opposer.—Mr. Fox, and the rights of juries, in substance as well as form.—Mr. Grattan, and the minority of the Irish House of Commons.—The Literary Characters who have vindicated the Rights of Man, and may genius ever be employed in them.—May all Governments be those of the Laws, and all Laws those of the People.—May the free nations of the world vie with each other in promoting liberty, peace, virtue, and happiness, among men.—The increased, increasing, and sacred flame of Liberty.—Ireland.—The cause of freedom.—The memory of John Locke.—The memory of William Molyneaux.—The memory of Dr. Franklin.—The memory of Mirabeau.—The memory of Dr. Price.—The memory of Mr. Howard".

COPY OF THE ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

"It is not from vanity or ostentation that we, the citizens of Belfast, and citizen-soldiers of that town and neighbourhood, take the liberty of addressing the representative majesty of the French people. We address you with the rational respect due to a title elevated far above all servile and idolatrous adulation, and with that affectionate fraternity of heart which ought to unite man to man in a mutual and inseparable union of interests, of duties, and of rights, which ought to unite nation with nation, into one great republic of the world.

"On a day, sanctified as this has been by a declaration of human rights, the germ of so much good to mankind, we meet with joy together, and wish well to France, to her National Assembly, to her people, to her armies, and to her king.

"May you, legislators, maintain, by the indefatigable spirit of liberty, that constitution which has been planned by the wisdom of your predecessors, and never may you weary in the work you have undertaken, until you can proclaim with triumphant security, it is finished! Manifest to an attentive and progressive world, that is not the frenzy of philosophy, nor the fever of wild and precarious liberty, which could produce such continued agitation; but that imperishable spirit of freedom alone, which always exists in the heart of man, which now animates the heart of Europe, and which, in the event, will communicate its energy throughout the world, invincible and immortal!

"We rejoice, in the sincerity of our souls, that this creative spirit animates the whole mass of mind in France. We auspicate happiness and glory to the human race from every great event which calls into activity the whole vigour of the whole commu-

nity, amplifies so largely the field of enterprise and improvement, and gives free scope to the universal soul of the empire. We trust that you will never submit the liberties of France to any other guarantees than God and the right hands of the people.

"The power that presumes to modify or to arbitrate with respect to a constitution adopted by the people, is an usurper and a despot, whether it be the meanest of the mob, or the ruler of empires; and if you condescend to negociate the alteration of a comma in your constitutional code, France from that moment is a slave. Impudent despots of Europe! is it not enough to crush human nature beneath your feet at home, that you thus come abroad to disturb the domestic settlement of the nations around you, and put in motion your armies, those enormous masses of human machinery, to beat down every attempt that man makes for his own happiness?—It is high time to turn these dreadful engines against their inventors, and organized as they have hitherto been for the misery of mankind, to make them now the instruments of its glory and its renovation.

"Success, therefore, attend the ARMIES of France!

"May your soldiers, with whom war is not a trade, but a duty, remember that they do not fight merely for themselves, but that they are the advanced guard of the world: nor let them imagine that the event of the war is uncertain. A single battle may be precarious, not so a few campaigns. There is an omnipotence in a righteous cause, which masters the pretended mutability of human affairs, and fixes the supposed inconsistency of fortune. If you will be free, you MUST; there is not a chance that one million of resolute men can be enslaved: no power on Earth is able to do it; and will the God of justice and of mercy? Soldiers! there is something that fights for you even in the hearts of your enemies. The native energies of humanity rise up in voluntary array against tyrannical and preposterous prejudice, and all the little cabals of the heart give way to the feelings of nature, of country, and of kind!

"Freedom and prosperity to the people of France! We think that such revolutions as they have accomplished are so far from being out of the order of society, that they spring inevitably from the nature of man and the progression of reason; what is imperfect, he has the power to improve; what he has created, he has a right to destroy. It is a rash opposition to the irresistible will of the public that in some instances has maddened a disposition otherwise mild and magnanimous, turned energy into ferocity, and the generous and gallant spirit of the French into fury and vengeance. We trust that every effort they now make, every

hardship they undergo, every drop of blood they shed, will render their constitution more dear to them.

"Long life and happiness to the King of the French! Not the lord of the soil and its servile appendages, but the king of men who can reserve their rights while they entrust their powers. In this crisis of his fate may he withstand every attempt to estrange him from the nation, to make him an exile in the midst of France, and to prevent him from identifying himself as a magistrate with the constitution, and as a Frenchman with the people.

"We beseech you all, as men, as legislators, as citizens, and as soldiers, in this your great conflict for liberty for France, and for the world, to despise all Earthly danger, to look up to God, and to connect your councils, your arms, and your empire to his throne with a chain of union, fortitude, perseverance, morality, and religion.

"We conclude with this fervent prayer: That as the Almighty is dispersing the political clouds which have hitherto darkened our hemisphere, all nations may use the light of Heaven: that, as in this latter age, the Creator is unfolding in His creatures powers which had long lain latent, they may exert them in the establishment of universal freedom, harmony, and peace: may those who are free never be slaves: may those who are slaves be speedily free".

REPLY TO THE PRECEDING ADDRESS, AND THAT OF THE SHEFFIELD SOCIETIES, FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE, CITIZEN GREGOIRE.

"Your addresses to the representatives of the French nation have filled them with pleasing emotions. In imposing on me the honourable duty of a reply, they make me regret that I can but imperfectly express what all with so much energy feel. To have the honour to be a Frenchman or an Englishman, carries with it a title to every degree of mutual affection that can subsist among men.

"The curious in your country are pleased to traverse the globe in order to explore nature; henceforth they can visit Mont Blanc (Savoy) without quitting France; in other words, without leaving their friends. The day on which free Savoy unites itself with us, and that on which children of high-minded England appear among us, are, in the eye of reason, days of triumph. Nothing is wanting in these affecting scenes but the presence of all Great Britain, to bear testimony to the enthusiasm with which we are

inspired by the name of liberty, and that of the people with whom we are about to form eternal alliance.

"The National Convention has wished to testify its satisfaction to the English, in decreeing that they would conduct in the presence of some of them the trial of the last of their kings. Sixty ages have elapsed since kings first made war on liberty: the most miserable pretexts have been sufficient for them to spread trouble over the Earth. Let us recollect with horror that under the reign of Anne, the falling of a pair of gloves, and that under Louis XIV., a window opening from one apartment into another, were sufficient causes for deluging Europe in blood.

"Alas! short is the duration prescribed by eternal power to our weak existence; and shall then the ferocious ambition of some individuals embitter or abridge our days with impunity? Yet a little moment, and despots and their cannons shall be silenced: philosophy denounces them at the bar of the universe, and history, sullied with their crimes, has drawn their characters. Shortly the annals of mankind will be those of virtue; and in the records of France, a place will be reserved for our testimonies of fraternity with the British and Irish societies, but especially for the Constitutional Society of London.

"Doubtless the new year which is now approaching will see all your rights restored. The meeting of your parliament attracts our attention. We hope that then philosophy will thunder by the mouth of eloquence, and that the English will substitute the great charter of Nature in place of the great charter of King John.

"The principles upon which our own republic has been founded, have been discovered by the celebrated writers of your nation; we have taken possession of their discoveries in the social art, because truths revealed to the world are the property of all mankind. A people which has brought reason to maturity will not be content with liberty by halves; it will doubtless refuse to capitulate with despotism.

"Generous Britons! let us associate for the happiness of the human race; let us destroy every prejudice; let us cause useful knowledge to filter through every branch of the social tree; let us inspire our equals with a sense of their dignity; let us teach them, above all, that vices are the inseparable companions of slavery; and let us depend upon it, that our efforts will be favoured by the God of liberty, who weighs the destiny of empires, and holds in His hands the fate of nations".

EXTRACTS FROM THE BELFAST ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Trained from our infancy in a love of freedom and an abhorrence of tyranny, we congratulate our brethren of France and ourselves, that the infamous conspiracy of slaves and despots, against the happiness and glory of that admired and respected nation, and against the common rights of man, has hitherto proved abortive.

"Impressed as we are with a deep sense of the excellence of our constitution as it exists in theory, we rejoice that we are not, like our brethren in France, reduced to the hard necessity of tearing up inveterate abuse by the roots, even where utility was so intermixed as not to admit of separation. Ours is an easier and a less unpleasing task; to remove with a steady and a temperate resolution, the abuses which the lapse of many years' inattention and supineness in the great body of the people, and unremitting vigilance in their rulers to invade and plunder them of their rights, have suffered to overgrow and to deform that beautiful system of government, so admirably suited to our situation, our habits, and our wishes. We have not to innovate, but to restore. The just prerogatives of our monarch we respect and will maintain. The constitutional power of the peers of the realm we wish not to invade. We know that in the exercise of both, abuses have grown up; but we also know that those abuses will be at once corrected, so as never again to recur, by restoring to us, THE PEOPLE, what we, for ourselves, *demand as our right*, our due weight and influence in that estate, which is our property, the representation of the people in parliament.

"But while we thus state our sentiments on the subject of reform, we feel it incumbent upon us to declare, as we now do, that no reform, were even such attainable, would answer our ideas of utility or justice, which should not equally include all sects and denominations of Irishmen.

"We have now declared our sentiments to the world. In declaring them, we spurn with equal disdain, restraint, whether proceeding from a mob or a monarch—from a riot or a proclamation. We look with a mixture of abomination and contempt on the transactions which, on the last anniversary of the French Revolution, degraded the national character of England; when neither the learning, the piety, the public spirit, nor the private virtue of a Priestley, could protect him from the savage fury of the vilest of an ignorant and a bigoted rabble".

Reform marched onward steadily toward revolution, from 1792 to 1793 and 1794.

THE DECLARATION OF THE BELFAST LIGHT DRAGOONS.

John Burden in the Chair.

"An authentic declaration of the public opinion being now necessary, both for the direction of the legislature and the people, and as the country is not yet, we trust, so far degraded, that its unanimous and persevering demands upon any point of government, can be finally unsuccessful: We, the members of the Belfast Light Dragoons, have assembled, in order to declare our political sentiments, viz:—

"I. We deem that a government by a King, Lords, and Commons, the Commons being freely and frequently chosen by the people, is that best adapted to the genius of this country.

"II. That the object of the people is not to introduce, but to abolish novelties, such as venal boroughs, octennial parliaments, and pensioned representatives; what we reprobate is *new*—what we venerate is ANCIENT.

"III. That we are determined to continue our exertions, until we obtain an impartial representation of ALL the people, ignorant of any principle by which a religious denomination should be excluded; nor could it be the intention of our ancestors to abridge a man of civil freedom, because he exercised religious liberty.

"IV. That the only trusty safeguard of a country is an armed and disciplined people; we will, therefore, continue embodied, and in the use of arms, until we shall obtain the objects of our wishes; and then we will continue in arms that we may defend them.

"HU. M'ILWAIN, SEC. B.L.D

"16th January, 1793".

EXTRACTS FROM THE DECLARATION OF THE FRIENDS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN BELFAST.—*10th Jan.* 1793.

Waddell Cunningham in the Chair.

"Several years have elapsed since many of the wisest and best men in England, Scotland, and Ireland, stimulated their countrymen to demand a *Parliamentary Reform*, under a conviction that it would conduce as much to the stability of government as to the liberty of the people. Had that *demand* been unreasonable, or that *reform* unnecessary, both would long since have been forgotten or remained neglected. But that demand has gained strength

by age, and *the people*, instead of being lulled into indolence, are in danger of being roused into fury.

"Those honest patriots who first excited the people, and offered their best advice to government, are now called upon to remind and forewarn administration of the consequences of their former supineness and their present obstinacy. They also exerted themselves in keeping alive some respect for the *constitution*, and some regard to peace, together with hope of redress. But if their exhortations to government be slighted, they feel that their influence with the people will be equally disregarded. They will then be reduced to a dilemma, which cannot long hold them in suspense. They must take part with government, or they must enlist under the banners of the public. They must either coöperate in establishing a tyranny in their country, or rush into the intemperate measures of an indignant multitude. They may be obliged to renounce an infatuated court, or to meet their dearest relations and friends in arms. Some may seek a remote retreat, and lament in silence the miseries and the crimes by which their native land shall be overwhelmed; but the more numerous and vigorous party will assuredly, after struggling in vain against the torrent, plunge into the flood of civil contest. They may *endeavour* to regulate its course and moderate its rage; but they will give it strength and perseverance. They will not be found among the least formidable enemies or the least active patriots.

"We wish not to insinuate that there exists at present any party hostile to *a peaceable settlement*. If there be, we know it not. But this we know, that the public mind is in a ferment; that the public arm is strong; and that the most desperate proposals may speedily become the most grateful.

"We, therefore, who have always sought for reform within the limits of the constitution, and studied to combine liberty with peace, have determined not to slacken our exertions for the attainment of the one and the preservation of the other. We have resolved that, whatever may be the result of the present crisis, we shall be blameless; and that neither our rulers nor our fellow-subjects shall have cause to accuse us either of *intemperance* or *remissness*. But we must at the same time solemnly declare, that if the just demands of the people be despised, those who *refuse* and those who *resist* redress will be answerable to posterity, to their country, and to God, for all the crimes and calamities that may follow.

"In order to avert these evils as much as in us lies, by promoting the objects recited above, we have associated under the title of the *Friends of a Parliamentary Reform*, and have drawn up the following fundamental principles, in the hopes that all who ap-

prove of their spirit will follow our example, by forming societies of the same kind.

"*Principles.*

"I. A constitution, composed of *the King, Lords, and People*, the latter fully and equally represented in a House of Commons, *we prefer to every other*, as admirably suited to the genius, wishes, and interests of Ireland.

"II. The present mode of representation is absurd, unequal, and inadequate, contrary to the spirit of our own, and of every free government.

"III. We assert that the basis of election should be extended to the people of every religious denomination.

"With a constitution so modelled as to restore the just rights of the collective body, without infringing on the prerogative of the crown or on the dignity of the peerage, we think this nation, whose loyalty has ever kept pace with its love of freedom, will be satisfied and rest content".

AT A MEETING OF THE THIRD SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, IN THE TOWN OF BELFAST, 3RD OCTOBER, 1792.

Mr. Clotworthy Birnie in the Chair.

The declaration was agreed to, from which the following extracts are taken.

"Associated, as we are, for the purpose of producing an union of interest and affection among all the inhabitants of Ireland, we abhor the idea of withholding from our Roman Catholic brethren their civil and religious rights, at the time that we would wish to enjoy those rights ourselves.

"We are persuaded that the religion of any man, and his politics, are not necessarily connected: on the contrary, that the former ought not to have any connection with the latter. In a civil view there undoubtedly is a communion of interests and rights, and every individual who contributes to the support of the state, ought to have a voice in framing the laws which regulate that state. But religion is personal; the individual alone accountable; we, therefore, deem it impious to intrude between his conscience and that Almighty Being who alone knoweth his heart.

"We assert that the right of petitioning in the subject, of whatever denomination, is not only natural, but perfectly agreeable to the spirit of our constitution; and we confess ourselves ignorant of any mode by which our Catholic brethren could have so peaceably collected and expressed their sentiments as by delegation".

If the reader be struck with surprise at the influence of French politics on the minds of the Belfast leaders in some of the preceding documents—at the extravagant hopes founded on the revolution in that country—at the extraordinary excitement displayed by its admirers, in their fantastic celebration of its victories, or the anniversary of its outbreak—he cannot fail likewise to have been struck, even in despite of the extravagance manifested on some occasions, at the exhibition of talent and enthusiasm in the cause of reform on the part of its first advocates; and especially when he examines the discussions and proceedings of those men of of the movement party of 1793 and 1794, at their enlightened views on the subject of civil and religious liberty, which were then so much in advance of the opinions of their countrymen. The policy was worthier of the Grand Vizier of Constantinople than of the British minister, which made rebels of many of those men who then advocated the questions of reform and emancipation.

ACCOUNT FROM THE "BELFAST NEWSLETTER" OF A MILITARY RIOT IN BELFAST, ON SATURDAY, 9TH OF MARCH, 1793.

"About three quarters of an hour after six o'clock in the evening, a body of the 17th Dragoons, intermixed with a few others of the military, rushed out from their quarters, and drove furiously through most of the principal streets, with their sabres drawn, cutting at any one that came in their way, and attacking houses. This lasted near an hour, when, through the interference of magistrates and some military officers, the party were dispersed. In the course of this business, the windows of a number of the inhabitants were broken, and some signs torn down. A great number of persons were slightly wounded, who had taken no part in the affray. Charles Ranken, Esq., a justice of peace for the county of Antrim, in endeavouring to take an artilleryman, and after commanding his Majesty's peace by virtue of his office, was repeatedly stabbed at, and in a slight degree wounded. Mr. Campbell, surgeon, happening to be in a street through which the party were driving, one of them ran across it, and made several cuts at him, some of which penetrated through his clothes and slightly wounded him. The windows of a milliner's shop were broken, in which cockades were hung up for sale. A man had his ear and his hand cut with a sword. Happily no lives were lost, and to the prudence and quiet demeanour of the townspeople it was owing.

"The houses which suffered most were those of Mr. M'Cabe, watchmaker; Mr. Orr, chandler; Mr. Watson, on the Quay; Mr. Johnson and Mr. Sinclair, public-house keepers in North Street;

and the shop of Miss Wills, a milliner, in High Street. Their malice seemed principally levelled at the Volunteers. Two of the dragoons received ample punishment from the swords of their officers. The consternation of the town may be easily supposed.

"Two causes have been assigned for this unprovoked disturbance: viz., that there was a sign of Dumurier at a small public-house in North Street; and that a blind fiddler who plays through the streets at night, happened to be playing Ca Ira, a French air. With respect to the sign, it was erected before there was any prospect of a war with France, and the circumstance of its being there could not be countenanced by the people, for few had ever heard of it till the riot brought it into notice. As to the tune played by a blind mendicant, it is too trifling a cause to be seriously mentioned, though he deposed on oath that he never knew the tune in question.

"As soon as intelligence of the riot reached the officers of the troops at the barrack mess, they used much activity in suppressing it. Great praise is due to the exertions of the magistrates; but the rapidity with which the party forced their way through the town, made it impracticable to suppress it till the injury was done. The gentleman who commands the regiment now in barracks, Captain M'Donnel, signalized himself by the most active exertions; and his regiment, the 55th, behaved extremely well. The circumstance of General Whyte's absence on other necessary duty, was much regretted; but he returned to town instantly on hearing of the matter. A guard of four hundred and fifty Volunteers sat up during the night, and no farther harm ensued.

"On Sunday, the Sovereign, by request, called a meeting of the town at three o'clock, to consider of the best means of preserving the peace, and bringing the offenders to punishment. In the mean time, Major-General Whyte had arrived from Carrickfergus, and gave assurances of his earnest desire to coöperate with the civil power in bringing the offenders to punishment, and promoting the security and peace of the town. A committee was appointed by the town meeting to inquire into the cause of the disturbances, and report to a future one, to be convened by them as soon as their report was ready. This committee consisted of twenty-two, amongst whom were the Sovereign, High Constable, and all the magistrates resident in town. This committee, according to instruction, sat at a quarter past six on Sunday evening. General Whyte was invited to attend as a member, which he seemed rather to decline, but desired an interview with the committee, to whom he repeated his good wishes for the peace of the town, and expressed his wish and his reasons for desiring that the Volunteers who were assembled, to the num-

ber of four hundred and fifty, would disperse, as he had ordered a patrol of officers, and a strong guard of the 55th regiment, who have always behaved with great order and regularity, and at the same time pledged himself to call upon the inhabitants, and join them himself, if any necessity required it. A deputation was immediately sent from the committee to the Volunteers, with a paper stating these facts, and requesting them to separate, which they instantly complied with.

" Saturday night, May 25, 1793, exhibited another of those military affrays to which this town has been subjected for some time past. We do not wish to enter into a detail of the violences committed; suffice it to say, that some of the inhabitants were dangerously wounded, none mortally. Mr. Birnie, who received a stab in his back, and was otherwise much hurt, is in a fair way of recovery.

" It is generally believed Mr. Birnie would have been killed, had it not been for the spirited exertions of Captain Barber and Lieutenant George, in aid of the Sovereign.

" On Monday evening, the 15th of April, about eight o'clock, a party of the artillery and 38th regiment, who had arrived in this town on Friday last, attacked a sign of the late *Doctor Franklin*, which, being made of copper and hung with iron, had withstood the sabres of the 17th dragoons, but on this occasion was laid prostrate by the assistance of a rope. They then attacked and pulled down the sign over the newspaper office of the *Northern Star*. What their next enterprise would have been we know not; but at this period the arrival of the Sovereign and a number of their officers, put a stop to the *evening's amusement*. The signs, which had been removed to some distance, were abandoned to their proper owners, and immediately replaced. None of the inhabitants were hurt on the occasion.

The lettting loose of the military on the inhabitants of Belfast, was tantamount to a declaration of war, with their political societies and their volunteer members and promoters.

The " Volunteers" in 1793 intimated plainly the objects they had in view would be accomplished by force if necessary. The lawyers' corps adopted the motto, " Inter arma leges"; another corps took the name of National Guards, and placed on their banners the significant device of a harp without a crown. The Maghera corps, in 1792, had made a declaration of their political sentiments, in which they stated that " they would not be deterred from their duty until their country should taste the sweets of freedom, and they plucked the fruit from the tree of liberty". One of the last memorable acts of the Irish Whig Club was the presentation to the crown of a petition (known to be drawn up by Mr. Grattan) to the King, setting forth the various acts of oppres-

sion and injustice on the part of several administrations in Ireland, from 1792 to 1798. In this admirable document the recent rebellion is clearly and irrefragably shown to be the result of their measures: the dishonour brought on both houses so early as 1792, by the scandalously open and shamefully avowed sale of the peerage to procure seats in the Commons; the people's confidence in parliament destroyed; the unconstitutional nature of the act of 33 George III., to prevent what was called unlawful assemblies of the people under pretence of preparing petitions or other addresses to the crown or the parliament; the rigour of the Gunpowder and Convention Bills in 1793; the persecutions of the people on the part of the Orangemen in the north, sanctioned and protected in 1790 by a bill of indemnity; the partiality exhibited in the resolutions brought forward in the House of Commons by the Attorney-General in that year, as a kind of supplement to his Insurrection Act, wherein all the disturbances of the four preceding years are ascribed to the Defenders, and not a syllable is mentioned of the atrocities of the Peep-of-Day Boys, committed on the people, who, having no protection to look to from the law, were compelled, in self-defence, to resist their exterminators; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill, in 1797; the extreme severity of military government; Lord Carhampton's wholesale transportation of the people, without trial or legal proof of guilt; General Lake's death-denouncing proclamation; the free quarters in the country; the proscription of the Catholics; the burning of their dwellings and their chapels; and lastly, in a country where female chastity was held in the highest respect, the licentiousness of the military rabble, who, in the words of their commander-in-chief, at a later period, were "formidable to all except the enemy".

These are the topics which are treated of in this able document; and it is impossible to bestow our attention on them, without coming to the conclusion that the people were deliberately exasperated and driven into rebellion, with a view of breaking down the energies of the country, and thus enabling the British minister to accomplish the long-projected measure of the Union.

It would betray a disposition to mislead, or a state of mind apt and indolently willing to be misled, to consider the origin of the confederacy of the United Irishmen, and the nature of their designs, without reference to the constitution of the Irish Parliament, and the actual condition of the country in regard to representation, and the enjoyment, or reasonable prospect of enjoyment, of political, civil, and religious privileges, by the great mass of the people, or the middle class, which comprised in its several ranks the active energies, industrial, commercial, and professional

intellectuality of the communities in towns and cities, at the period of the formation of the first society of United Irishmen.

In the numerous works devoted to the subject of Irish Parliamentary independence, it is very strange how this subject has been allowed to pass unnoticed, or rather how sedulously it has been avoided.

A very remarkable, authentic, and most complete document, entitled, "Table of Parliamentary Patronage for Ireland, 1793", is to be found in a periodical of great merit in its day, *The Anthologia Hibernica*, for October, 1793, p. 268. This valuable document, lost sight of as it now is in an obsolete publication, it is well to reproduce, for the important facts which are concealed beneath it are of marvellous significance; they speak more than many volumes that have been written, of a state of parliamentary corruption and degradation unparallelled in parliamentary history.

We find by this document that the number of members returned to the Irish parliament by peers was one hundred and thirty-four!! and the number of members who owed their seats to the patronage and influence of commoners was ninety-four!!! *so that in the Irish House of Commons, which in the year* 1793, *consisted of three hundred members* (*one hundred and ninety-six of whom were returned for ninety-eight boroughs*), *no less than two hundred and twenty-eight members were returned either by peers, nominated by them, or who obtained their seats by the influence of patrons; and the remaining independent seventy-two members, as well as the others, represented Protestant constituencies exclusively, the great mass of the population, who were Catholics, being wholly unrepresented in the Irish House of Commons*, when that parliament assembled on the 10th of January, 1793.

"The Table of Parliamentary Patronage for Ireland, 1793", is the more reliable on account of the politics of the writer who communicates it. He declares himself strenuously opposed to reform, and deprecates any extension of the franchise or change in the existing system of representation, as an innovation sure to lead to anarchy and confusion. This remarkable document will be found in the Appendix.

Such another witness as the person who prepared the "Table of Parliamentary Patronage of Ireland in 1793", is Lord Chancellor Clare, a few years later in his place in parliament.

Lord Clare, in his celebrated speech on the Irish Union, said: "Cromwell's first act was to collect all the native Irish who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and to transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been completely depopulated and laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire there by a certain

day, and forbidden to repass the river Shannon on pain of death; and this sentence of deportation was rigorously enforced until the Restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man who had taken part in the rebellion, or followed the fortunes of the king after the murder of Charles I. And this whole fund was distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war. And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of the various sects which then infested England,—Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millinarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. And I speak with great personal respect of the men, when I state that a very considerable portion of the opulence and power of the kingdom of Ireland centres at this day in the descendents of this motley collection of English adventurers.

"It seems evident from the whole tenor of the declaration made by Charles II. at his restoration, that a private stipulation had been made by Monck, in favour of Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, who had been put into possession of the confiscated lands in Ireland; and it would have been an act of gross injustice on the part of the king to have overlooked their interests. The civil war of 1641 was a rebellion against the Crown of England, and the complete reduction of the Irish rebels by Cromwell redounded essentially to the advantage of the British empire. But admitting the principle in its fullest extent, it is impossible to defend the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, by which it was carried into effect; and I could wish that the modern asserters of Irish dignity and independence would take the trouble to read and understand them.

"I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act, thus passed for the settlement of Ireland; but I wish gentlemen who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know that seven million eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out, under the authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island; many of whom were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well for the difficulties imposed upon them by the Court of Claims in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisal to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the Duke of York; and the parliament of Ireland having made this settlement of the island in

effect on themselves, granted an hereditary revenue to the crown. It is a subject of curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland, incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at 11,420,682 acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures:—

Confiscated in the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster, containing, acres, ...	2,836,837
Set out by the Court of Claims at the Restoration, acres, ...	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688, acres . . .	1,060,792
Total, . . .	11,697,629

"So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six old families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII., but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the Revolution, stands unparallelled in the history of the inhabited world.

"What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the Revolution? and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from the first settlement, they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation".

This state of things in Ireland has to be taken into account before we pronounce a sweeping judgment on the desperate course adopted by the United Irishmen, or wonder at the conduct of certain Catholic prelates in Ireland in 1799 and 1800, who were not prepared to take their stand by the side of the advocates of parliamentary independence. We may also read in the *Memoirs of Lord Castlereagh* (vols. I. and II. *passim*), and in those of Grattan, with feelings, perhaps, of more pain than surprise, "that in the hopes of obtaining from a British parliament, that which the Irish parliament had, so much to its cost, refused, four metropolitan and six diocesan Catholic bishops, who had been led to give

their countenance to the Union, were induced, through the intrigues of Lord Castlereagh, to sign resolutions in favour of a royal veto in the appointment of those prelates".*

The following letter of a very remarkable man, will throw some light on the subject:—

Extract from a Letter of the Rev. Dr. Hussey to Bernard Clinch, Esq.

"London, January 10
(no year, probably 1800).

. . . . "As to your union, whatever my reason may tell me upon a cool inquiry, my feelings rejoice at it. I told the Chancellor of your Exchequer here, that I would prefer a union with the Beys and Mamelukes of Egypt to that of being under the iron rod of the Mamelukes of Ireland; but, alas! I fear that a union will not remedy the ills of poor Erin. The remnants of old oppression and new opinions that lead to anarchy (to use the words of a foolish milk-and-water letter), still keep the field of battle, and until one side be defeated, the country is not safe. Another project upon which I have been consulted, is, to grant salaries, or pension, to the Catholic clergy of the higher and lower order. The conditions upon which they are to be granted, as first proposed to me, are directly hostile to the interests of religion, and, taken in the most favourable point of view, must be detrimental to the Catholics, by cutting asunder the slender remaining ties between the pastor and his flock, by turning the discipline and laws of the Church into a mercantile, political speculation, and must end in making the people unbelievers, and consequently Jacobins upon the French scale. Whether the prelates of Ireland have courage or energy enough to oppose any such project so hurtful to religion, I will not say. Indeed, the infernal Popery laws have lessened the courage of the clergy, as well as destroyed the honesty and morals of the people, and my affection for my native land is not so effaced as to enable me to say with our countryman after he had gone to bed, 'Arrah, let the house burn away; what do I care, who am only a lodger?' I request you will write to me by post, as long and as minutely as your avocations will permit. How many students have you? Why do all the children of the nobility and gentry come over to school here, and to very indifferent schools, too, instead of going to yours? They will soon become as stupid and as prejudiced as English Catholics.

"Yours faithfully,
"T. HUSSEY".

* "Grattan's Memoirs", vol. v., 375.

Grattan, in his valedictory address to his constituents in 1797, carried away by the force of circumstances and his feelings of bitter disappointment with respect to the constitution of Ireland, proclaims the lamentable conviction he had come to, that there was no soundness, no effective power for good, no principle of patriotism, existing in the Irish parliament.

"The greater part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of Stewart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subverting the parliamentary constitution of Ireland: these are understated when they are called abuses in the constitution; they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations in the constitution, by kings whose family lost their kingdom for crimes less deadly to freedom, and who, in their Star Chamber tyranny, in their court of high commission, in their ship money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an act so diabolical in intention, so mortal in principle, or so radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of boroughs, which is the fabrication of a court parliament, and the exclusion of a constitutional commons, and which is a subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the constitutional law-giver; you banish that family for other acts, but you retain that act by which you have banished the commons. The birth of the borough inundation was the destruction of liberty and property. James I., who made that inundation, by that means destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands; the robbery of his liberty was followed by the robbery of his property. This king had an instrument more subtile and more pliable than the sword, and, against the liberty of the subject, more cold and deadly; a court influence that palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her name plants the dagger—*a Borough Parliament*".*

Lord Fitzwilliam, in a letter to Plowden, the historian, dated 26th Sept, 1803, observes: "This work has brought before the public this truth, little known and little thought of, that the Irish nation has consisted of two distinct and separate people, the English and the native Irish, the conqueror and the conquered; and that this distinction has been systematically and industriously kept up, not by the animosity of the conquered, but by the policy of the conqueror".†

The janissaries of this system of government, the ascendency faction of Ireland, are thus characterized by Grattan, in his

* Grattan's valedictory address, quoted in the speech of the Right Hon. the Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in the House of Lords in Ireland, on the Union, February 10, 1800.

† "Grattan's Life", by his Son, vol. v., p. 235.

well-known letter, dated from Twickenham, November 9, 1798, referring to "that Irish faction which stands at the head of a bloody combination":—

"I look on them as the cause of every evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest that I do not know a faction which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the constitution of Ireland; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine it; they introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of parliament. They then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that one of them was obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions he had used in another. They accompanied these offences by an abominable petulance of invective, uttered from time to time against the great body of the people of Ireland; and having, by such proceedings and such discourse, lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of torture, attendant on a conspiracy of which their crimes was the cause; and now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, when an Englishman at the head of its government struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant, or more sanguinary".

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST DESIGNS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN WERE DIRECTED MAINLY TO REFORM AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE ASCENDENCY FACTION. HAPPY WOULD IT HAVE BEEN FOR THEM AND THEIR COUNTRY, IF THEIR EFFORTS HAD NOT EXTENDED FARTHER.

THE political convulsions which agitated Europe at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, have passed from the turmoil of cotemporary events, to take their place for ever in the sober records of history. The shadows, clouds, and darkness, which the heat of passions, the fury of parties, and the violence of selfish interest, threw around every event of that period, have been dissipated and dispelled since the passions have cooled, the parties disappeared, and the interests dwindled away, which were then predominant. England can do justice to the reformers of 1794; can bear to have their merits shown and their errors displayed. Scotland has already enrolled the names of

Muir and Palmer in the list of those who have loved their country "not wisely, but too well". It remained that the history of the United Irishmen should be written fearlessly and fairly; that the wrongs by which they were goaded to resistance, the nature of the political evils they desired to remove, the good at which they aimed, and the errors into which they were betrayed, should be inquired into and set forth.

However party writers may labour to distort events, sooner or later FACTS will make themselves known, and show their strength in their original dimensions. It is well that men of the present generation should know how few are the years which suffice to wither away the veil which corruption and venality or treachery have had drawn over their delinquencies; how soon the sons may be compelled to blush for their fathers' deeds, and destined to suffer for them. Faction is proverbially short-sighted; but in Ireland it seems to be stone-blind—neither enlightened by the past, nor speculating on the future.

To elucidate a period of Irish, or rather British history, which the most unscrupulous of all factions has made a favourite subject of its mendacious productions, has been the great object of the writer of these volumes. Setting out with a determination "to extenuate nought, and to set down nought in malice", he has devoted time, labour, and expense, to the task of collecting documents, which, in the ordinary course of events, must soon have been lost irrevocably,—documents from which any reasonable reader, unprejudiced by party, may be able to form a correct estimate of the motives and actions of men who have hitherto been praised and blamed with very little reference to the real circumstances of their conduct or their principles.

The object of this work is not to revive the remembrance of past evils, with the view of promoting any party interest, but with the design of preventing the possibility of the recurrence of the crimes and sufferings of those bad times. The policy of former governmental *regime* in Ireland, which availed itself of the agency of an intolerant, sanguinary, insolent, selfish, truculent, and overbearing faction (far less fanatical than hypocritical), for the accomplishment of purposes of state, has ceased to exist; but the spirit of that faction has undergone no change, and with diminished power to indulge its savage instincts, the activity of its ancient enmities to the faith and civil rights of the great mass of the Irish people, is displayed ever and anon as prominently as ever, in sordid efforts to make its influence seem formidable to government, and its services worthy of being bought or remunerated in any manner.

It is not unprofitable, even now, to reflect on the use which

partizans of this ascendency faction made of their power in those bad times, when every man who became obnoxious to their body, by taking a prominent part in any political proceedings opposed to their views and interests, was accounted disaffected to the state; and even when loyal men, indignant at the treatment they received, were driven by unfounded accusations and dishonourable suspicions into criminal courses. It behoves the persons who take any leading part in liberal politics, to recur a little to past events, and to recall the first agitation of the question of reform in Ireland, and the subsequent fate of a great number of the men who were its early advocates.

In Ireland the ascendency party marked out its political opponents at that period, as covert traitors, who were to be legally *removed* at a convenient opportunity. It panted only for the exercise of "that vigour beyond the law", which was the privilege of its exclusive loyalty. Its victims were not the least influential, the least estimable, the most insignificant of the opposing party. The public service was made the pretext for the destruction of opponents, and with those pretexts they filled the prisons of the land.

Little do the people of England know of the class of persons who were driven into rebellion in 1798 in Ireland. They may probably have heard that a number of obscure, ill disposed, and reckless men had engaged in an unnatural and unprovoked insurrection, and were executed; that the leaders of it were poor, discontented, ill-disposed wretches, persons of no standing in society, Papists of ultramontane principles, under the guidance of priests goaded or seduced into sedition. If Englishmen read this work, they will find that a great portion of the leaders of the United Irishmen were gentlemen by birth, education, and profession; many of them celebrated for their talents, respected for their private worth; several of them scholars who had distinguished themselves in the University of Dublin; the majority of them members of the Established Church; some of them Presbyterian ministers; few, if any, of them who did not exert more or less influence over their countrymen. While Scotland preserves the memory of those who fell in the Rebellion of 1745,—while their lives and actions are recorded by loyal Scotchmen, and read by loyal Englishmen, there can be no reason why the reminiscences of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and of those who unfortunately were engaged in it, should not be faithfully recorded, without prejudice to the loyalty of the writer or the reader of their history.

We have outlived the wrongs that made rebels of these men.

In our times their descendents are possessed of rights, for the

enjoyment of which they have reason to be good and loyal subjects. It is now, not only their duty, but their interest to be so.

Their fathers lived at a period when the great body of the people laboured under grievous wrongs. They thought, perhaps erroneously, that "tyranny was not government, and that allegiance was due only to protection".

There is a degree of oppression, which we are told by Divine authority, drives even "wise men mad". Whether the wrongs of the Irish people, and their sufferings at the hands of the domineering faction in power in this country, under the Pale policy and under the penal code, amounted to that degree of exasperation, the reader must determine. Their leaders certainly acted on that belief, that their grievances had reached, and passed, the limits of human patience.

One who has seen the miserable effects of political commotions and revolutions in other countries, is not likely to regard engagement in similar struggles as the result, at all times, of the exercise of the highest courage or the purest patriotism,—or to consider the advantages obtained by force or violence, on many occasions, worth the perils, terrors, and penalties of the strife.

In the times of the United Irishmen, that dependence on the power of public opinion for the redress of political grievances, which has now happily superseded the employment of physical force, was unknown, and every political measure of great magnitude was carried either by the menace of violence, or recourse to the demonstration of it.

No party seemed sensible of the awful responsibility of those, who "let loose the dogs of war" on the country; and the leading men of the society of United Irishmen, who first had recourse to violent means for effecting their objects, were themselves less aggrieved by the unjust and partial laws they sought to overturn, than the great mass of the people, who were oppressed and borne down by them.

But where there is tyranny that "grinds the faces of the poor" and galls the hearts of the people, it is not the wise or the reflecting who are first driven to revolt, but the multitude, whose passions are exasperated, whose labour is robbed, or privileges invaded; who are goaded to madness by a bad government, and, in the first outbreak of their fury, whose vengeance bursts forth in the form of a wild justice, bootless of results, badly directed, indefinite in its objects, and, at the onset, striking at all around, like a drunken man in a quarrel, dealing blows, no matter how or where they fall.

At the commencement of such struggles, the first movers never act in the way which those who reflect on their movements might

suppose best calculated to enable them to redress their wrongs. They proceed from one false step to another, till their cause is brought to the brink of ruin.

If that cause were just, it is at such a juncture that a wise man, who loved his country and compassionated the people, were he called upon to take a part in their struggle, would deem it his duty to put these questions to himself:—

1. Have the wrongs that are complained of, and the dangers which menace the community, reached that point, when to leave the people without guidance, is to leave them to destruction?

2. Are the people in rebellion, or about to engage in it, embarked in a good and righteous cause?

3. Are they likely to succeed?

4. Are they sure to be bettered by success?

5. Have they risen in defence, not only of civil rights and material interests, but of the highest interests of all, those of religion, outraged to the last degree of impiety or intolerance?

6. Have their discontents arisen from the temporary or the permanent pressure of physical sufferings?

7. Have they overrated the value of the rights or privileges they are seeking to obtain?

8. Have they been misled by ambitious and designing men, or been goaded into rebellion by tyrants for their own wicked ends?

9. Can their wrongs be redressed without resistance?

10. Who is to decide for the people when resistance is allowable or likely to be successful?

11. At what period of oppression does the law of nature justify resistance to the laws of man?

12. In the Divine law, what sanction is there to be found for resistance to constituted authority?

These are questions it would behove a conscientious man to put to himself, and to have answered satisfactorily, before he stirred in the cause of a revolted people. These are questions that could not be seriously asked and truthfully replied to without leading to the conclusion that the results of revolutions have seldom realized the expectations that have been formed of benefits to be obtained by civil war, and without bringing the inquirer to Cicero's opinion on this subject, "Iniquissimam pacem, justissimo bello antifero".

The grand question, in which all the preceding queries are involved, is one which, on political grounds alone, can never be argued with advantage to rulers or the ruled.

The "appeal to Heaven", as recourse to the sword has been impiously termed, has been too often made without a due con-

sideration of the importance of the foregoing inquiries, before those who decided on questions which thus involved the interests of an entire people adopted such an alternative. Sir James Macintosh has well observed: "Though the solution of this tremendous problem requires the calmest exercise of reason, the circumstances which bring it forward commonly call forth mightier agents, which disturb and overpower the understanding.

"In conjunctures so awful, when men feel more than they reason, their conduct is chiefly governed by the boldness or the weakness of their nature, by their love of liberty or their attachment to quiet, by their proneness or slowness to fellow-feeling with their countrymen".

He tells us, "in such a conflict there is little quiet left for moral deliberation. Yet, by the immutable principles of morality, and by them alone, must the historian try the conduct of all men, before he allows himself to consider all the circumstances of time, place, opinion, principle, example, temptation, and obstacle, which, though they never authorize a removal of the everlasting landmarks of right and wrong, ought to be well weighed in allotting a due degree of commendation or censure to human actions".*

A conversation between Moore and Lord John Russell, respecting the difficulties of treating of the times and men of 1798, deserves attention.

"In the course of our conversation", says Moore, in his *Diary*, June 20, 1831, "in speaking of the danger of such a work, in the present excited state of the public mind, I said: Why, the subject has become historical; and I don't see why it should be more dangerous than your own *Life of Lord Wm. Russell* would be, if published just now. To this Lord John answered (but too truly), in his little quiet way: Ah, that's a quarrel that has long since been made up: not so with the Irish question".†

This argument would better serve to support the policy of making up the quarrel, than to prove the expediency of suppressing the history of it. If sixty years did not give an historical character to the subject of a rebellion, the addition to that period of a century, if all due governmental means were not taken "to make up the quarrel", would not answer the purpose of divesting that subject of a political aspect.

Bacon was of opinion that "it greatly concerned the shepherds of people to know the prognostics of state tempests".‡ But now

* "History of the Revolution of 1688". † "Moore's Memoirs", vol. vi., p. 298.
‡ "Bacon's Essays", ed. 1742, vol. i., p. 77.

it seems to be considered a sort of political "bienseance", to reprobate the act of referring to the history of the rebellion of 1798, as a renewal of painful recollections, which ought not to be recalled. The desire to bury in oblivion the wrongs of the injured, is one of those benevolent recommendations whose cheap charity is intended to cover a multitude of sins against humanity and justice. The recommendation, however, evinces a more tender regard for the character of evil-doers, than any feeling of regret for the ills that have been inflicted or endured. So long as the persons who hold this language are not called upon to look upon the sufferings of a maltreated people, or that the outrages committed on the latter are not done at their own door, the danger of the repetition of such evils is of little moment, compared with the injury done by the publication of them to the character of an expiring faction whose interests they had formerly espoused, or compared with the expense of sensibility which a knowledge of those evils might occasion.

They have no objection to the history of the wrongs of the people of any other portion of the globe, but there is something sacred in atrocities perpetrated in Ireland. They are regarded by such persons with a feeling it is not easy to define, wherein pride and prejudice predominate, combined with a vague recollection of the oppressors having been originally of their own land and lineage, and with a disposition to recognize the justice of the old plea for plunder and oppression, namely, the barbarity of the spoiled and the enslaved.

It would seem as if such persons thought that the laws of God and man might be outraged with impunity, if a decent covering was only thrown over the naked enormities; and once they had been shrouded by those who had perpetrated them, that it was an act of indecorum to lift the pall.

There is a mawkish sensibility very prevalent in this country, which resembles a good deal the intense selfishness of Goethe in his latter years, who never suffered his friends, or his domestics, to speak in the presence of himself or his family, of any calamity that might have happened in his immediate neighbourhood. He could pour forth tears, or cause those of others to flow, over romantic sorrows, but he had none to shed for the real miseries of life around him; and, rather than pain his feelings, he, in his old age, deprived himself of the opportunity of administering relief to the unfortunate.

This feeling of reluctance to be incommoded by the disclosure of sufferings, which do not fall under personal or immediate observation, influences the conduct of a very large class of persons when they hear of the wrongs that have been inflicted on our

people. They shrug their shoulders at the recital, and wonder why the Irish have not been at peace, have never ceased to make an outcry of their wrongs, and to wrangle among themselves!

The fact is, though Orangeism in England is not in repute, and its Irish orgies, like the Eleusinian mysteries, are a little too incomprehensible at times to be objects of unmixed admiration, there is no mistake, in respect to the repugnance that unfortunately is felt to any statement of the wrongs of the Irish people, which have existed. It is not because there is any pecular affection for the Sirrs, the Sandys, the Swans, the Beresfords, the Castlereaghs, or Reynolds, but that a mortal prejudice has existed against the Irish people.

It requires in France all the genius of Mignet and Thiers to consecrate the doctrine of fatalism, as applied to the consideration of terrible events, and of atrocities on a grand scale, like those of the French Revolution. We have the doctrine in our own country; but we have only the pitiful talents of a Musgrave, or persons of his school connected with the Orange press in England, to transform political atrocities into political beatitudes. With them the end always sanctifies the means; "ils ne vous disent pas —admirez Marat, mais admirez ses œuvres: le meurtrier n'est pas beau, c'est le meurtre qui est divin".*

But some of them do contend that not only the murderous acts are useful, but the Marats of our country are men to be admired and rewarded as a matter of course. This goes far beyond the system of Thiers. "According to his doctrine", says Chateaubriand, "it is necessary that the historian should recount the greatest atrocities without indignation, and speak of the highest virtues without love: that with a frozen glance he should regard society as submitted to certain irresistible laws, so that each event should take place as it must inevitably happen".

Those, however, who think, with Chateaubriand, that an act of cruelty can never be useful, or one of injustice never necessary —who bear in mind that the remembrance of a single iniquitous condemnation, that of Socrates, "has traversed twenty centuries, to stigmatize his judges and executioners"—are not likely to adopt this system, or to deem it advisable, if practicable, for those who have to recount great acts of barbarity, to divest themselves of all that is humane in their feelings, and retain only their powers of perception and examination, to find in every massacre, or extensive violation of justice, something that may turn to the account of our political opinions. Hardly any motive could induce a man, who was not an atheist or the hireling of a faction, to wade

* "Etudes Historiques", par le Vicomte de Chateaubriand, p. 277.

through the iniquities of 1798, and to give a faithful account of the events or the actors in the scenes of that dark period, except the hatred of oppression, injustice, and inhumanity.

That motive, I avow, induced me to take up this subject. The circumstances in which I have been placed, in connection with the efforts that have been made for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, during many years past, were not calculated to make a man a bad hater of oppression in any country. In fact, the struggle against slavery, whether in the West Indies or on the shores of Africa, served, in my case, as an apprenticeship to the cause of general freedom, and tended to make contrasts between personal and political slavery familiar to me. I could not understand that sort of philanthropy which was to be permitted to battle only for the interests of humanity and justice when they were outraged in the persons of black men, and to make the world ring with the echoes of the cart-whip and the cries of the slaves who were four thousand miles off; to have one set of nerves exquisitely sensitive to the sufferings of men who were victims to the cupidity of West India planters, and another, callous and insensible to the wrongs of those who were persecuted at home. Whether African negroes were held "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own", or the "mere Irishry" were deemed culpable of a creed not conformed to the fashion of their provincial bashaws, the same spirit of injustice in either case prevailed; and to pretend to sympathize alone with the victims who happened to be natives of Africa or descendents of Africans, it seemed to me, would be a spurious kind of benevolence. The cruelties inflicted on the Indians of the new world were reprobated by mankind, their authors were stigmatized by our historians as men of barbarous and sanguinary disposition. The cruelties perpetrated on the people of Ireland in 1798 were chiefly the results of the iniquitous measures of which Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh, were the authors or advisers, and for the guilt of which these noble lords must ever be considered responsible, but not chiefly culpable. The great culprit was the British minister, William Pitt, whose policy required such atrocities for its accomplishment. A licentious soldiery and an infuriated faction were let loose on the country. The free quarter system, and the general practice of scourging people, for the purpose of extorting confessions of criminality, were carried into effect with the full knowledge, the silent sanction, and virtual approval of those agents of his in the Irish government.

For their memories it might be wished that Ireland had no history, but for their country it is not to be desired that the story of her wrongs should be consigned to oblivion.

And I might ask how was that history to be told, and to leave the public conduct of the Clares, the Castlereaghs, and Cooks, uncensured?

Were the subordinate agents of the government,—the spies and the informers, the terrorists and the lictors of that day—the O'Briens, and the Reynolds, the Beresfords, and the Sirrs, Sandys, and Swans, the men who "measured their consequence by the coffins of their victims", and estimated their services by the injuries they inflicted on the people,—were they alone, the official insects of the hour, to be preserved in the amber of the eloquent invective of a Curran or a Grattan, while the acts of their exalted employers and abettors were to be sponged out of our memories, and the tablet overwritten with reminiscences of their rank, and the better qualities which in private life they might have exhibited?

In modern times the cruelties committed by slave dealers on the coast of Africa caused even the introduction into our official vocabulary of such epithets as "miscreants", "monsters", "enemies to the human race", etc., etc.; for with such epithets we find the parliamentary slave trade papers teem. The tortures, however, inflicted in Ireland on human beings who were more immediately entitled to British sympathy, because they were more within reach of its protection, in point of national consanguinity who were more of its own flesh, and in respect to religious relationship, bound to it in stricter bonds of Christian fellowship, deserved, in my humble opinion, to be placed in the same category of crimes as those in which are recorded the atrocities of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and to be ranked among the worst outrages on humanity that have ever been committed. We are fully as subject as the people of any other country on the face of the Earth to the fitful influence of that variable atmosphere of the feelings, which modifies our notions of the obligations of benevolence, and carries a spirit of conventional Christianity into our dealings with the wrongs and grievances which are brought before us, which at one period and for one class of sufferers enlivens sensibility, and at another time and for another description of unfortunates stifles every emotion of compassion.

The nature of oppression is surely the same wherever it is practised, whether the violaters of human rights be Spaniards, Portuguese, or members of any portion of the British empire; whether they lived in a bygone age, or within our own remembrance; in whatever language their acts are execrated; whether their infamy is connected with the names of the *Conquistadores* of the new world, and the slave-dealing ravagers of a large portion of the old, or with those of the abettors of torture and cruelty in a country which was governed by British laws, or with the names of Lords

Clare and Castlereagh in one of the darkest pages of the history of British rule in Ireland.

I am well aware that it would not only be conformable to Christian charity, but most highly conducive to human happiness, were we to bear in mind the infirmities of our nature in all our dealings with the faults, and even the crimes, of our fellow-men, and, to use the words of a very wise man (Sir James Stephen), if we were to consider that, "after all, the men we depreciate are our kinsmen", instead of crucifying their misdeeds, if we occupied our thoughts with thankful emotions that we had been placed in happier circumstances than those persons had been surrounded by, and that we had not been subjected to the same temptations, by the possession of power, without limits to its exercise, and of interests that were incompatible with the natural rights or civil privileges of other men.

The only good that can arise from the history of such times as those of 1798, and from preserving the remembrance of the enormities committed in them, is the prevention of similar evils, by pointing out the inevitable result of them in the long run, the calamities which overtake the perpetrators of cruel and barbarous acts, the retributive justice, slow but sure, which, sooner or later, visits every signal violation of humanity with its proper punishment.

I fully admit, in aiming at similar objects, charity oftentimes is grievously offended, and by those who treat of such times, the prominent actor in each scene is too often looked upon as "a hero or a fiend".

Men forget, in treating of those whose deeds they condemn, that the actors are "their own kinsmen", and, when speaking of them with ignominy and contempt, to use the words of Isaiah, that "they despise their own flesh".

Amongst the papers of the United Irishmen which have fallen into my hands, in a letter addressed to one of them by Sir J. Egerton Brydges, I find the following passage, speaking of the obligations which those who love letters, owe to the characters of the votaries of learning:—

"To me, literature has always appeared one of the very few unchanging and inexhaustible balms of life, and if we love literature, it seems to me very strange not to feel a warm benevolence towards its professors".

It would be well if literary men felt that this obligation of benevolence applies not only to one class, but to all persons whose deeds they have to deal with; but it is one thing to feel that it is thus applicable, and another to carry the conviction into practical effect.

I have endeavoured to place the characters and the acts of the men who are the subjects of the various memoirs in these volumes in their true light before the public, most of whom, in their private characters, had been grievously traduced and vilified by the malignant press which is at the command of Orangeism in both countries, and, by a faithful exhibition of the crimes and calamities of civil war, to contribute (as far as it was in my power to effect this object) to prevent the entertainment of a thought, unaccompanied with horror, of a recurrence to the evils which it has been my painful task to record.

In the performance of this undertaking I would beg leave to observe, if I have not brought abilities to the task worthy of its character, perhaps the humble merit may be accorded to my efforts of having devoted to this work a vast amount of labour in the collection of the materials and the verification of disputed facts. There is little danger, perhaps, of an exaggerated opinion being formed of the extent to which that labour has been carried. I commenced this work in 1836, with the determination of bringing the subjects of it fully before the people of England, to get a hearing from them for the history of the men engaged in the rebellion of 1798. That determination was based on the conviction that the people of England, in common fairness, were bound to hear what those men had to attempt to say in their own defence, or those most closely connected with them, who considered themselves charged with the protection of their memories; inasmuch as their character, conduct, and proceedings had heretofore only been made known to them by their mortal enemies.

In dealing with the authors of those many acts of injustice and inhumanity it has been necessary to refer to in this work, though I am fully aware of the error of considering the conduct of such individuals too much apart from the circumstances by which their passions were engaged, their proceedings entrained, and their interests arrayed against the better feelings of their nature, there is another error which, in common with many writers on the subject of the rebellion of 1798, I am conscious of having been betrayed into, not less to be reproved, namely, that of devoting too much attention to the subordinate agents of the government, to the reprobation of the miscreants by whom the various tortures of scourging, picketing, pitch-capping, and half-hanging were inflicted, or the wretches of that train of stipendiary informers, best known by the appellation of "the battalion of testimony", drilled, dieted, and dressed up for production on the trials of persons charged with offences against the state, as reputable witnesses, by the Verres of his day, the redoubted Major Sirr, and his compeers.

Too much notice has been taken of the vices of those menials of the government of that day, for "servants must their masters' minds fulfil"; and a great deal too much impunity has been accorded to the crimes of the prime minister, who tolerated and countenanced, or left unpunished, their atrocious acts; for ministers must know it is their misfortune, as

> "It is the curse of kings to be attended
> By slaves that take their humour for a warrant
> To break within the bloody house of life,
> And, on the winking of authority,
> To understand a law".

The conduct of the men whose lives and actions are the subject of this work, it would be absurd to consider apart from the nature of the government under which they lived. In forming any opinion of their conduct in relation to it, the grand question for consideration is, whether the system of corruption, rapacity, terror, and injustice under which Ireland was ruled at the period in question, deserved the name of government, or had totally departed from all those original principles and intentions on which it claimed to be founded, and with which it was presumed to be endowed for the public good.

The aim and end of the government of Ireland in 1798 was to perpetuate oppression, and break down the national spirit and national independence that menaced its existence; to make the people servile and powerless, and to keep them so, by fomenting religious dissensions; to promote the interests of a miserable minority, while affecting to ignore the sordid views that were covered, but not concealed, by the veil of a holy zeal for religious interests; to bestow all its honours, patronage, and protection on that small section of the community which my Lord Stanley, in one of his fitful moods, was pleased to call "the remnant of an expiring faction". Against this government the society of United Irishmen reared its head and raised its hand, and failed in a daring struggle with its power. Whether it deserved success, or took the best means to insure it, are questions which the perusal of these volumes may enable the reader to determine. As far as my own experience goes, and it has not been confined to very narrow local limits, the results I have witnessed in various countries of recourse to violent measures, in the resistance of oppression, even where they have been momentarily successful, would lead me to look for surer grounds of hope for liberty, and a better lot for the great body of the people in any country, in the abstinence from physical force proceedings, and the employment only of moral means for the purpose of defeating the wicked objects

of a bad government. That experience would not lead me to think lightly of the evils of civil war, nor to indulge very flattering hopes of any lasting benefits accruing from it, nor to build in the air "chateaux d'Espagne", nor utopian theories, based on notions of the perfectibility of human beings. The day dream of young philosophy does not long outlast that sort of practical knowledge of the realities of revolts and revolutions. However great might be the success or extensive the changes effected by them, the disorders of society and the miseries of mankind, it still might be feared, would have to be encountered and endured, and traces and fragments of the wreck of man's original intelligence, it might be expected, would continue to the end of time to obstruct and to impede the best designs for the advancement of human happiness.

Is there no resource left after all but the sword to remedy the evils of bad government? Are there no means but those of violence to resolve or to repair the bond of union? There is, at all events, an overruling mind that watches over the destinies of nations, that regulates the movements which determine the rise and fall of empires,—a compensating power that adjusts the balance in all political contingencies, that ultimately restores the equilibrium, or at least lessens the weight of preponderating evil!

All experience tends to show us that the day of reckoning for a people's wrongs, come it slow or come it fast, is sure to arrive; and we have only to turn our eyes to the events that are passing in countries that once almost vied in prosperity and colonial greatness with our own, to see that, the measure of the iniquity of their governments having been filled up, the hand of Divine retribution has been laid heavily upon them.

Who can reflect on the calamities that have fallen on Spain and Portugal—on the loss of the immense possessions of the former, the succession of revolutions that has followed the ordinary course of government, as it were in the natural order of cause and effect, for the last five-and-twenty years; can look on religion trampled under foot, its temples pillaged, its ministers despised and spoiled; party after party succeeding each other; one military despotism treading on the heels of another; proscription and decimation the rule of each, the people plundered by all—without feeling that the heavy hand of Divine retribution has been laid upon that land in punishment of its terrible violations of humanity and justice in the New World? Who, without this conviction, can consider the condition of the adjoining kingdom of Portugal, its past, its present visitations, the destruction of its power, the vain result of all its discoveries and conquests in both hemispheres; its chivalry broken in Africa, the most warlike of its kings slain in battle

with barbarians, the most powerful of its armies routed by them, and so signally defeated as never again to be restored to former strength; its valuable possessions in America, in Africa, and India, wrested from its enfeebled grasp; the visitation of awful calamities on its proudest cities, thousands of whose citizens, and the guilty gains of their nefarious traffic, have been swallowed up, or consumed, or swept away in a few hours, in the course of which, earthquake, conflagration, and inundation have combined their terrors; and in one memorable instance, at the very hour in which the churches of a great city were crowded with inhabitants, and on the very day when the celebration of a particular festival caused the people to congregate in them, laid two-thirds of a large metropolis in ruin. Who can contemplate the consequent scourges of pestilence and famine, and the crowning calamity of this frightful series of unfortunate events, the establishment of the despotism of the ruthless, tyrannical, and sanguinary Pombal, and not feel that the crimes of Portugal and its rulers against humanity had "pierced the clouds"? Its present condition, its pride, its poverty—its revenue dwindled away, its expenditure augmented—a history that is a continuous record of wars of succession, engendered by the folly and unnatural dissensions of its sovereigns and their sons, a military government, a ministry chosen and changed by means of revolutions, a foreign debt of nine millions to the money-lenders of Great Britain, a plundered church, a venal magistracy, a sordid, rapacious "bureaucracy", a wrecked nobility, and poverty everywhere staring people in the face—who can ponder on circumstances such as these, and not feel that God has a controversy with the people and the rulers of the land?

Other nations would do well to profit by the examples of Divine retribution which those countries afford. The laws of humanity and justice are not outraged with impunity; the wrongs of nations are never suffered to pass unpunished, and the cry of the oppressed will be heard, whether of the poor in the ill-ruled land, borne down by rapacious proprietary power, or of the multitude driven to madness by state oppression. The due time of retribution, and the fitting instruments of it, are known only to Him to whom the vindication of those laws belongs.

The force of public opinion, constituted as it now is, exercises a mighty influence over oppression, by bringing it into perplexity, disrepute, and disability for evil, and serves as the palladium of downcast liberty, to enable it, when it has been beaten down for a time, to rise up under its shelter, to renew a bloodless fight with tyranny, and in every change of circumstances and of fortune, in the conflict with corruption, avarice, or despotism,

still to enable it to linger on the field, and take advantage of the public enemy at every opening in its mail. There are times, however, when public opinion has no such power and no such field for its legitimate warfare—when it has no such weapons to oppose to tyranny, and the times of which this work treats were peculiarly of that description.

But even in the worst of times and in the most despotic countries, Providence seems to direct the career of a small mass of virtue and intelligence that tyranny cannot subdue, that mammon cannot corrupt, nor prevailing folly, ignorance, nor debasement discourage nor obstruct; that under good report and bad report pursues the even tenor of its way, and, unsuspected and unnoticed, undermines the fastnesses of despotism, working onward like the worm in the book, that pierces every day page after page, till at length it makes its way through all its substance.

I have noticed, even in countries where despotism is supposed to be all-powerful, an undercurrent of political literature that flows smoothly and silently, and wends its way through the land without attracting much observation, till it becomes a broad stream at length, on which the bark of freedom and enlightenment is borne bravely onward.

And in the execution of this arduous undertaking, which, at times, I have felt as if it never would be accomplished, and at others, as if it had been better for me and mine that it had never been commenced, it only remains for me to express my gratitude to those persons by whom I have been assisted with information, and entrusted with valuable documents, and have thus been enabled to bring my work to a successful termination, and in an especial manner to persons diametrically opposed to me in religious as well as political opinions—to English people in particular, given to literature, or engaged in periodical publications.

I would also beg to acknowledge the obligations which I owe to a noble English lord, whose name, in early life, was connected with the names of the great and good men of a former and more brilliant era in English parliamentary history, who were friends to Ireland and its people. To Lord Brougham I am indebted for an introduction to the first living French historian, wherein his lordship called on that distinguished person to facilitate, by every means in his power, the object I had in view—the elucidation of an important period of Irish history—by obtaining access for me to documents connected with it, that exist in certain public offices in Paris.

I make this acknowledgment with pleasure and with gratitude to his lordship. I put forward no pretensions to the merit of having done the full justice to my subject that it required. I am

quite sensible how much the work falls short of its requirements; but I am conscious of having done more than has been hitherto effected towards collecting materials that will serve for a faithful history of a very memorable period in the annals of British imperial rule, and a record of some of the most remarkable men that Ireland ever produced. The result of those labours has been to bring together a mass of information, which, but for such efforts, must, to a great extent, have perished with individuals, who were actors in the struggle of 1798, over a great many of whom the grave has closed since my researches were commenced.

I will conclude this historical review with a brief repetition of my objects in writing this work:—To do justice to the dead, and a service to the living, by deterring rulers who would be tyrants from pursuing the policy of 1798, and men of extravagant or lightly-weighed opinions from ill-considered projects against oppression, whose driftless efforts against potent despotism never fail to give new strength to the latter: to exhibit the evils of bad government; the mischievous agency of spies, informers, stipendiary swearers, and fanatical adherents; the foul crime of exasperating popular feeling, or exaggerating the sense of public wrongs; to make the wickedness fully known of fomenting rebellion for state purposes, and then employing savage and inhuman means to defeat it; to convince the people, moreover, of the folly of entering into secret associations with the idea of keeping plans against oppression unknown through the instrumentality of oaths and tests; by showing the manifold dangers, in such times, to which integrity and innocence are exposed from temptations of all kinds to treachery; and, lastly, by directing attention to the great fact of modern times—the power of breaking down bad government when there is a stage for public opinion, a virtuous people, and earnest leaders, resolutely honest, by peaceful means, and by resistance of a passive kind to all the illegalities and acts of violence of any administration that departs from the purpose for which it was created—namely, for the distribution of justice, equal and impartial, to all classes of the community.

The people, under such circumstances, have other and better means of protection than those which involve great sufferings and uncertain issues. The redress they seek is to be obtained by a peaceful struggle with oppression, legitimate in its nature, and, if defeated for a time, not necessarily fatal in its consequences to the cause of freedom. They must make no offensive wars, and, if they who represent them undertake, with their consent, to pay for wars made on them, or on other countries, unjustly, they deserve to live and die under the dominion of "sword law". In the

time of the second Richard the question with the ruling powers was—" How shall we do for money for these wars?"

There was then virtually no constitutional voice to answer that demand, nor, indeed, at a much later period. In our time the people are held to have a voice in the great inquest of the nation. They must teach their representatives to return a decisive answer to all applications for the means of waging wars which are unjust and unnecessary to them. " The nation's money can be only given to government in order to enable it to protect and benefit the people; for the glory of the empire and the true greatness of the sovereign, is comprised in one object, which should be the aim and end of all good governments—namely, the grand design of making the people happy". I take it for granted either that the people are represented, or have a right to be so. But if they are not, they must be represented, unless they should be unworthy of freedom, or unable to make their just demands to be heard by their rulers with due attention.

One object more I have had in view,—to expose and prevent a recurrence to a system or government carried on by means of dissensions, rancours, and divisions, industriously fomented, by religious animosities made subservient to a policy that might be supposed to prevail only in a heathen land. That policy I have endeavoured to expose the results of in these volumes. It prevailed for centuries before Tone was born, and was in being when this mournful epitome of Irish history was written.

> " God made the land; and all His works are good:
> Man made the laws; and all they breath'd was blood.
> Unhallowed annals of six hundred years!
> A code of blood, a history of tears".

CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN, ORGANIZATION, AND NEGOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

It is not only epidemic diseases which, under peculiar circumstances, assume a contagious character, but epidemic influences of a moral nature, widely disseminated, which at certain periods acquire a particular degree of activity, when all opinions that are brought into contact with them become infected by the same virus, and the result is, a predominant impulse to think, act, and move in one common direction.

This is the *rationale*, in fact, of all great impulsive movements of a popular kind, when masses of people combine simultaneously and conspire in several places at the same time, for a special object, no matter how indefinite and impracticable it may be, or of what magnitude,—for a religious crusade, an exodus, a revolt, or a reform.

The contagion of the American revolt was productive in Ireland of that sturdy spirit of nationality and love of independence which called into existence the Volunteer Association.

The contagion of the French Revolution of 1789, communicated those influences to Irish politics which eventuated in the formation of the Society of United Irishmen.

Early in the month of October, 1791, some of the Catholic leaders attempted to form a society "instituted for the purpose of promoting unanimity amongst Irishmen, and removing religious prejudices". This society was projected previously to the formation of the Society of United Irishmen. The attempt was not successful, but the idea was caught at, and embodied in the formation of a society in Belfast called the Society of United Irishmen. The declaration of the former society, though very remarkable and worthy of notice, is not alluded to by Tone.

DECLARATION OF THE SOCIETY INSTITUTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING UNANIMITY AMONGST IRISHMEN, AND REMOVING RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES.

"In the present enlightened and improving period of society, it is not for the Irish Roman Catholics alone to continue silent. Not accused of any crime, not conscious of any delinquency, they suffer a privation of rights and conveniences, the penalty reserved in wise states for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilst, with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many descriptions of their fellow-citizens compassionate their situation, to seem indifferent to the desirable and, they hope, not distant event of their emancipation. They wish to ascertain upon what terms they may venture to settle in a country which they love with the rational preference of men, not the simplicity of puerile acquiescence. It is not for the Irish Catholics, armed as their cause is with reason and justice, like public foes to seek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time most favourable to discussion, when the condition of the empire is flourishing and tranquil. They might seem culpable to their country, if, affecting to dis-

semble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reserved their pretensions in ambuscade to augment the perplexities of some critical emergency. They should be culpable to posterity, if they omitted to profit by the general inclination of public sentiment. They should be culpable to themselves, if they suffered an imputation to subsist, that in the extent of the British territory they alone submit without repining to a mortifying and oppressive bondage, degrading to themselves and pernicious to their country. They conceive that in the present state of things their silence might be received as evidence of such dispositions.

"Influenced by these considerations, and instructed by a recent transaction that, although laws may be shameful and preposterous, there is no security that they shall not be enforced—for even in a philosophic age there will be bigots and tyrants where the votaries of freedom are most sanguine—a number of Roman Catholics resident in Dublin have formed themselves into a society, which they invite their fellow-sufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which shall have for its object to consider and individually to support with all their zeal and personal influence, such measures, not inconsistent with their duty to the civil magistrate, as shall appear likely to relieve them from the oppressions and disqualifications imposed in this country on persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimously resolve—

"That we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour, by all legal and constitutional means, to procure the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated applications to every branch of the legislature for that purpose, and assist such applications by all means of legal influence which it shall at any time be possible for us to exert.

"It would be tedious, it might prove disgusting, to recount each individual grievance under which we suffer. The Roman Catholics seem preserved in this land but as a source of revenue. The whole legislative, the whole executive, the whole judicial power of the state is in the hands of men over whom they have no control, and with whom they can have little intercourse. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of industry from which it is possible to debar them or which is worth the monopoly. They are restricted in the education of their children. As conscientious men, we cannot lightly abandon our religion; as prudent men, we hesitate to engage in controversial study: the wisest have been bewildered in such pursuits, and they are for the most part incompatible with our necessary occupations. Nor is there any moral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed.

It is not pretended that we should become better men or more dutiful subjects, but merely experimentalists in religion seek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

"The liberty of Ireland to those of our communion is a calamity, and their misfortunes seem likely to increase as the country shall improve in prosperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contrast that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thousand inferior despots whom at every instant they must encounter. They have the bustle and cumbersome forms without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated trust of legislation is revoked, and his importance restored to the constituent, returns but to disturb their tranquillity and revive the recollection of their debasement. All the activity, all the popular arts of electioneering canvass, enforce the idea of their insignificance; they exemplify it too. Witness the various preferences given by persons of rank to not always the most deserving among our Protestant countrymen—a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Protestants as to us.

"There exists not on their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this assertion when, in this age of toleration, even within the last eight years, several new penal statutes have been enacted against them. They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, but in the little concerns of minute districts; not alone in the levy of public money for the service of the state, but in the local imposition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deserve a place in society, should we seem willing to insinuate that such a situation is not severely unacceptable!

"We are satisfied that the mere repeal of the laws against us will prove but feebly beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the concurrence of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island. It shall be a capital object of our institution to encourage the spirit of harmony and sentiments of affection which the ties of common interest and common country ought, ere now, to have inspired. Countrymen, too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions to each other, the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either. Why should a diversity of sentiment, so usual where the matter in debate is abstruse or important, separate those whom

Heaven placed together for mutual benefit and consolation? Objects material in their day produced hostility between our ancestors. The causes of that discord have ceased to exist; let the enmity too perish. Let it be the duty of the present and of future ages to prevent the recurrence of such unnatural and calamitous dissension; except in the actual discharge of the religious duties which conscience renders inevitable, we wish there never shall be found a trace of difference which may possibly divide us into distinct communities.

"The ill effects of those restrictions are not confined to those of our religion; they extend to every individual and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them industry is depressed; under their influence public spirit is enervated. *It is the interest of every man in Ireland that the entire code should be abolished;* it is the interest of the crown, as it must promote the general happiness of the subjects; it is the interest of the great, as it will serve to tranquillize the country and to encourage industry; it is the additional interest of the middle and inferior ranks, as it must impart new importance to their sentiments, and to the expression of them. We call upon every order in the state, not alone by their benevolence and justice, but by their patriotism and self-interest, to coöperate with our exertions.

It adds the insult of mockery to the misfortune of the Irish Catholics, that the number of persons aggrieved, which in every other instance is an inducement to redress, is a reason alleged to procrastinate their relief, and an argument used to impose silence on their murmurs. Is it their act that a multitude of Irishmen are aggregated by common grievance, and classed in one great community of fellow-sufferers? Why accuse them of hostility to the constitution? They earnestly solicit to participate in its advantages. Why suspect them of enmity to their country? They desire to contract with it closer ties, which shall decide them to consign their posterity irrevocably to its bosom. We envy not its endowments to the Established Church; adversity has instructed us that all the consolations which our religion promises are most faithfully and tenderly administered by pastors with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude to the kindest benefactors. Fastidiously excluded from the constitution, we can pronounce on it but as aliens by speculation. We discern in it the means of much happiness; we regret that its symmetry is not complete; a chasm remains, which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics; we have neither passion nor interest at variance with the order of things it professes to establish. We desire only that property in our hands may have its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement.

We have sworn allegiance to our sovereign, and the very evils we complain of prove how inviolable is our attachment to such obligations. We respect the peerage, the ornament of the state and the bulwark of the people; interposing, as we hope the Irish Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We solicit a share of interest in the existence of the Commons. Do you require an additional test? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations—we hope to be free, and will endeavour to be united. Do you require new proofs of our sincerity? We stood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himself a friend to Ireland, and will refuse us?

"If the applications on behalf of the Irish Catholics are complied with, they can never have an occasion—if rejected, they cannot have an interest,—to interrupt the public harmony. Engaged, for the most part, in the various departments of commerce, they are concerned, not less than any other class of citizens, to cultivate the blessings of tranquillity: individually, we have more at stake than some who presume to falsify our motives and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body measured strength with the power of the state, and was vanquished, when it possessed a force that never more can be exerted, and was opposed to enemies far less numerous than now it should encounter. The confiscations of that period are confirmed to the present occupiers by immemorial possession, by the utter impossibility of ascertaining the original proprietors, by the personal and pecuniary interest of almost every Roman Catholic in the land to maintain the settlement. Many of our communion already have, and still more are likely to embark their property on titles derived under those forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their present enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended: it is not from the industrious; a single year of anarchy must prove fatal to their competence: it is not from the poor, a wretched band of slaves, mouldering under these bad laws, and only made use of to degrade the Irish Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to despise them. We are willing to forget that any besides the present race ever existed on this island. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we suffer, and by the celebration of festivals, memorable only as they denote the era and the events from whence we date our bondage.

"We will endeavour by temperate but unremitting assiduity to procure the benefit of that constitution which, of all our fellow-subjects, is denied alone to those of our persuasion. We are amenable to all the decrees of the state, we contribute to all its

exigencies; we are still to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our exclusion. We challenge an investigation of our principles and conduct; we feel not in ourselves, we know not that there is in our brethren, a deficiency of manly spirit, of capacity, or virtue, which ought to assign to the Irish Roman Catholic an inferior rank among the creatures of our Common Father. If we have a crime, it is to have slept over our chains; our cause is the cause of justice and our country. We solicit counsel and assistance from all to whom these sacred names do not present themselves unheeded.

"To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourselves; where talents have arisen amongst us, they have been compelled to seek refuge in a foreign country, or they have perished in their infancy, robbed of the hope that animates, curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right the benefit of open trial and candid discussion; when overpowered by the administration of an extensive empire, the British Senate did not refuse its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightened age it is still our doom to suffer, we submit; but at least, let us learn what imputation of crimes can instigate, or what motives of expediency can account for, the denunciation of that heavy judgment. If loyalty, which strong temptations could never alienate; if exemplary good conduct under the most trying circumstances; if reverence to a constitution, which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be insufficient to remove unjust aspersions, and entitle us to the kindness and confidence of our brethren, we may be at least instructed how we should atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable—*the political errors or misfortunes of our ancestors*".

The Society of the United Irishmen was formed in Belfast in the month of October, 1791, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of remarkable talent, then in his twenty-eighth year. A political club, composed of the liberal volunteers of that city, under the guidance of a secret committee, had been previously in existence, the leading members of which club were Neilson, Russell, Simms, Sinclair, M'Tier, M'Cabe, Digges, Bryson, Jordan, etc. Tone, in his *Diary*, says, he went down to Belfast on the 11th of October, 1791, by invitation of the members of this club, and "on the 12th did business *with the secret committee*, who are not known or suspected of coöperating, but who, in fact, direct the movements in Belfast". He at once set about remodelling certain resolutions of this association. On the 18th of October, Tone speaks of the first regular meeting of the United Irishmen which he attended in Belfast; twenty members present; the club consisting of thirty-six original members.

The declaration of the Society of United Irishmen, drawn up by Tone, and read at the first general meeting, the 18th of October, 1791, in Belfast, stated, " the great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland was *an equal representation of all the people of Ireland*". The great evil was English influence. " *We have no national government.* We are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland: and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature", etc.

To effect their objects the declaration states, " *The Society of United Irishmen has been formed*". The following resolutions were proposed and carried:—

" 1st. That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

" 2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

" 3rd. That no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion".*

In the month of November, 1791, Tone, having returned to Dublin, consulted with Napper Tandy about the formation of another society like that of Belfast, in Dublin; and, in a few weeks, the Society of United Irishmen was established in the capital.

The first chairman of the meetings in Dublin was the Hon. Simon Butler, and the first secretary, James Napper Tandy. It is worthy of attention that both Tone and Tandy at this period were republicans, and yet the society they founded was formed expressly to obtain a reform in parliament and the abolition of the penal code. In fact, whatever their own views were with respect to republicanism or separation, the great body of the original members looked to the achievement of reform alone; and even Tone himself says: " At this time the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations: my object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government", etc. Tone states, " the club was scarcely formed before he lost all pretensions to anything like influence in their measures". That

* Vide " Life of T. W. Tone". Washington edition, vol. i.

he "sunk into obscurity in the club, which, however, he had the satisfaction to see daily increasing in numbers and importance".

The first meeting of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen took place at the Eagle Tavern, in Eustace Street, the 9th of November, 1791, the Hon. Simon Butler in the chair, James Napper Tandy secretary. The declaration and resolutions of the Belfast Society were adopted at that meeting.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, AS FIRST AGREED UPON.

The society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such persons only are eligible as honorary members who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit person to be admitted, that he has seen the test, and is willing to take it. This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair at the ensuing meeting of the society; and on the next subsequent night of meeting, the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test:—

"I, *A. B.*, in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brother-

hood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country".

A member of another society of United Irishmmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate, signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the beforementioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally elected every three months, viz., on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide. If the votes are equal the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being reëlected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death, or otherwise, the society shall, on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night; oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock from 29th September to the 25th of March, and at nine o'clock, from the 25th of March to the 29th of September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum. No new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president. His chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members; the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety, be empowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown. If the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members; that of finance, of seven members; that of correspondence, of five members. Each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general re-

ports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence. The election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expenses, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall, on his election, pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee, and also one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member, after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society, unless he can show some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal:—viz., a harp—at the top, "*I am new strung*"; at the bottom, "*I will be heard*"; and on the exergue, "*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin*".

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinions thereon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, the original and principal founder of the institution, in a letter addressed to one of his friends at Belfast, containing the resolutions and declarations written by him, upon which the institution was founded, observed—

"The foregoing contain my true and sincere opinion of the state of this country, so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish it. They certainly fall short of the truth, but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England; I believe that influence will ever be extended while the connexion between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions. I have only proposed to set up a reformed parliament as a barrier against that mischief which

every honest man that will open his eyes must see in every instance overbears the interest of Ireland: I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country.

"I have, you will see, alluded to the resolutions of the Whig Club, and I have differed with them in degree only—that is, I think, and I am sure, they do not go far enough; they are not sincere friends to the popular cause; they dread the people as much as the Castle does. It may be objected that an implied difference of sentiment between them and the people will weaken both: I think otherwise. If they do not join you in supporting a reform in parliament, they do not deserve support themselves; apply the touchstone—if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, they are false and hollow, and the sooner they are detected the better; what signifies peddling with their superficial measures? They are good so far as they go, but for the people to spend their strength in pursuit of such, would be just as wise as for a man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very solicitous about a plaister for his fore finger. To be candid, I dare say that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty sure that Mr. Grattan, would hesitate very much at the resolutions which I send; but I only beg you will dismiss your respect for great names; read over the resolutions and what I have now said, and then determine impartially between us. I have alluded to the Catholics, but so remotely as I hope not to alarm the most cautious Protestant; it is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland in which they shall not have their due share.

"I have, in the third resolution, conceded very far indeed to what I consider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: look at France and America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the English Catholics seceding from his church. A thousand arguments crowd on me, but it is unnecessary here to dwell on them. I hope you will find this resolution sufficiently guarded and cool. I have been purposely vague and indefinite; and I must say, men who would seek a reform, and admit that indispensable step, have different notions both of expediency and justice from any that I can conceive.

"I think the best opportunity for publishing them will be on the 14th of July; I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French Revolution, that morning star of liberty to Ireland. The Volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and I have so worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you see, a blank for the name, which, I am clearly of opinion, should be, '*The Society of United Irishmen*'".

Circular, dated Friday, December 30, 1791.

SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

The Honourable Simon Butler, *Chairman.*

"Resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, reported by our Committee of Correspondence, be adopted and printed:—

"This letter is addressed to you from the Corresponding Committee of the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin.

"We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

"The object of this institution is to make an United Society of the Irish Nation; *to make all Irishmen Citizens—all Citizens Irishmen;* nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past, there has, indeed, been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature, resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

"To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary, by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves—the weakness of one, and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

"Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, *which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power, into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous,* and CONSEQUENTIAL.

"In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force,

succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, 'scattered and peeled, meted out, and trodden down!' We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent. But we gladly look forward to brighter prospects; to a people united in the fellowship of freedom; to a parliament the express image of the people; to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty; to a peace—not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

"Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are, in this respect, of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same. We agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? 'A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves'.

"We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal—a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English Houses into the cabinet of the Minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are everything, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

"We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late era spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what

was done, than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequalities of mankind, and that, unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed as in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

"Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees. Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, and extinction of our faculties—an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exerted, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

"This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request that you will hold out your hand and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a society of this kind as a centre. *Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, become, not parts of the nation, but the nation itself, speaking with its voice, expressing its will,* RESISTLESS IN ITS POWER. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation: A plan of representation, and

the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means. But a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the country or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater will be the resistance. We know that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible. We do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty, and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

"Signed by order,

"JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *Sec.*"

At the different meetings of the society, in 1791 and 1792, the language used was uniformly bold, and violent, and imprudent. At the close of the latter year, at a meeting of which William Drennan was chairman, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan secretary, an address was submitted, in which a convention was proposed, and the object of the society was declared to be, "a national legislature, and its means an union of the people. The government is called on, if it has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, to coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not by an obstinate adherence to them, to *drive the people into republicanism*".

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS FROM THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN IN DUBLIN TO THE DELEGATES FOR PROMOTING A REFORM IN SCOTLAND.*

William Drennan, *Chairman.*
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, *Secretary.*

"November 23, 1792.

"We take the liberty of addressing you in the spirit of civil union, in the fellowship of a just and common cause. We greatly rejoice that the spirit of freedom moves over Scotland; that the light seems to break from the chaos of her internal government; and that a country so respectable for her attainments in science, in arts, and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters, and liberty, and now rises to distinction, not by a calm, contented, secret wish for a reform in parliament, but by openly, actively, and urgently *willing* it, with the unity and energy of an embodied nation. We rejoice that you do not consider yourselves as merged and melted down into another country, but that in this great national question, you are still Scotland—the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher spoke, and Wallace fought.

"Away from us and our children these puerile antipathies, so unworthy of the manhood of nations, which insulate individuals as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the savage! We esteem and we respect you. We pay merited honour to a nation, in general well educated and well informed, because we know that the ignorance of the people is the cause and effect of all civil and religious despotism. We honour a nation regular in their lives, and strict in their manners, because we conceive private morality to be the only secure foundation of public policy. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we trust that they will now exert themselves, not so much in perusing and penning the histories of other countries, as in making their own a subject for the historian. May we venture to observe to them, that mankind have been too retrospective, canonized antiquity, and undervalued themselves. Man has reposed on ruins, and rested his head on some fragments of the temple of liberty, or at most, amused himself in pacing the measurement of the edifice, and nicely limiting its proportions, not reflecting that this temple is truly catholic, the ample Earth its area, and the arch of Heaven its dome.

* Written by Dr. Drennan.

"We will lay open to you our own hearts. Our cause is your cause. If there is to be a struggle between us, let it be which nation shall be foremost in the race of mind; let this be the noble animosity kindled between us, who shall first attain that free constitution, from which both are equidistant—who shall first be the saviour of the empire.

"In this society, and its affiliated societies, the Catholic and the Presbyterian are at this instant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample, and substantial justice to the Catholics, and when that is attained, a combined exertion for reform in parliament is the condition of our compact and the seal of our communion.

"*Universal emancipation, with representative legislature*, is the polar principle which guides our society, and shall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of opposition with ministry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Irishmen with Irishmen, and in that coalition alone, we find an object worthy of reform, and at the same time the strength and sinew both to attain and secure it. It is not upon external circumstances, upon the pledge of man or minister, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Irish nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or France, but manufacture it ourselves, and work it up with those materials which the hearts of Irishmen furnish them with at home. *We do not worship the British, far less the Irish, constitution, as sent down from Heaven, but we consider it as human workmanship, which man has made and man can mend. An unalterable constitution, whatever be its nature, must be despotism. It is not the constitution but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the English, the Scotch, and the Irish nations*—rights which can neither be bought nor sold, granted by charter, or forestalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birth-right of all, and which it is the business of a constitution to define, to enforce, and to establish. If government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and *not by an obstinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicanism.*

"We have told you what our situation was, what it is, what it ought to be: our end, a national legislature; our means, an union of the whole people. Let this union extend throughout the empire; let all unite for all, or each man suffer for all. In each county let the people assemble, in peaceful and constitutional convention"....

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, AT DUBLIN, TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

William Drennan, *Chairman.*
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, *Secretary.*

"December 14, 1792.

"CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

"You first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance. For the same purposes it now becomes necessary that you should resume them. A proclamation has been issued in England for embodying the militia; and a proclamation has been issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, for repressing all *seditious* associations. In consequence of both these proclamations, it is reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are those menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence, if not to *create* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to shake that credit which was not *affected*, to blast that Volunteer honour which was hitherto *inviolate*, are those terrible suggestions and rumours and whispers that meet us at every corner, and agitate, at least, our old men, our women, and children. Whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you, VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, are thus summoned *to arms* at the instance of government, as well as by the responsibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your institution. We will not at this day condescend to quote authorities for the *right* of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your *formation* was owing the peace and protection of this island; to your *relaxation* has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance; to your *renovation* must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity. You are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet which may secure it from external hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

"Citizen Soldiers, to arms! Take up the shield of freedom and the pledges of peace—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous institution. War, an occasional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending

the rights of others. The sacrifice of life in the service of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entrusted to mercenaries, and at this time, when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you, by your interest, your duty, and your glory, to stand to your arms, and in spite of a fencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage and tranquillity in Ireland. It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accustomed to revere as the guardians of domestic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the present agitation of the people can be stilled, that tumult and licentiousness can be repressed, obedience secured to existing law, and a calm confidence diffused through the public mind in the speedy resurrection of a free constitution—of *liberty* and *equality*—words which we use for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of saying that, by liberty we never understood unlimited freedom, nor by equality the levelling of property or the destruction of subordination. This is a calumny invented by that faction or that gang which misrepresents the King to the people, and the people to the King, traduces one-half of the nation to cajole the other, and by keeping up distrust and division, wishes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland. Liberty is the exercise of all our rights, natural and political, secured to us and our posterity by a real representation of the people; *and equality is the extension of the constituent to the fullest dimensions of the constitution of the elective franchise to the whole body of the people*, to the end that government, which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legislation may originate from public reason, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happiness. If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in representation will rectify its abuses; if it be perfect, nothing but the same reform will perpetuate its blessings.

"We now address you as citizens, for to be citizens you became soldiers; *nor can we help wishing that all soldiers partaking the passions and interests of the people, would remember that they were once citizens, that seduction made them soldiers, 'but nature made them men'*. We address you without any authority save that of reason; and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion, it is neither by force nor stratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to seduce. Here we sit, without mace or beadle, neither a mystery, nor a craft, nor a corporation. In four words lies all our power—UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE; *yet we are confident that on the pivot of this principle, a convention—still*

less, a society—less still, a single man, would be able, first to move and then to raise the world. We therefore wish for Catholic emancipation without any modification; but still we consider this necessary enfranchisement as merely the portal to the temple of national freedom. Wide as this entrance is—wide enough to admit three millions—it is narrow when compared to the capacity and comprehension of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation, casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and feels for all that suffer. The Catholic cause is subordinate to our cause, and included in it; for as UNITED IRISHMEN we adhere to no sect but to society, to no creed but Christianity, to no party but the whole people. In the sincerity of our souls do we desire Catholic emancipation; but *were it obtained to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the pursuit of that reform which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.*

"For both these purposes, it appears necessary that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the Protestant people. The delegates of the Catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an assembly of a similar nature and organization is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiment, an uniformity of conduct, an united cause, and an united nation. If a convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest; the people will relax into inattention and inertness; the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrection, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character, and risk the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be as it were knit with the soul of the nation. Unless the sense of the Protestant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the particles unite into mass, we may perhaps serve some person or some party for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither insolent nor rebellious nor seditious. While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifest its powers. *It would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by a well-timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves.*

"The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of New Ireland. Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible. Let each parish return delegates. Let the sense of Ulster be again declared from

Dungannon on a day auspicious to union, peace, and freedom, and the spirit of the north will again become the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you, citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, we presume not at present to fill up the plan, or preoccupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to speak: answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration. Fourteen long years have elapsed since the rise of your associations; and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations in the interval have gotten the start of Ireland? How many of our countrymen have sank into the grave?"

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, PROPOUNDING A PLAN OF REFORM.

"PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

"We now submit to your consideration a plan for your equal representation in the House of Commons. In framing it, we have disregarded the many overcharged accusations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt, against the people, their independence, integrity, and understanding. We are, ourselves, *but a portion of the people;* and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance than can, in *these times*, be derived from places, pensions, or titles. As little have we consulted the sentiments of administration or of opposition. We have attentively observed them both, and whatever we may hope of some members of the latter, *we firmly believe that both those parties are equally averse from the measure of adequate reform. If we had no other reason for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament in the last session, under the auspices of opposition, might convince us of the melancholy truth.* Thus circumstanced, then, distrusting all parties, we hold it the right and the duty of every man in the nation to examine, deliberate, and decide for himself on that important measure. *As a portion of the people* (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we presume to address you) we suggest to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preserve the popular part of the legislature, un-

influenced by, and independent of, the other two parts, and to effectuate that essential principle of justice and of our constitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his representative, for the law by which he is bound: that sacred principle, for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from British supremacy! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honest conviction they are, adopt them; if wrong, discussion will detect their errors, and *we at least* shall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourselves to, the sentiments of the people.

"Our present state of representation is charged with being unequal, unjust, and by no means calculated to express your deliberate will on any subject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies of those evils by a more equal distribution of political power and liberty, *by doing justice*, and by anxiously providing that your deliberate will shall be at all times accurately expressed in your own branch of the legislature. If these are not the principles of good government, we have yet to learn from the placemen and pensioners that flit about the Castle in what the science of politics can consist. But we know they are, and we are bold to say, that the more a government carries these principles into effect the nearer it approaches to perfection.

"We believe it will be said that our plan, however just, is impracticable in the present state of this country. If any part of that impracticability should be supposed to result from the interested resistance of borough proprietors, although we never will consent to compromise the *public right*, yet we, for our parts, might not hesitate to purchase the *public peace* by an adequate compensation. At all events it rests with you, countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection.

To you among our countrymen, for whose welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the first moment of our institution, and the contemplation of whose prosperity will more than compensate us for the sufferings we may have endured, for the culumnies with which we are aspersed, and for those which the publication of this unpalatable plan will call down upon us,—*to you, the poorer classes of the community*, we now address ourselves. We are told you are ignorant; we wish you to enjoy liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened. We are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wish you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the most rapid of all instructors—a good government. *Do you find yourselves sunk in poverty and wretchedness? Are you overloaded with burdens you are little able to bear? Do you feel many grievances which it would be tedious, and might be*

unsafe, to mention? Believe us, they can all be redressed by such a reform as will give you your just proportion of influence in the legislature, AND BY SUCH A MEASURE ONLY. To that, therefore, we wish to rivet all your attention".

A PLAN OF AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, PREPARED FOR PUBLIC CONSIDERATION BY THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

"I. That the nation, for the purpose of representation solely, should be divided into three hundred electorates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

"II. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

"III. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time, be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

"IV. That there should be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

"V. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided as hereinafter specified.

"VI. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who should tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

"VII. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament should exercise it in his own person only.

"VIII. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

"IX. *That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty-one years, and actually dwelt*, or maintained a family establishment, in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election (provided his residence or maintaining a family establishment be duly registered), *should be entitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.*

"X. That there should be a registering officer, and a registry

of residence in every subdivision of each electorate; and that in all questions concerning residence, the registry should be considered as conclusive evidence.

"XI. That all elections in the nation should commence and close on the same day.

"XII. That the votes of all electors should be given by voice and not by ballot.

"XIII. That no oath of any kind should be taken by any elector.

"XIV. That the full age of twenty-five years should be a necessary qualification to entitle any man to be a representative.

"XV. That residence within the electorate should not, but that residence within the kingdom should, be a necessary qualification for a representative.

"XVI. *That no property qualification should be necessary to entitle any man to be a representative.*

"XVII. That any person having a pension, or holding a place in the executive or judicial departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a representative.

"XVIII. *That representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.*

"XIX. That every representative should, on taking his seat, swear that neither he, nor any person to promote his interest, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the suffrage of any voter.

"XX. That any representative convicted by a jury of having acted contrary to the substance of the above oath, should be for ever disqualified from sitting or voting in parliament.

"XXI. *That parliament should be annual.*

"XXII. That a representative should be at liberty to resign his delegation upon giving sufficient notice to his constituents.

"XXIII. That absence from duty for should vacate the seat of a representative".

How the reform efforts of the United Irishmen were viewed in parliament, and by some remarkable members of it, we may learn from the following extracts from the published report of the debate on Reform, the 10th February, 1793.

One of the speakers, Sir Boyle Roche, it is not publicly known, was then ambitious of a peerage. From the original Precis Book of Lord Fitzwilliam, of the application of various persons for appointments, dignities, and preferments during his viceroyalty, I make the following extract.

"12th January, 1795. Sir Boyle Roche wishes to be made a peer, and desires to know whether Lord W(estmoreland) recommended him".

REFORM QUESTION—IRISH COMMOMS, 10TH FEBRUARY, 1793.

"Mr. Forbes moved, 'that the returning officer, town clerk, or the person who is entrusted with the books, do return to this house a list of the names of the electors in each borough in this kingdom, and their qualification to use the right of the elective franchise, and that they do attend this house this day fortnight, and give information touching the same'.

"Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe—Mr. Speaker, when a few days ago a proposition similar to the present was offered to this house, I opposed it, as the information it would produce must be *imperfect;* as it might in its effects be *injurious* to the parties concerned; as it was utterly *useless* for the purposes it professed, and in its inference and operation could not but prove detrimental to the public. On the same grounds, sir, I shall oppose the *present* motion, as being liable to the same objections: that the information to be derived from it must be *imperfect*, no man can doubt, who considers that in many instances the corporation books do not contain a list of the respective voters; as, besides those entered in the books, several are entitled to freedom by birth, service, or marriage; several became electors by freehold, or residence, or dockets, as the case may be, which, as they are always variable, are not cognizable by the town clerk or other officer. Sir, laying before parliament the corporation books, or returns of the state of every borough in Ireland, must be extremely *injurious;* it will be a sort of parliament *quo warranto* against the boroughs; it will expose lapses and omissions, and produce pernicious litigation. The measure is utterly *useless* as to the purpose professed; for parliamentary reform is a measure not to be grounded on arithmetical calculation, but on general acknowledged principles; and everybody knows there are boroughs that contain few constituents; everybody knows that the people are not *equally* represented: they never were so, for if it were so, we should not have the *blessings of the British constitution*, but the *scourge of a democracy*.

"Sir Boyle Roche—Sir, this is the critical period in which every loyal subject should declare his sentiments in the boldest and most public manner, and express his disapprobation of any measure that may be conceived to be an encouragement to the propagation of French principles; and as I consider a parlia-

mentary reform to have that direct tendency, I openly enter my protest against it. I consider it as a masked battery, under the protection and covert of which the Dungannon reformers, the society called United Irishmen, the Defenders, and Break-of-day Boys, are advancing to the foot of the glacis of the citadel of the constitution, there to make a lodgment, and the garrison is called upon to defend itself. I am very glad, however, that this subject has been opened in the committee, that the public may see the futility and wickedness of it. This is the third or fourth night we have sat upon it, and I ask whether the reformers have brought forth any plan that the greatest madman amongst us would agree to? La Fayette was a great reformer; he and his party (amongst whom were many of the principal nobility of France) began with the abuses of the monarchy. As they proceeded, the epidemic madness seized them, and they thought it necessary to sacrifice to public clamour their immunities, their honours, their seignories, which in fact to them were their boroughs, handed down to them by their ancestors. Whilst they were thus going on reforming themselves and the state, there was a bloody Jacobin party observing their motions, and took the first opportunity of jumping on their necks, cutting their throats, and of burying them, the monarchy and monarch, in the same grave.

"Mr. Barrington—Sir, having been personally called upon by an honourable member (Mr. Forbes) to give my reason why I conceived the present opposition were not popular, I feel it my duty not to decline the question. The honourable member has urged it, and he shall be indulged. The gentlemen who at this period very justly style themselves the *opposition* of Ireland, are becoming unpopular, because their principles are suspicious, their systems dangerous, and their conduct inconsistent; the eyes of Ireland are opening to them, penetration is alive, and the popular imposture can no longer sail under the false colours of public virtue. Their principle is obviously to supplant the government and not to serve the people; their contests are contests for favour and not struggles for liberty; their system is a system of imitation and not the course of wisdom. The house has sat little more than three weeks, and some gentlemen have affected to agitate the public mind, because within that short period a general revolution, in both church and state, has not been effected; a confusion of measures is necessary for their purpose; at the same period, things jumbled together in one unintelligible chaos, in the form of bills and motions—every species of innovation they can think of—external reform, internal reform, ecclesiastical rights, military arrangements, civil restriction, religious emanci-

pation, prerogative, finance, legislation, and religion, all to be modified in one week; but, as Hudibras says—

> 'Some men carry things so even
> 'Tween this world, and Hell, and Heaven,
> Without the least offence to either,
> They freely jumble all together'.

"Hon. Robert Stewart [the future Lord Castlereagh]—Sir, I certainly think the conduct of administration on this subject totally unintelligible. Their prevarication through the whole of the business is obvious, and they have been guilty of special pleading to every motion that has been proposed. Why did administration grant the committee, but to inquire?—and how can they inquire without the materials called for? I should advise them rather to oppose fairly and openly than in this insidious and cowardly manner. It certainly would be more candid and becoming in administration to stand forward and resist a reform. To establish a moderate and reformed system is the only way to secure strength to the throne, and this system cannot be established without changing the present one. Sir, if administration is sincere in redressing the grievances of the people, they may depend on receiving from me my warmest support. I am ready to vote any money from my constituents to support the established form of government, but I will vote none to support the abuses and vices of the constitution. To give government too much strength while they are determined to support those vices, would be to give men an instrument for their own destruction, and could tend only to establish a military government. Notwithstanding, sir, all that had been said of the difficulty of effecting a reform, I think a reasonable system, such as would gratify all reasonable men, might very easily be devised, and this would render the government of this country extremely easy; for, in fact, the difficulties of administration hitherto have arisen rather from supporting the present ruinous system, than from any opposition that has been made to the necessary measures of government. It was the vices of this existing system that has driven the public mind into a state of agitation: if they were suffered to pore longer over those vices, it would be impossible, in times like these, to foresee what follies they might adopt. Being of this mind, I shall certainly vote for it".

From the early part of 1793, it is evident a revolution was looked to, for reform and Catholic emancipation, and that some of the principal leaders looked for something more than either.

At a meeting of the society in February, 1793, the Hon.

Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond secretary, a declaration was proposed and adopted by the meeting, pronouncing the proceedings of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the recent disturbances, in compelling witnesses to answer interrogatories on oath, compromising themselves, and directed principally to the discovery of evidence in support of prosecutions already commenced, to be illegal. For this offence Messrs. Butler and Bond were subsequently brought to the bar of the House of Lords; and on admitting the declaration to have been put from the chair and carried at the meeting in question, the judgment of the house was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor, each of the prisoners to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 to the King.*

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS OF SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN, TO THE IRISH NATION.

William Drennan, *Chairman.*
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, *Secretary.*

"January 27th, 1793.

"It is our right and our duty at this time, and at all times, to communicate our opinion to the public, whatever may be its success; and under the protection of a free press, itself protected by a jury, judges of law as well as fact, we will never be afraid to speak freely what we freely think, appealing for the purity of our intentions to the world; and as far as these intentions are manifested by word, writing, and action, appealing to the justness of our cause and the judgment of our country.

"On the 9th of November, 1791, was this society founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfast first began that civic union, which, if a nation be a society united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and at a time when all wished, many willed, and few spoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Protestants, joined our hands and our hearts together, sunk every distinctive appellation in the name Irishman, and in the presence of God, devoted ourselves to universal enfranchisement and a real representation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a resting-place; gradually, though not slowly, throughout the country, other stations of safety appeared, and what before was agitated, became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and spirit of our societies increased, until

* Vide Appendix, vol. ii.

selfish corporations, sunk into conscious insignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Irish people.

"We have, in our digest of the penal laws, addressed ourselves successfully to the good sense, humanity, and generous indignation of all Ireland, convincing public reason, alarming public conscience, and holding up this collection of bloody fragments as a terrible memorial of government without justice, and of legality without constitution. It has been our rule and our practice never to enter into compromise or composition with a noxious principle, and we have therefore set our face and lifted our voice against this persecuting and pusillanimous code, as against the murderer of our brother, eager to erase the whole of it from the statute-book as it erased our countrymen from the state, and wishing to proscribe such an incongruous and monstrous conjunction of terms as Penal Law, not only from a digest of the laws, but from the dictionary of the language.

"It has appeared our duty in times such as these, when the head is nothing without the heart, and with men such as we oppose, not only to write and speak, but to act and suffer; to reckon nothing hazardous, provided it was necessary; to come forward with the intrepidity which a good cause inspires and a backward people required; in going far ourselves to make others to follow faster, though all the time conjuring us to retreat; in short, to make the retrograde stationary, and the stationary progressive; to quicken the dead, and add a soul to the living.

"Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the press is to the people, though nearly blasted in our cradle by the sorcery of solicitors of law and general attorneys, we have persisted with courageous perseverance to rally around this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the constitution at the risk of personal security, property, and all that was dear to us. They have come to us with a writ and a warrant and an *ex-officio* information, but we have come to them in the name of the genius of the British constitution and the majesty of the people of Ireland. Is sedition against the officers of administration to exercise the criminal jurisdiction of the country, and is sedition against the people to walk by with arrogant impunity?

"We have defended the violated liberty of the subject against the undefined and voracious privilege of the House of Commons, treating with merited scorn the insolent menaces of men inflated with office; and not only have we maintained the rights of the people at the bar of this branch of the legislature, but we have, at the bench of judicature, vindicated the right of the nation, its real independence and supremacy; demonstrating that general inviolability was made transmissible to one or many deputies, to the utter extinction of responsibility—the evasion of criminality,

and that the executive power of imperial and independent Ireland was merely a dangling appendage to the great seal of Great Britain. Not a man so low that, if oppressed by an assumption of power, civil or military, has not met with our counsel, our purse, and our protection; not a man so high, that if acting contrary to popular right or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgment seat of justice and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

"We have encountered much calumny. We have, among a thousand contradictory epithets, been called republicans and levellers, as if, by artfully making the terms appear synonymous, their nature could be made the same; as if a republican were a leveller, or a leveller a republican; as if the only leveller was not the despot who crushes with an iron sceptre every rank and degree of society into one; as if republican or democratic energy was not—as well as aristocratical privilege or regal prerogative—sanctioned by the fundamental principles of the constitution, by all those memorable precedents which form its first features, and by which the just and virtuous struggles of our ancestors, recognized by successive generations, point out to their posterity when they ought to interpose, and how long they ought to suffer. In his words, whose name rests unknown, but whose fame is immortal,* we desire 'that the constitution may preserve its monarchical form, but we would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican'. Are you not sensible that this cry of republicanism, as the clamour against Catholic delegation, has been raised and prolonged by the mischievous malignity of the lowest gossips of government, merely to drown the general voice for reform, like the state manœuvre which ordered a flourish of trumpets and alarm of drums at the side of suffering patriots, when they wished to address themselves to the reason and justice of the people? But we will speak, and you will hear. Yes, countrymen, we do desire that extended liberty which may allow you, as citizens, to do what you will, provided you do not injure another, or rather to do all the good you can to others without doing injustice to yourself. Yes, countrymen, we do wish for an equality of rights, which is constitutional; not an equality of property, which is impossible. Yes, countrymen, we do long for another equality, and we hope yet to see it realized—an equality consisting in the power of every father of a family to acquire by labour either of mind or body, something beyond a mere subsistence, some little capital, to prove, in case of sickness, old age, or misfortune, a safeguard for his body and for his soul; a hallowed

* Junius.

hoard that may lift him above the hard necessity which struggles between conscience and corruption; that may keep his heart whole and his spirit erect, while his body bends beneath its burden; make him fling away the wages of venality, and proudly return to a humble home, where a constitution that looks alike on the palace and the hovel, may stand at his hearth a tutelar divinity, and spread the ægis of equal law to guard him from the revenge of those who offered the bribe, and offered it in vain.

"We have addressed the friends of the people in England, and have received their concurrence, their thanks, and their gratulation. We have addressed the Volunteers. Deliverers of this injured land, have we done wrong? if we have, tear your colours from the staff, reverse your arms, muffle your drums, beat a funeral march for Ireland, and then abandon the corpse to fencibles, to militia, to invalids, and dismounted dragoons. If we have not done wrong—and we swear by the revolution of '82 that we have not,—go on with the zeal of enterprising virtue, and a sense of your own importance, to exercise that right of self-defence which belongs to the nation, and to infuse constitutional energy into the public will for the public good.

"We address your understanding—the common sense of the common weal—and we ask you, is it not a *truth*, that where the people do not participate in the legislature by a delegation of representatives, freely, fairly, and frequently elected, there can be no public liberty? Is it not the *fact* that in this country there is no representative legislature, because the people are not represented in the legislature, and have no partnership in the constitution? If it be the principle of the constitution, that it is the right of every commoner in this realm to have a vote in the election of his representative, and that without such vote, no man can be actually represented, it is our wish, in that case, to renovate that constitution, and to revive its suspended animation, by giving free motion and full play to its vital principle. If, on the other hand, the constitution does not fully provide for an impartial and adequate representation of all the people; if it be more exclusive than inclusive in its nature; if it be a monopoly, a privilege, or a prerogative; in that case it is our desire to alter it; for what is the constitution to us if we are as nothing to the constitution? Is the constitution made for you, or you for it? If the people do not constitute a part of it, what is it to them more than the ghost of Alfred? and what are principles without practice, which they hear and read, to practice without principles, which they see and feel?" etc.*

* The above was written by Dr. Drennan.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, March 1, 1793.

The Honourable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond appeared at the bar in pursuance of their summonses.

Lord Mountjoy proposed that the following paper, which he had read on the night preceding, and which had the names of the persons at the bar prefixed to it, should be submitted to their inspection.

"UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

"Hon. Simon Butler, *Chairman.*
"Oliver Bond, *Secretary.*

"24th February, 1793.

"When a committee of secrecy was first appointed by the House of Lords to inquire into the causes of the risings in certain counties of this kingdom, although this society well foresaw the danger of abuse to which such an institution was subject, yet it was restrained from expressing that opinion, by the utility of the professed object, and by the hope that the presence and advice of the two first judicial officers of this country would prevent that committee from doing those illegal acts, which less informed men might in such a situation commit.

"But since it has thought fit to change itself from a committee to inquire into the risings in certain counties of this kingdom, into an inquisition to scrutinize the private principles and secret thoughts of individuals; since it has not confined itself to simple inquiries and voluntary informations, but has assumed the right and exercised the power of compelling attendance and enforcing answers upon oath to personal interrogatories tending to criminate the party examined; since its researches are not confined to the professed purposes of its institution, but directed principally to the discovery of evidence in support of prosecutions hitherto commenced, and utterly unconnected with the cause of the tumults it was appointed to investigate; since in its proceedings it has violated well-ascertained principles of law, this society feels itself compelled to warn the public mind, and point the public attention to the following observations:—

"That the House of Lords can act only in a legislative or judicial capacity.

"That in its legislative capacity it has no authority to administer an oath.

"That in its judicial capacity it has a right to administer an oath; but that capacity extends only to error and appeal, except in cases of impeachment and trial of a peer, in which alone the House of Lords exercises an original jurisdiction.

"That the House of Lords, as a court, has no right to act by delegation.

"That the committee of secrecy possesses no authority but what it derives by delegation from the House of Lords.

"That as the House of Lords does not possess any jurisdiction in the subject matter referred to the committee; and as, even if it did, it could not delegate the same, it necessarily follows that the committee has not judicial authority, and cannot administer an oath.

"That even if the committee of secrecy acted as a court, its proceedings ought not to be secret.

"That no court has a right to exhibit personal interrogatories upon oath, the answers to which may criminate the party examined, except at the desire of the party, and with a view to purge him from a contempt.

"That it was the principal vice of the courts High of Commission and Star Chamber, to examine upon personal interrogatories, to convict the party examined; and that those courts were abolished because their proceedings were illegal, unconstitutional, and oppressive".

This paper was accordingly delivered into the hands of Mr. Butler, by the gentleman usher; after he had seen it he was asked by Lord Mountjoy if that paper, bearing his name, was printed by his directions or authority.

Mr. Butler said, that the paper contained a declaration of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of Dublin, and bore date the 24th of February, 1793; that he presided at the meeting; that as chairman, he put the question on the several paragraphs, according as they were handed to him by the committee which had been appointed to prepare them; that he was then, and is still, satisfied that every paragraph of that declaration was agreeable to law and the principles of the constitution.

Lord Mountjoy said that Mr. Butler had not yet answered whether he authorized the publication.

Mr. Butler replied, that he meant to give the fullest information on the subject; he did authorize the publication, he authorized it in common with every individual of the society.

Mr. Bond was then interrogated. He was asked whether he had signed the paper: he replied that neither he nor Mr. Butler had signed the paper. The resolutions of the society are referred

to the committee of correspondence for publication. The committee cause the names of the chairman and secretary to be prefixed to every publication. That as secretary he delivered this declaration to the committee of correspondence. And, on being asked by Lord Clonmel whether he delivered it to the committee for the purpose of publication, and whether he thereby authorized the publication, he replied in the affirmative.

The Lord Chancellor then asked Mr. Butler whether he had anything further to add. Mr. Butler said, that he attended to answer questions: that if his lordship had any questions to ask, he (Mr. Butler) was ready to answer.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond were ordered to withdraw, but not to leave the house.

They were shortly afterwards again ordered to the bar, and the following resolutions, agreed to by the House in their absence, having been read, viz.:—

"That the said paper was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel; a high breach of the privileges of this House, tending to disturb the public peace, and questioning the authority of this High Court of Parliament.

"That Simon Butler and Oliver Bond having confessed that they had authorized the same to be printed, should be taken into custody".

They were committed to the custody of the gentleman usher, and ordered to withdraw in such custody.

In some time afterwards they were brought to the bar in custody of the gentleman usher.

The Lord Chancellor, after reciting the foregoing resolutions, spoke to the following purport: "Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, you were called to the bar to answer for a libel on this High Court of Parliament; you have confessed that such libel, which, for its presumption, ignorance, and mischievous tendency, is unprecedented, was printed by your authority. You, Simon Butler, cannot plead ignorance in extenuation; your noble birth, your education, the honourable profession to which you belong, his Majesty's gown, which you wear, and to which you now stand a disgrace, gave you the advantages of knowledge, and are strong circumstances of aggravation of your guilt. It remains for me to pronounce the judgment of the house, which is, that you Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, be imprisoned for six months in the goal of Newgate; that each of you pay a fine to the king of £500; and that you are not to be discharged from your confinement till such fine be paid".

They were taken from the bar, and in a short time after conveyed in a coach to Newgate, under the escort of fifty or sixty soldiers, and directions of Alderman Warren.

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS OF UNITED IRISHMEN TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Beauchamp Bagenel Harvey, *Chairman.*
Thomas Russell, *Secretary.*

"March 3, 1793.

"We have often addressed you in *your* cause; suffer us for once to address you in *our own.* Two of the officers of our society have been thrown into a common prison for the discharge of their duty. A procedure so extraordinary demands that we should lay before you the whole of that conduct which has brought upon the society so strong an exertion of power.

"The Society of United Irishmen was formed in November, 1791. Their principles, their motives, and their objects, were set forth in their Declaration and their Test. At that period the spirit of this nation was at the lowest ebb; the great religious sects were disunited; the Protestants were disheartened and sunk by the memorable defeat of their convention in 1783; the Catholics, without allies or supporters, accustomed to look to administration alone for relief, dared scarcely aspire to hope for the lowest degree of emancipation, and even that hope was repelled with contumely and disdain; administration was omnipotent, opposition was feeble, and the people were—nothing.

"Such was the situation of Ireland, when in Belfast and in Dublin two societies were formed for the purpose of effectuating an union of the religious sects and a parliamentary reform. From the instant of their formation a new era commenced; the public has been roused from their stupor, the ancient energy of the land is again called forth, and the people seem determined, in the spirit of 1782, to demand and to obtain their long-lost rights.

"The first measure of the United Irishmen was, a declaration in favour of the full and complete emancipation of the Catholics. What was the consequence? The moment that great and oppressed body saw itself supported by a single ally, they spurned the vile subjection in which they had been so long held, and with the heavy yoke of the penal laws yet hanging on their necks, they summoned their representatives from the four provinces of the kingdom, and with the determined voice of millions, they called upon their sovereign for a total abolition of that abominable and bloody code: a code, the extent and severity of which was

first made known by a report set forth by this society, and compiled by the knowledge and industry of that man who is now the victim of his disinterested patriotism, and who, in publishing to the world the abominations of intolerance, bigotry, and persecution, has committed a sin against corruption which can never be forgiven.

"If the knowledge of that penal code has been useful—if the complete union of the religious sects has been beneficial—if the emancipation of Catholics be good for Ireland—then may this society claim some merit and some support from their countrymen.

"In 1791, there was not a body of men in Ireland that ventured to speak, or scarce to think, of reform. The utmost length that patriots of that day went, was to attack a few of the outworks of corruption: the societies of United Irishmen stormed her in the citadel. They did not fritter down the public spirit, or distract the public attention by a variety of petty measures; they were not afraid to clip the wings of peculation too close, or to cut up the trade of parliament by the roots. They demanded a parliamentary reform, and what has been the consequence? The cry has been reëchoed from county to county, and from province to province, till every honest man in the nation has become ardent in the pursuit, and even the tardy and lingering justice of parliament has been forced into a recognition of the principle. If, then, reform be good for Ireland, this society, which first renewed the pursuit of that great object, may claim some merit and some support from their countrymen.

"At the opening of this session every man thought that the unanimous wish of the nation on the two great questions must be gratified—that the Catholics must be completely emancipated, and a radical reform in parliament effectuated: but this delusion was soon removed. It was suddenly discovered that it was necessary to have a strong government in Ireland; a war was declared against France, ruinous to the rising prosperity of this country; 20,000 regular troops, and 16,000 militia were voted, and the famous gunpowder bill passed, by the unanimous consent of all parties in parliament; the Society of United Irishmen, a vigilant sentinel for the public good, warned their countrymen of the danger impending over their liberty and their commerce. They knew in doing so they were exposing themselves to the fury of government; but they disregarded their own private safety when the good of their country was at stake. They could not hope to stop these measures, for they had no power; but what they could, they did; they lodged their solemn protest against them before the great tribunal of the nation.

"In the progress of the present session, it was thought necessary by the House of Lords to establish a secret committee, to investigate the cause of the disturbances now existing in a few

counties in this kingdom. The examination of several individuals having transpired, the Society of United Irishmen felt it their duty to step forward again, and to give such information to their countrymen as might be necessary for their guidance. They stated a few plain principles, which they did then and do now conceive to be sound constitutional law; but now the measure of their offences was full, and the heavy hand of power, so long withheld, was to fall with treble weight upon their heads. Their chairman, the Hon. Simon Butler, and their secretary, Mr. Oliver Bond, were summoned before the House of Lords; they were called upon to avow or disavow the publication: they avowed it at once with the spirit and magnanimity of men who deserved to be free. For this, they have been sentenced, with a severity unexampled in the parliamentary annals of this country, to be imprisoned in Newgate for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 each, and to remain in prison until the said fines be paid. By this sentence, two gentlemen, one of noble birth, of great talents, and elevated situation in an honourable profession; the other a merchant of the fairest character, the highest respectability, and in great and extensive business, are torn away from their families and connexions, carried through the streets with a military guard, and plunged like felons into the common gaol, where they are in an instant confined among the vilest malefactors, the dross and scum of the Earth, *and this sentence was pronounced by a body, who are at once judges and parties—who measure the offence, proportion the punishment, and from whose sentence there lies no appeal.*

"We do not mention here criminal prosecutions, instituted against several of our members in the courts of law, for publishing and distributing our address to the Volunteers of Ireland; respect for the existing laws of our country imposes upon us a silence which no provocation shall induce us to break; *we know when juries intervene that justice will be done.*

"Such is the history of the society, and such are the enormities which have drawn upon them the persecution under which they now labour. Their prime offence is their devoted attachment to reform; an attachment which, in the eyes of a bad administration, includes all political sin; their next offence is an ardent wish for a complete and total, not a partial and illusory, emancipation of the Catholics; their next offence is having published a strong censure on the impending ruinous war, on the militia and gunpowder acts; and, finally, the crowning offence, for which those officers now lie in gaol, by order of the House of Lords, is having instructed their countrymen in what they conceive to be the law of the land, for the guidance of those who might be summoned before the secret committee", etc.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

Henry Sheares, *President.*
Edward Joseph Lewins, *Secretary.*

Address to their Catholic Countrymen.

"June 7, 1793.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS,

"We hasten to recognize, under this new and endearing title, a people tried by experience and schooled by adversity; who have signalized their loyalty amidst all the rigours of the law; who have proved their fidelity to a constitution which, with respect to them, violated all its own principles; and who have set an example of patient perdurance in religious faith, while for a century they experienced a persecution equally abhorrent from every maxim of good government and every principle of genuine Christianity. We congratulate our country on such a large addition to the public domain of mind, the cultivation and produce of which may in some degree compensate for past waste and negligence. We congratulate the empire that the loss of three millions across the Atlantic is supplied by the timely acquisition of the same number at home. We congratulate the constitution that new life is transfused into its veins at a period of decay and decrepitude; and we trust that the heroism which suffered with such constancy for the sake of religion, will now change into a heroism that shall act with equal steadiness and consistency for the freedom, the honour, and the independence of this country.

"By the wise benevolence of the sovereign, by the enlightened spirit of the times—by the union of religious persuasions for the good of civil society—by the spirit, prudence, and consistency of the Catholic Committee, who, during their whole existence, were true to the trust reposed in them, and whose last breath sanctified the expediency and necessity of a parliamentary reform—by these causes, along with other fortunate coincidences, you have been admitted into the outer court of the constitution. Look around you—but without superstitious awe or idolatrous prostration, for the edifice you enter is not a temple, but a dwelling. Enter, therefore, with erect heads, and yet with grateful hearts; grateful to your king—grateful to your country; attached to the constitution by manly principle, not by childish prejudice; faithful to your friends through every change, either of their fortune or your own; and if not forgetful of the virulence of your

enemies, having always the magnanimity to pity and to despise them.

"Loving the constitution rationally, not devoted merely to its infirmities—loving it too well to dote upon its abuses, you must shortly be sensible that, without reform, the balance of the elective franchise will be more off the centre than before, the inequality of popular representation more glaring and monstrous, the disproportion more enormous between the number of electors in thirty-two counties and that in the boroughs from which you are excluded. What was kept close and corrupt before will be close and corrupt still; common right will still be private property, and the constitution will be imprisoned under the lock and key of corporations. The era of your enfranchisement will therefore eventually work the weal or woe of Ireland. We do trust that you will not be incorporated merely with the body of the constitution without adding to its spirit. You are called into citizenship not to sanction abuse, but to discountenance it; not to accumulate corruption, but to meliorate manners and infuse into society purer practice and sounder morality; always separating, in thought and action, misgovernment and maladministration from the good sense and right reason natural to and coeval with the constitution, and always remembering that nothing can be good for any part of the nation which has not for its object the interest of the whole.

"Fellow-citizens!—We speak to you with much earnestness of affection, repeating, with sincerest pleasure, that tender and domestic appellation which binds us into one people. But what is it which has lately made and must keep us one? Not the soil we inhabit, not the language we use, but our singleness of sentiment respecting one great political truth, our indivisible union on the main object of general interest—a parliamentary reform. This is the civic faith for which this society exists, and for which it suffers under a persecution that still, as of old, savage in its nature, though somewhat smoother in its form, wreaks its mighty vengeance on person and property, or exerts its puny malice to ruin us in the professions by which we live, merely for an undaunted adherence to a single good and glorious principle, which has always animated our publications and will always regulate our practice. We conjure you, in the most solemn manner, to remember, with the respect due to such authority, the last words, the political will and testament of a body of men who have deserved so well of their constituents and of their country. Never forget them—never forsake them! Let this principle of reform live in your practice, and give energy to the new character you are about to sustain, for the glory or the disgrace of Ireland", etc.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, DUBLIN, TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Henry Sheares, *President.*
William Levingston Webb, *Secretary.*

"June 21st, 1793.

"When the present war first threatened this nation with the calamities under which it has since groaned, and by which it is at this moment almost overwhelmed, we warned you of the approaching danger, and sought by a timely caution to avert the consequent ruin. We told you it was a measure fraught with destruction to your infant manufactures, to your growing commerce, and to your almost mature spirit. How far the prediction we then uttered has been justified by the event, let the surrounding miseries of this country determine:—an expiring and nearly extinguished credit, the pride of commerce humbled and disgraced, the cries of famine reëchoed through increasing thousands of your manufacturers, discarded from the exercise of their honest labour, driven into penury and inaction, and compelled to seek an uncertain subsistence from the humanity of their more affluent, though less industrious fellow-citizens. Such are the effects, and such were the predicted consequences, of a war commenced without provocation, and which, if suffered to continue a few months longer, must inevitably produce national shame, national bankruptcy, and national destruction.

"We declared that the persecution of principles was the real object of the war, whatever pretexts may be laid out. Judge of this assertion also by the event. Behold the external invasion against liberty seconded by internal outrages on your most valued rights; behold your band of patriots, once embodied and exulting in the glorious cause of freedom—once the pride of Ireland, and the admiration of attentive Europe—your Volunteers, now insulted and disarmed; behold your loved, your revered, your idolized palladium, the trial by jury, profaned and violated—trampled in the dust by the unhallowed foot of undefined privilege; behold your faithful friends, for daring to step forward in your defence, dragged to a loathsome prison, and loaded with every injury which falsehood and tyranny could suggest.

"What has been the case? Although the war has yet existed but a few months, its dire effects have already pierced the very marrow of society. Those, indeed, who advised to plunge you into all its horrors have not suffered the slightest inconveniencies: but is there an artificer of any description, a manufacturer of any denomination, a single Irishman who lives by his honest industry,

who has not wholly or in part been deprived of his means of sustenance? All export is destroyed except the export of specie, wrung from the hard hand of labour to pamper the luxury of absentees. Every trade is suspended, except the trade of corruption, which flourishes by the impoverishment of this devoted soil.

"Assemble in your parishes, in your towns, in your counties, and in your provinces; there speak forth your sentiments, and let your will be known. With the firm voice of injured millions require a peace; pursue the example of the Catholic Convention —unite order with spirit, tranquillity with action. Like them, carry your wishes to the throne itself, and fear not for their success; but like them, whilst you seek a remedy for your present sufferings, ever remember that a radical reform in the system of representation is the only means of avoiding a repetition of them. Call on your king to chain down the monster war, which has devoured your commerce, which gorges its hateful appetite by preying on the wretchedness of your manufacturers, and enslaving them for life, the instruments of tyranny and slaughter; call on him to spurn from his councils those who shall assert that you are bound to rob and to be robbed, to murder and to be murdered, to inflict and to endure all the complicated miseries of war, because an unfeeling policy should dictate the horrid act; call on him to give you peace", etc.

ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

John Sheares, *Chairman.*
W. B. Webb, *Secretary.*

"16th August, 1793.

"*To the Hon. Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esq.*

"GENTLEMEN, our dear and respected Friends!

"On the first of March we saw you enter into prison, with an air and manner that testified not only a serene and settled conviction in the justice of your cause, but a cheerful confidence in your own fortitude to sustain all the consequences that an attachment to this cause might bring upon you: and we now see you, after an imprisonment of six months, come out with the same unbending spirit; in the same health of body; with the same alacrity of mind; both preserved sound and unaltered, probably from the same cause—that vital energy which a sense of unmerited suffering

and the consciousness of doing our duty never fail to communicate. It is this conscious sense of unmerited injury that refreshes the soul amidst the closest confinement, blows up the spark of life, and invigorates both the head and the heart; this, which made Mirabeau write for liberty in a dungeon, while his enemies conspired against it in the ante-chamber; this, which expanded the soul of Raleigh, gave it power to wander at large, and, in spite of bars, in defiance of gaolers, to leave the narrow cell where his body lay, and write for posterity, a *History of the World.*

"Notwithstanding the irresistible argument of six months' imprisonment in a common gaol, we are still inclined to lament that the law and custom of parliament should ever have entered into a contest with the liberty of the press and the rights of the people, and that a discretionary power of punishment should so often supersede the ordinary course of criminal jurisdiction and the sacred trial by jury. We continue still inclined to believe that all undefined and irresponsible power, by whatever person or body assumed, is in its nature despotic, and that the vigilance of the people and the censorship of the press are the only means of guarding against its deadening influence, and preserving those barriers which the spirit of free government ought to place between the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. We still think that particular and anxious care ought to be taken, never to mingle and confound the legislative and judicial powers, for the conjunction is politically incestuous, and the production is always a monster.

"Gentlemen, your country is much your debtor. But we must suppose you by this time too well experienced in the mutability of public opinion, to expect that she will for the present acknowledge the debt, much less return the obligation; that she will either sympathise with what you have suffered or partake in our heartfelt joy at your enlargement. Indeed, you will scarcely now know your country, in a few months so much altered. Indisposed to condole or to congratulate, desponding without reason, exhausted without effort, she sits on the ground in a fit of mental alienation, unconscious of her real malady, scared at every whisper; her thousand ears open for falsehoods from abroad, her thousand eyes shut against the truth at home; worked up by false suggestions and artful insinuations to such a madness of suspicion as makes her mistake her dearest friends for her deadliest foes, and revile the only society which ever pursued her welfare with spirit and perseverance, as attempting at her life with the torch of an incendiary and the dagger of an assassin.

"From a public, thus inquisitive about the affairs of other people, thus incurious about its own, thus deluded—we were going

to say, in language of high authority, thus besotted—we appeal for your fame, and our own justification, to the same public, in a more collected, a more sober, a more dignified moment; when the perishable politics of party in place and party out of place, shall have passed away like the almanack of the year; when the light shall break in on an underworking family compact, whose business it has been to conceal the real situation and sentiments of this country from the immediate councils of the sovereign; when a compromising, parleying, panic-struck opposition, negociating without authority, surrendering without condition, shall repent of their pusillanimous credulity; and when the nation shall dare to acknowledge as a truth, what in its conscience it feels as a fact, that those only are her friends who stand up while all are prostrate around them, and call aloud on ministry and on opposition for reform, radical, comprehensive, immediate; such as will nationalize liberty, and make this country cease to be what it has been well described, 'a heavy-handed, unfeeling aristocracy over a people ferocious and rendered desperate by poverty and wretchedness'. But if such a time should not soon arrive—if this country should remain still abused and contented, there is a world elsewhere. Wherever freedom is, there is our country, and there ought to be our home. Let this government take care. Let them think of depopulation, and tremble. Who makes the rich?—the poor. What makes the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrows?—the poor. Should the poor emigrate, what would become of you, proud, powerful, silly men! What would become of you if the ears of corn should wither on the stalk, and the labours of the loom should cease? Who would feed you then, if hungry, or clothe you when naked? Give the poor a country, or you will lose one yourselves. Mankind, like other commodities, will follow the demand, and, if depreciated here below all value, will fly to a better market.

"Gentlemen, we again salute you with great respect and affection, as friends and brothers. We salute you, in the unity of an honest and an honourable cause. May you receive the reward of your sufferings, and triumph in the freedom of your country".

The Honourable Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esq., returned an answer, from which the following extract is taken:—

"We received the honour of your spirited and affectionate address with equal pride and gratitude. You have done justice to the feelings which have supported us under our imprisonment; and, if our situation required adventitious consolation, the patriotic attention of our numerous friends has most amply supplied it. Our sufferings have not warped our understandings; and we

still think that we only discharge an indispensable duty while we treat all public topics with free discussion, preserving a due respect for the public peace and the laws of the land. We will only boast of our constitution when it knows no power which is not responsible. Prerogative, founded upon the salutary maxim that the king can do no wrong, held forth at all times some relief in the responsibility of the minister; but privilege, which arrogates to itself a like constitutional principle, precludes all resource whatsoever against its illegal or arbitrary exercise; acknowledging no control, no corrective, it regards not the forms of law; and while it remains undefined and irresponsible, there is no safety in the land. We have thought it our duty to seek redress, but we sought it in vain. We have not even received countenance in the quarter where the nation might have looked for support. We have not, however, submitted; we have suffered", etc.

For distributing the address of the United Irishmen to the Volunteers, A. H. Rowan, in January, 1794, was prosecuted for a seditious libel, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and a fine of £500.

It is to be noted that the seditious libel was uttered in the year 1792 and the prosecution did not take place till the year 1794. It was at this celebrated trial that Curran made a speech never to be forgotten in Ireland, and parts of which furnish specimens of oratory more widely diffused in England and America, and more frequently cited, than any passages in the appeals of orators dead or living. One passage in that speech is better remembered and more generally admired than any separate portion of an address ever delivered at the bar in either country—that wherein he refers to the words included in the libel, "Universal emancipation". "I speak in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of *universal emancipation*. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and

disenthralled by the irresistible genius of *universal emancipation*".

The postponement of the trial was attributed, and not without justice, by Mr. Rowan and his friends, to the arrangements required for the new plan that had been devised of securing a conviction, in cases similar to the present, through the medium of packed juries, by the intervention of hirelings of government placed in the office of sheriffs. This matter it was found impossible to accomplish before the early part of the year 1794, when one Jenkins, and that Cimmerian zealot, John Gifford, were thrust into the shrievalty. But this trial not only exhibited the adoption of the new jury-packing system—a darker feature was also presented, in the employment of wretches without character or credit to act as witnesses.

On Rowan's trial, a disreputable and a worthless man, of the name of Lyster, was the principal witness against the accused. His evidence of Rowan's having distributed the libellous paper was false; it was declared to be so by Rowan himself at the trial; and the able and enlightened editor of his autobiography, the Rev. Dr. Drummond, states that Rowan was not the man who distributed the libel on the occasion sworn to, but a person of the name of Willis, a skinner, formerly a member of the Volunteer association.*

It would be now useless to refer to this fact, but that it shows the influence which the recourse to packed juries, and the employment of perjured witnesses, had on the minds of the people, and especially on the conduct of their leaders, at this period. So long as the fountains of justice were believed to be even moderately pure—so long as it was unknown that they were poisoned at their very source, there were some bounds to the popular discontent. The language of the liberals of that day might be bold, violent, and intemperate—not more so, nay, not so much so, as the language used with impunity at political societies in the present day; but the people still had privileges and advantages to lose by sedition, and the most valuable of all was the trial by jury, which had now, in public opinion, ceased to be a safeguard or a security to the people.

The Society of United Irishmen, on the 7th February, 1794, presented an address to Mr. Rowan, then undergoing the sentence of imprisonment in Newgate, in which, after expressing

* Hamilton Rowan, Dr. Drummond states, was mistaken by the informer Lyster for a man of the name of Willis, who had distributed the printed paper for which he (Rowan) was prosecuted. But Benjamin Binns, one well acquainted with the events of that period, informed me this statement was an error—that the paper in question was distributed by his brother, Alderman Binns, now of Philadelphia.

the obligations the country was under to him for his bold assertion of its rights, and its sympathy with his sufferings in its cause, the society observed: "Although corruption has been leagued with falsehood to misrepresent and vilify this society, we have reposed in honest confidence on the consoling reflection, that we should at all times find an impregnable barrier in 'the trial by jury', wherein character and intention should be regarded as unerring guides to justice. But while we have been earnestly endeavouring to establish the constitutional rights of our country, we suddenly find ourselves at a loss for *this first and last stake of a free people;* for the trial by jury loses its whole value when the sheriff or the panel is under the influence of interest, prejudice, or delusion, and that battery which liberty and wisdom united to construct for the security of the people, is turned against them. However, in defiance of that system of proscription, which is no longer confined to a particular persuasion, but which visits with vengeance every effort in the cause of freedom, we trust you are assured of our inflexible determination to pursue the great object of our association—*an equal and impartial representation of the people in parliament*—an object from which no chance or change, no slander, no persecution, no oppression, shall deter us".

In 1794 the violence of the language, and the publicity with which the daring proceedings of the United Irishmen were carried on, brought the vengeance of government on their society. On the 4th of May, their ordinary place of meeting, the Tailors' Hall, in Back Lane, was attacked by the police, their meeting dispersed, and their papers seized.* The leaders had been suc-

* The Tailors' Hall, in Back Lane, had become the arena of liberal and democratic politics, and also of the agitation of the Roman Catholic question, as the old Tholsel had previously been of national and corporate struggles. The Tholsel, a part of the façade of which now only remains, was erected in 1683; it derived its name from the toll-stall, where the impost on goods received into the city was taken. It was situate in Nicholas Street, near Christ Church. In 1703 the city of Dublin gave a grand entertainment in the Tholsel to the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, when the "corporations marched through the city to the banquet, with their several pageants". Here the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons transacted their business, and the merchants met on 'change in a spacious hall in the upper part of the building. In 1779, a meeting was held in the Tholsel, at which resolutions were passed "against the use of English manufactures till the grievances were redressed". James Napper Tandy took the foremost part in the proceedings of this meeting.

The Tholsel, as the corporation waxed more loyal, ceased to be the Crown and Anchor of the popular party. The Tailors' Hall was the first public place of rendezvous of the Roman Catholic Committee, and it became the theatre of the earliest performances of the United Irishmen. From the meetings of both bodies it acquired the name of the Back Lane Parliament. James Napper Tandy, as "a patriot" and an alderman, figured for a time at both places; but when "the aldermen of Skinners'Alley" quarrelled with their democratic brother, the Back Lane Parliament became the sole arena of Tandy's ground and lofty "patriotic tumblings".

cessively prosecuted and imprisoned; many of the timid and more prudent part of the members seceded from the society; the more determined and indignant, and especially the republican portion of the body, remained, and in 1795 gave a new character to the association, still called the "Society of United Irishmen". The original test of the society was changed into an oath of secrecy and fidelity; its original objects—reform and emancipation—were now merged in aims amounting to revolution and the establishment of a republican government. These designs, however, were not ostensibly set forth; for a great number of the members, and even of the leaders, were not prepared to travel beyond the Hounslow limit of reformation. The proceedings of the society ceased to be of a public nature; the wording of its declaration was so altered as to embrace the views both of reformers and republicans, and the original explanation of its grand aim and end—*the equal representation of the people in parliament*—was now changed into the phrase, "a full representation of all the people of Ireland"; thus adding the word "all", and omitting the word "parliament".

The civil organization of the society was likewise modified; the arrangement was perfected of committees, called baronial, county, and provincial. The inferior societies originally were composed of thirty-six members: in the new organization each association was limited to twelve, including a secretary and treasurer. The secretaries of five of these societies formed a lower baronial committee, and had the immediate direction of the five societies from which they had been taken. From each lower baronial committee one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which had the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial ones in the several counties.

In each of the four provinces there was a subordinate directory, composed of two or three members of the society delegated to a provincial committee, which had the general superintendence of the several committees of that province.

In the capital, the executive directory was composed of five persons, balloted for and elected by the provincial directories. The knowledge of the persons elected for the executive directory was confined to the secretaries of the provincial committees, and not reported to the electors; and the executive directory, thus composed, exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union.

The orders of the executive were communicated to one member only of each provincial committee, and so on in succession to the secretary of each upper and lower baronial committee of the subordinate societies, by whom they eventually were given

to the general body of the society. The plan was considered by the executive to be admirably calculated to baffle detection. The key-note of the new overture of their declaration and reorganization was evidently representation. The attraction of such an extensive mechanism of election and delegation, for a people who had been vainly struggling for the acquisition or extension of the elective franchise, no doubt was the great inducement with the directory for the adoption of this complicated and widely-extending system of organization.

The organization of the United Irish system, after the change made in it from a civil to a military organization, and the progress of its plans at home and abroad, is accurately and compendiously set forth in the report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, dated 30th August, 1798, after the examination of Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, Samuel Neilson, Oliver Bond, and John Hughes, and based chiefly on that examination. The following extracts are taken from that report:—

"It appears to your committee that the organization, as it is called, by which the directory of the Irish union was enabled to levy a revolutionary army, was completed in the province of Ulster on the 10th of May, 1795; that the scheme of extending it to the other provinces was adopted at an early period by the Irish directory; but it does not appear that it made any considerable progress beyond the northern province before the autumn of 1796, when emissaries were sent into the province of Leinster to propagate the system. The inferior societies at their original institution consisted each of thirty-six members; they were, however, afterwards reduced to twelve; these twelve chose a secretary and a treasurer, and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the five societies who thus contributed to its institution. From each lower baronial committee thus constituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the several counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of district committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the district or county committee, and these district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of all the upper baronials who contributed to their institution. Having

thus organized the several counties and populous towns, a subordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, composed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the districts which they represented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces, and a general executive directory, composed of five persons, was elected by the provincial directories, but the election was so managed that none but the secretaries of the provincials knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors; the appointment was notified only to those on whom the election devolved, and the executive directory thus composed assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union.

"The manner of communicating the orders issued by the executive directory was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member of the executive alone communicated with one member of each provincial committee or directory. The order was transmitted by him to the secretary of each county or district committee in his province. The secretaries of the county and district committees communicated with the secretaries of the upper baronials in each county; they communicated with the secretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the secretaries of each subordinate committee, by whom it was given to the several inferior members of the union. It appears that the leaders and directors of this conspiracy, having completed this their revolutionary system in the province of Ulster so early as the 10th of May, 1795, and having made considerable progress in establishing it in the autumn and winter of 1796 in the province of Leinster, proceeded at that period to convert it into a *military* shape and form, for the undisguised project of rebellion; and this project has been distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by the aforesaid Arthur O'Connor, William James M'Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Oliver Bond, who have confessed themselves to have been leading and active members of this conspiracy, as will appear more distinctly to your lordships from the confessions which they have made before your committee.

"From the confessions of these persons it appears that the *military* organization, as they termed it, was grafted on the civil. That the secretary of each subordinate society composed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer; that the delegate of five societies to a lower baronial committee, was commonly appointed captain of a

company, composed of the five societies who had so delegated him, and who made up the number of sixty privates; and that the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus composed of six hundred men. That the colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officers of the revolutionary staff. In addition to this establishment, it appears that a military committee was appointed (at a later period) by the executive directory to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army, if any such should make a landing in this kingdom, by directing the national military force, as it was called, to coöperate with them, or to form a regular plan of insurrection, in case it should be ordered, without waiting for French assistance".*

CHAPTER X.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN—EXTENDED AIMS, REVOLUTIONARY PLANS, AND MILITARY ASPECT OF ITS PROCEEDINGS.

The new organization of the society of United Irishmen was completed on the 10th of May, 1795; separation and a republican government became the fixed objects of its principal leaders, but not the avowed ones till a little later, when, at the conclusion of every meeting, the chairman was obliged to inform the members of each society, "they had undertaken no light matter", and he was directed to ask every delegate present what were his views and his understanding of those of his society, and each individual was expected to reply, "a republican government and a separation from England".†

Early in 1794, however, the question had been mooted of soliciting the coöperation of France, and a person was appointed to go on that mission; but various circumstances conspired to prevent his departure, till the trial of Jackson, an emissary of the French government, brought to general notice the intentions of the

* Lords' Committee Secret Report, 1798.
† *Vide* "Pieces of Irish History", p. 109.

French with respect to invasion; and at this period Tone, who was implicated more or less in Jackson's guilt, and permitted to go to America, was solicited by certain persons in Ireland to set forth to the French government, through its agents in America, on his arrival there, "the state of Ireland and its dispositions". These dispositions are to be gathered from a communication addressed to Tone in America, and published in the *Life of Tone*, by his son, styled, "A Letter from one of the Chief Catholic Leaders in Dublin, September 3rd, 1795", wherein Tone is told "to remember and to execute his garden conversation". This letter was written by John Keogh.

Reference is made also in Tone's diary to a conversation which had taken place a day or two previously to his departure from Dublin, at Emmet's country residence at Rathfarnham. The persons present were Emmet, Tone, and Russell. Tone's account of this interview is told in simple and expressive language. "A short time before my departure", he says, "my friend Russell being in town, he and I walked out together to see Emmet, who has a charming villa there. He showed us a little study, of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to our meetings, if ever we lived to see our country emancipated.

"I begged of him, if he intended Russell to be of the party, in addition to the books and maps it would naturally contain, to fit up a small cellaret, capable of holding a few dozens of his best claret. He showed me that he had not omitted that circumstance, which he acknowledged to be essential, and we both rallied Russell with considerable success. As we walked together towards town, I opened my plan to them both. I told them I considered my compromise with government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and the moment I landed I was to follow any plan that might suggest itself for the emancipation of my country. I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French minister, to detail to him fully the situation of affairs in Ireland, and endeavour to obtain a recommendation to the French government, and having succeeded so far, to leave my family in America, set off immediately for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support, both from Russell and Emmet; we shook hands, and having repeated our professions of unalterable regard and esteem for each other, we parted; and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with these two invaluable friends to-

gether. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place, and Emmet remarked, that it was in one like it, in Switzerland, where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria".*

Tone took his departure from Dublin on the 20th of May, 1795, and the conversation alluded to having taken place immediately after Jackson's trial at the latter end of April, this suggestion of the employment of force, with the concurrence of Emmet and Russell, must have been made in the month of May, 1795. O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee in 1798, stated that the executive had sent to seek an alliance with France in May, 1796, which was formed in the August following—" the first entered into between the Irish Union and the French Government".†

The opinion, however, of the necessity and advantage of independence and separation, had been declared so early as the year 1790, in a private letter addressed by Tone to his friend Russell, which subsequently fell into the hands of government. " In forming this theory (Tone says, in reference to his political sentiments in 1790), I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Laurence Parsons (the late Lord Rosse), and it was he who first turned my attention to this great question, but I very soon ran far ahead of my master. It is, in fact, to him I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland; what his conduct might be in a crisis I know not, but I can answer for the truth and justice of his theory".‡

The congenial sentiments of Sir Laurence Parsons at this period with Mr. Tone's, on the subjects alluded to, are found expressed strongly enough in a poem on the state of Ireland, by Sir Laurence Parsons, the following lines of which may be taken as a sample of its political tendency:§

" What, though with haughty arrogance and pride
England shall o'er this long-duped country stride,
And lay on stripe on stripe, and shame on shame,
And brand to all eternity its name:
'T is right well done. Bear all, and more, I say,
Nay, ten times more, and then for more still pray.
What state in something would not foremost be?
She strives for shame, thou for servility.
The other nations of the Earth, now fired
To noblest deeds, by noblest minds inspired,
High in the realms of glory write a name,
Wreath'd round with Liberty's immortal flame:

* "Tone's Life", vol. i. p. 125. Washington edition.
† "Memoir of the Examination of O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin", p. 48.
‡ "Tone's Life", vol. i. p. 32. § "Tone's Life', vol. i. p. 564.

'T is thine to creep a path obscure, unknown,
The palm of ev'ry meanness all thine own.
* * * * *
Search your own breast: in abject letters there
Read why you still the tinsell'd slav'ry wear:
Though Britain, with a trembling hand, untied
The fetters fashion'd in her power and pride,
Still are you slaves, in baser chains entwin'd,
For though your limbs are free, you're slaves in mind".

Tone unfortunately acted on his opinion, and was doomed to an ignominious death. Sir Laurence Parsons was fortunate enough to outlive his early principle, succeeded to a title, forgot the wrongs that had been the subject of his poetry, frequented the fashionable circles of London, and died a loyal subject—the whole amount of praise his lordship's public career had any claim to. The men who perished in these disastrous times on the scaffold, might have become as loyal subjects as Sir Laurence Parsons, if mercy had more influence in the councils of the rulers of the land in those days.

After the Indemnity and Insurrection Acts had been moved by the attorney-general, and the system of coercion and extermination in the north had received the sanction of those laws, an important meeting of the executive took place in May, 1796, and it was determined, as if for the first time, that no constitutional means of opposing oppression were available, and that assistance must be sought from a foreign power.

The report of the Lords' Committee of 1798 gives the following account of the negociations with France:—

"It appears to your committee that, early in the year 1796, a proposition was made from the executive directory of the French Republic, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, late a barrister of this country, who absconded shortly after the conviction of a man of the name of Jackson, for treason, in the year 1794, to the executive directory of the Irish Union, that a French army should be sent to Ireland to assist the republicans of this country in subverting the monarchy and separating Ireland from the British Crown. Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond, all of whom have been members of the Irish republican directory, have deposed that this was the first communication within their knowledge which took place between the Irish and French directories, and that the proposition originally moved from France. Your committee, however, are of opinion, that the communication thus made to the Irish directory through Mr. Tone, must have taken place in consequence of an application originating with some members of the Irish Union, inasmuch as it appears by the report of the secret committee of this house, made in the last

session of parliament, that a messenger had been despatched by the Society of United Irishmen to the executive directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French Republic, was the person thus despatched in the summer of 1795. It appears to your committee that the proposition so made by the French directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the executive directory of the Irish Union immediately after it was communicated to them; that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1796, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears that in the month of October or November, 1796, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish directory by a special messenger despatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood; which armament was then stated to the Irish directory to consist of 15,000 troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the use of the Irish republican union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee that a letter from France was received by the Irish directory, which was considered by them as authentic, stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months; and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed that these contradictory communications threw the Irish directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves. It appears to your committee that after the attempt to invade this kingdom in December, 1796, had failed, the Irish directory renewed their solicitations to

France for assistance, and it was determined by them to establish a regular communication and correspondence with the Directory of France, by a resident accredited Irish minister at Paris. Accordingly it appears that, in April, 1797, Edward John Lewins, of this city, attorney-at-law, was despatched from hence, under the assumed name of Thompson, to act as the minister of the Irish republican directory at Paris. That he went by way of Hamburgh, where he obtained a letter of credence from the French minister to General Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Frankfort, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he has continued to reside from that time, as the minister of the executive directory of the republic of Ireland. It appears that, in June, 1797, a second messenger, Dr. William James M'Nevin, was despatched by the same directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Nevin also took Hamburgh in his way, where, finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheynhart, the French minister, to enable him to go to Paris, he presented a memoir in writing to that minister, containing the substance of his instructions from his employers, to be transmitted to the directory of the French republic. M'Nevin has stated to your committee the principal points of this memoir, in which it was recommended particularly to the directory of the French Republic, on their next attack on this kingdom, rather to make a landing at Oysterhaven than at Bantry, as the reduction of the city of Cork would be thereby considerably facilitated; and he has stated that it also contained every species of information which occurred to the Irish directory as useful to the enemy in their projected invasion of this kingdom, the particulars of which your committee forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the said M'Nevin's confession made to them by way of appendix to this report. It appears that the said M'Nevin having obtained a passport from the French minister at Hamburgh, soon after the delivery of his memoir to him, proceeded directly to Paris, where he had several conferences with some of the ministers of the French Republic, in which he pressed strongly upon them the advantages of a second armament against this kingdom, in which an additional supply of arms was represented as necessary, from the seizure which had been made, by order of government, of arms which had been collected for rebellion in the northern province; and the expenses of this armament, as well as of that which had already failed, he undertook, for the Irish directory, should be defrayed on the establishment of a republic in Ireland; and in these conferences, it appears to your committee, that it was strongly impressed upon the

French directory to make the separation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain an indispensable condition of any treaty of peace which might be concluded in consequence of the negociation which then depended at Lisle. The better to impress his arguments, a second written memoir was presented by the said M'Nevin, enforcing, as strongly as he could, everything which he had theretofore urged to encourage the invasion of this kingdom by a French force, and to induce the directory of the French Republic to continue the war with Great Britain until Ireland should be separated from the British crown; and it appears that M'Nevin was further instructed to negociate a loan of half a million in France or Spain for the Irish directory, on the security of the revolution which they meditated, but that in this object of his mission he failed altogether. It appears that immediately after the negociation at Lisle was broken off, information of it was sent from France to the Irish directory, with assurances that the French government would never abandon the cause of the Irish Union, nor make peace with Great Britain, until the separation of Ireland from the British crown was effected, and with fresh assurances of a speedy invasion, which have frequently been renewed since that period. It appears that the said M'Nevin returned to this kingdom in October, 1797, when he made his report to the Irish directory of the result of his mission, and that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France; and it has also appeared that, in July or August, 1797, the Irish directory received a despatch from their minister at Paris, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended against this kingdom, which was baffled and discomfited by the ever-memorable and persevering valour of the British fleet commanded by Lord Duncan. It appears that three several despatches have been received by the Irish directory from their minister at Paris, since October, 1797; the two first contained a renewal generally of the former assurances of friendship and support given by the directory of the French Republic; the last announced that the projected invasion of Ireland would be made in the month of April, 1798. And it appears that a despatch for the directory of the French republic, earnestly pressing for the promised succours, was made up by the Irish directory, late in December, 1797, or early in January, 1798, which one of them undertook to have conveyed to France, but that the attempt failed. It has been stated to your committee by one of the rebel directory of Ireland, who was privy to this act of treason, that the despatch was not to be sent through Great Britain, but he did not explain to your committee any reason on

which this assertion was founded, nor any other route by which this messenger was to make his way to France".*

The account given of the negociations in 1797, in the Memoir of M'Neven, Emmet, and O'Connor, is to the following effect:—

"In November, 1796, an agent, a native of France, from the French Republic, arrived in Ireland, and communicated to the directory the intention of the French government to send the assistance required, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and in the month of December following the attempt at invasion was made at Bantry Bay".

One of the principal causes of its signal miscarriage was attributed by the directory of the United Irishmen to the circumstance of being left by the French government in total ignorance of the part of the coast where the descent was to be made. Arthur O'Connor, however, stated to me, in 1842, there were two persons then living who had a knowledge of the place where the disembarkation was originally intended to have been effected.

"In March, 1797, another agent, Mr. Lewins, an attorney of Dublin, had been sent by the directory to France, to press on the government the fulfilment of its promise of another expedition, and to effect a loan of half a million. The difficulties, however, of the French government at this period stood in the way of the success of the application, and another agent, Dr. M'Neven, was despatched in the month of June, to impress on the French government the immediate necessity of granting the succour that had been applied for. Dr. M'Neven was unable to proceed beyond Hamburgh, where he communicated—imprudently—*in writing* to the French minister the object of his mission. The force required was 10,000 men, at the most, and 5,000 at the least, and about 40,000 stand of arms. Dr. M'Neven, after some time, was allowed to proceed to Paris, and there renewed with the government the solicitations of the directory for immediate assistance. Dr. M'Neven returned to Ireland in October, 1797, when he reported to the directory the result of his mission—that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France. Lewins remained in Paris, the accredited agent of the directory. In July or August, 1797, the directory received a communication from him, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended for Ireland, being about to be despatched. That expedition, however, was totally discomfited by the British fleet under Lord Duncan. The last application for French succour was attempted to be made in January, 1798, but that attempt failed;

* Lords' Secret Committee Report.

and the last communication from Lewins to the directory, with the new promise of assistance, was in the latter part of 1797, stating that an invasion of Ireland would take place in the month of April, 1798.

LORD MALMESBURY'S DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN 1796 AND 1797.

The French expedition for the coast of Ireland in 1796, and the Dutch one, with a similar destination, in 1797, had a pacific influence on Mr. Pitt, which may fairly be inferred to have been the occasion of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris in 1796, and to Lisle in 1797. In the recent remarkable work, entitled *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury*, we have a very detailed account of both missions, but, strange to say, not a syllable is to be found in his journals or letters either of the Brest expedition under Hoche, which was preparing for departure while his lordship was in Paris in close underhand communication with Talleyrand, except a memorandum, dated the 13th November, in relation to the *unimportant circumstance* of its being reported that eleven sail of the line were ready for sea, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men embarked, and that the expedition meditated an attempt on Ireland.

His lordship arrived early in October, 1796, in Paris, at the precise time Hoche was hurrying on his preparations at Brest. His instructions, he states, were to make earnest overtures to the French government to put an end to the war. The directory then consisted of Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, Carnot, and Letourneur. Two of the directory are said to have been traitors to their country, and in treasonable communication then and previously with the English government.

The Brest expedition, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and 15,000 men, sailed on the 17th December, and on the 19th Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within twenty-four hours.

The dismissal of the negociator, however, was too late to prevent the secret of Hoche's expedition being communicated to England, and effectual means taken to disconcert the plans of Hoche. But not one word on the subject do we find in the *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury*. A secret agent of the French government, named Moutrand,* was placed at this

* Moutrand died in Paris in 1843.

time about Lord Malmesbury, "*pour lui tirer les vers du nez*", while his lordship had likewise his secret agents about the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ascertain the designs of the Irish ambassador, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and to prevent the latter from counteracting his efforts to negociate a peace. Tone did effectually counteract his lordship's efforts, but the latter, in his turn, enabled his government to counteract the most formidable plans that were ever formed for the separation of Ireland from England.

This was one of the occasions "when in one line two crafts directly meet", and we eventually have "the engineer hoist with his own petard".

In June, 1797, Lord Malmesbury was again despatched by Mr. Pitt to Lisle, to treat for peace with the French government. The Dutch expedition intended for the invasion of Ireland was then preparing in the Scheldt, but not one syllable do we find about it in those journals and correspondence, which are crammed with such minute diplomatic details on almost every other subject of continental importance. The mutiny in the fleet at the Nore, then existing, is mentioned by his lordship on the eve of his setting out. The directory was then composed of Barthelemi, Barras, Carnot, La Reveillere Lepaux, and Rewbell. In the month of July the Minister for Foreign Affairs was *Talleyrand*. Two of the directory are said by French historians to have been traitors to their country; and though Malmesbury does not say so, it is confidently affirmed by well informed French people, that Carnot and Barthelemi were in the pay of England.

The French ministers sent by the directory to Lisle to treat with Lord Malmesbnry, were Le Tourneur, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret; the latter had been officially employed in England, and was well acquainted with Mr. Pitt. Maret is plainly shown by Lord Malmesbury to have been the agent of some foreign power inimical to his country. He held constant clandestine communications with Lord Malmesbury through a British resident at Lisle, a Mr. Cunningham, and also a relative of Maret's, a Monsieur Pein. In the first interview between Pein and *Mr. Wesley*, one of the *attachés* of the British Minister, on the part of Lord Malmesbury, the former stated that "Maret was the intimate friend of Barthelemi, through whose means he had been appointed one of the ministers to treat for peace with England, and therefore his sentiments could not be doubted, as it was well known Barthelemi was sincerely desirous for the restoration of peace. Mr. Pein added that Maret had his suspicions with respect to the intentions of the directory". In plain English, Maret and Barthelemi were traitors to their own government. It is a curious circumstance that upwards of two years before the publication of *Lord Mal-*

mesbury's Memoirs, from which this account is taken, I mentioned, on the authority of one of Tone's northern friends, Mr. Jordan, living in Liverpool in 1842, in the former edition of this work, that a nobleman, one of the Irish Privy Councillors, had confidentially stated, in 1797, that the English government was in possession of all the projects of the United Irishmen then carrying on in Holland through one of the French directory—Barthelemi.

Thiers says—"Carnot et Barthelemi votaient pour, qu'on acceptat les conditions de l'Angleterre les trois autres directeurs soutenaient l'opinion contraire".

Talleyrand all this time, we find from Mr. Canning's communications to Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Ellis, was in secret correspondence with English agents. He alludes to Talleyrand's letters against his own government and colleagues, to Mr. Smith, and states, at page 453, vol. ii., that Barthelemi was at this period largely gambling in the English funds. In a letter of Talleyrand's, quoted by Canning, addressed to *Robert Smith*, Esq., dated 27th July, 1797, he says, respecting the negociations at Lille, and the warlike plans of Charles Delacroix—"My wish is good, but I have a great deal to do—must take patience—adieu".—Vol. iii., p. 457. We find no reference in Lord Malmesbury's journals to the proposal of a bribe to one of the directory made to Charles Delacroix, in 1796, by his lordship, as we are informed by Thiers, in his *History of the Revolution.*

Lord Malmesbury, in his diary, 19th August, says, "Mr. Melville, of Boston, in America, makes *the same offer* as to Barras". In a note referring to this sentence, it is said that "a person named Potter came to Lord M. at the beginning of the negociation, stating that he was sent by Barras to say that if the government would pay that director £100,000, he would insure the peace. Lord M., believing the offer to be unauthorized by Barras, or only a trap laid for him by the directory, paid no attention to it".—*Memoirs, etc., of Earl of Malmesbury.*

About the same time Lord Malmesbury received an anonymous letter from Paris, bearing very strong marks of Talleyrand's composition, setting forth the exertions the writer was making to promote English views in the government.

Of Maret's treason to his country no doubt is left. Even the private signals are detailed which were established between him and Lord Malmesbury, to be made at the conferences between the negociators and his lordship, for the purpose of deceiving Maret's colleagues, the other two French negociators. "The sign agreed upon was Maret's taking his handkerchief out of one pocket and returning it into the other".—Vol. iii., p. 451.

In the various records of baseness which are to be found in the

Harris Papers, there is one of an Abbé Dumontel, who wrote to Lord Malmesbury, stating that he was connected with the British Minister at Stuttgard, Mr. Drake, who was implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy against the French government, and was turned out of the country in consequence of the disclosure. Lord Malmesbury refused to see him, and it turned out that the Abbé was an agent of the government employed to entrap Lord Malmesbury. Another priest, a British subject, a Jesuit in the pay of the British government, communicated also with his lordship, but no particulnrs are given of the mission of this reverend gentleman. Early in September, 1797, two of the Directors implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy, Carnot and Barthelemi, were banished, and the fact of British diplomatic agents being engaged in that conspiracy, while another British diplomatist was negociating a peace with the same government, which Maret's agents were conspiring to overthrow, caused the negociations at Lisle to be broken off, and on the 18th of September Lord Malmesbury set out for England. There is a complete silence in his journals respecting the expedition for Ireland then preparing in the Scheldt; but it cannot be doubted that his lordship made good use of his time, and laid the train for that unaccountable catastrophe which put an end to that expedition. On the 9th of October, Admiral Winter, without rhyme or reason, in sight of a British fleet of superior force, put to sea, and on the 11th, after a hard-fought action with Admiral Duncan, off Camperdown, the Dutch admiral, with almost all his fleet, was captured.

At the end of the negociations in 1797, Lord Malmesbury writes to Mr. Pitt, that "the violent revolution which has taken place in Paris, has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reasonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened". The *naivete* of this language is very amusing. The violent revolution complained of was nothing more than the detection of a foul conspiracy planned in England, and assisted abroad by British official agents. The detection of the two traitors in the Directory, who were privy to it, which Lord Malmesbury so pathetically laments the consequences of, was occasioned by the discovery of the papers at Venice of the chief conspirator—*agent d'etrangeres*, in reference to which discovery Lord Malmesbury expresses his fears that "all Wickham's attempts to produce a counter-revolution would come out in the latter". He observes likewise, "Pichegru, who was chief of the royalist conspiracy, was to receive, as the price of a restoration, the baton of a marshal, the governorship of Alsace, the chateau of Chambord, £40,000 in money, and £8,000 a year".

The course pursued by Mr. Pitt at this time was somewhat

singular. He had a minister negociating a peace at Lisle; he had another at Stuttgard conspiring to upset the government he was treating with; and a third agent elsewhere, the disclosure of whose attempts Lord Malmesbury seemed to apprehend as an affair that would be disgraceful to his government; and, strange to say, this very conspiracy, which Wickham and Drake were labouring to make successful, proved "the most unlucky event (to British interests) that could have happened".

The late Mr. Sheil, in 1826, in reference to the three expeditions undertaken in France, with a view to the invasion of this country, puts that subject, if not in a clearer light, in a more vivid manner, at least, before us, than has been done by any other writer. He said:

"I hold a book in my hand which has recently arrived here from America, and in which there is a remarkable passage, illustrative of the necessity of opposition to secret societies, and to all ill-organized associations among the peasantry, of which spoliation is the object, and of which their own destruction must be the result. The book to which I refer, is the life of the unfortunate and deluded Theobald Wolfe Tone. Of his character, upon this occasion it is not necessary to say anything, except that he was loved and prized by all who knew him. He was chivalrous, aspiring, and enthusiastic, and possessed not only of great talents, but, what is in politics of still more importance, of dauntless determination. In the diary which he kept in Paris, when engaged in a guilty enterprise for the invasion of Ireland, he states that the late General Clarke, who was afterwards Duke of Feltre, conceived that a system which, during the French revolution, was called *chouannerie*, and which corresponds with the Captain-Rockism of this country, would be of use in Ireland, and that, through its means, the government might be embarrassed, and the people might be prepared for a general junction with an invading force. Tone objected utterly to this proposition. He said, in the first place, that it would lead to unavailing atrocities, in the promotion of which no good man could assist; and that, in the second place, it would produce a barbarous and irregular warfare, which it would be extremely easy to suppress, and which would give the government the opportunity of passing coercive laws, of introducing a military police, and crushing the spirit of the people. That Wolfe Tone was right, events have fully proved. The supporters of ascendency ought to look pale in turning over the memoirs of Tone. I would fain commend them to the nocturnal vigils of the cabinet; and if there be any man who, in reading what I say, shall be disposed to smile, I would bid him to recollect that a fleet, composed of seventeen sail of the line, with 15,000 Frenchmen on board, an immense

Mrs TONE AND HER SONS THEOBALD WOLFE AND MATTHEW.

From original Drawings taken in 1778. in the possession of Mr Moore.

Dublin James Duffy 7 Wellington Quay

park of artillery, and 50,000 stand of arms, to support an insurgent population, ought to awaken reflections, of which scorn should not constitute a part. I allude to the expedition from Brest in the year 1796, which Tone projected, and which was commanded by Hoche. It is necessary to be in possession of the exact circumstances in which Tone was placed, in order to judge how much was accomplished by a single man in the midst of difficulties, which it is almost wonderful that he should have surmounted. In the year 1795, Tone retired to America with his wife (an incomparable woman) and two children. He had £800 in the world. At first he formed an intention of remaining in the United States; but Tone was one of those restless spirits who feel that they are born for great undertakings, if not for great achievements, and who, though they may not be able to wed themselves to Fortune, woo her at all hazards. He set sail for France with no more than one hundred guineas in his pocket. He arrived at Havre on the 1st of February, 1796, and proceeded at once to Paris. When he was placed in the midst of that city, and stood upon the Pont-Neuf, he looked upon the vast array of palaces turned into the domiciles of democracy; he saw the metropolis of France in all its vastness, and he felt what Seneca has so well expressed—'urbs magna, magna solitudo'; still, although without a friend or an acquaintance, poor, desolate as it were, and shipwrecked upon France, his great and vast design did not leave him. He was sufficiently daring to present himself to the minister of war, Charles Lecroix. What were his chief credentials? Two votes of thanks from the Catholic Committee. He scarcely knew a word of the French language, yet he succeeded in communicating his views to Lecroix. The latter referred him to General Clarke, the son of an Irishman, and who had been in Ireland himself. It is not improper to observe in this place the extraordinary ignorance of General Clarke respecting his father's country. Clarke asked Tone two of the most extraordinary questions that ever were proposed: first, whether Lord Clare would join in an insurrection? and secondly, whether the Irish, who, he heard, were addicted to regal government, would be disposed to put the Duke of York on the throne? The French have become better acquainted with the state of Ireland, and therefore how much more imperatively necessary is it to conciliate the Irish people. It was with the utmost difficulty that Tone could break through the crust of prejudices with which Clarke's mind was covered. He took at last a wise determination, and went directly to Carnot, the president of the directory of France. Carnot was justly called the 'Organizer of Victory', and he was induced to extend his genius for organiza-

tion to Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone succeeded so far as to induce the French government to determine upon an invasion of this country. At first the project was lamely and imperfectly got up, but to prevail to any extent was to do much. It is really matter for surprise that such a man as Tone, without rank, fortune, or a single friend, could accomplish so much. Yet it remains to be seen that Tone did much more than has hitherto appeared. The French at first proposed to send only 2,000 men: Tone saw at once that such a measure would be utterly absurd. By much ado, he persuaded them to increase the army to 8,000, with 50,000 stand of arms. At length Hoche, a general of great fame, was induced to put himself at the head of the expedition; and as he felt that great objects must be attained by great means, he required 15,000 men, an artillery force, a large supply of cannon, and arms for the insurgent population: such was the force that sailed from Brest. There were seventeen ships of the line in attendance upon the army. It was Wolfe Tone who accomplished all this; but that navigation, fortunately for Ireland, was not happy for Tone. A storm separated the fleet. The ships had to pass through a strait called the 'Raz', which caused them to part. Hoche was driven back, with seven ships of the line; but ten sail of the line, with 6,000 troops and an abundance of arms, commanded by Grouchy, reached the Irish coast. Tone says that he was so near the land that he could have thrown a biscuit on shore; a landing might have been most easily effected. But the instructions of the directory were that they should proceed to Bantry Bay: there they did proceed, and for five days—mark it! five days—ten French sail of the line lay in one of our harbours, having a body of troops on board who, with the aid of the people (and they had muskets for them) might have marched to Dublin. It may be here remarked that Grouchy was the commander. Tone says, 'All now rests upon Grouchy; I hope he may turn out well'. Grouchy did not turn out well. Twice had this man the destinies of nations in his hands, and twice he abused his trust. The expedition failed. Pious men attributed the failure to Providence, and navigators to the wind. I put this plain question: if steam vessels were then in use, would not the event have been different? I answer—had steam vessels been at that time in use, the expedition would not have failed; or, in other words, 15,000 Frenchmen would have landed, with arms sufficient for the array of an immense population. The failure of the enterprise did not break the spirit of Wolfe Tone. In the year 1797 another expedition was prepared in the Texel, which consisted of fifteen sail of the line, eleven frigates, and several sloops.

There were 14,000 men on board. A second time the winds, 'the only unsubsidized allies of England', conspired in her favour: the foul weather prevented them from sailing. A third expedition was undertaken, and had it been executed with the sagacity with which it was planned, the result might have been different. But Humbert, who had no reputation as a general, and did not deserve any, precipitated events, and by his absurdity frustrated the whole project. Yet the 1,200 men commanded by Humbert arrived at Castlebar, and struck terror through Ireland. Lord Cornwallis advanced with the whole British army to meet him. Tone fell into the hands of his enemies, and anticipated the executioner. Men risk their lives for a shilling a day—mount the breach for a commission—perish for a word; it is not to be wondered, then, that such a man as Tone should, for the accomplishment of such great ends as he proposed to himself, 'have set his life upon a cast'; and as it is to be feared that, so long as human nature continues as it is, individuals will be always readily found with a passion for political adventure, and who will 'stand the hazard of the die', it would be wise on the part of the government to snatch the dice from the hands of such men, and, if I may so say, to leave them no table for their desperate game. I have not introduced the name of Wolfe Tone for the purpose of panegyric; nay, I will go further, and hope to content his old friend and companion, the present attorney-general, when I say that I regard his projects with strong and unaffected condemnation. In any convulsion which may take place in Ireland, it is likely that the individuals who are most active in Catholic affairs would be amongst the first victims. The humblest man amongst us is substantially interested in arresting those disasters, of which we have had already some sort of experience: he who lives on the ground-floor ought not to wish the roof to fall in. But, while my ardent wishes are offered up for the peace and tranquillity of my country, I own that my apprehensions are differently directed. If I refer to the past, it is because I consider it an image of the future. In incidents gone by, it is easy to discover the archetypes of events that may yet come. Let me, then, put this question—if a single man, without fame, rank, influence, or authority, unknown and unrecognized, was, by dint of his unaided talents and his spirit of enterprise, able, in the space of two years, to effect three expeditions against Ireland, what might not be dreaded in other circumstances? When Tone embarked in his enterprise, there were but three millions of Catholics—now there are at least six; secondly, the French are at present infinitely better acquainted with the state of Ireland; thirdly, the Irish clergy were,

in 1796, opposed to the deists of the republic: Wolfe Tone says they cannot 'be relied on'. Dr. Troy was persuaded to fulminate anathemas against the United Irishmen, and fling the innocuous lightning of excommunication against the abettors of the French. Now, I hold excommunication to be of exceeding good and proper efficacy in all matters of private and personal immorality; but in politics, excommunication is of no avail".

Such are the dangers with which the empire was menaced by these expeditions. Who can reflect on the magnitude of such dangers, without wondering at the folly of governing a people for the benefit of a faction, whose ascendency could not be maintained without involving the government which could tolerate its oppression, and affect to be imposed on by the vain assumption of its exclusive loyalty, in the hostility which its intolerance and arrogance called forth?

CHAPTER XI.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

The military organization was engrafted on the civil, and originated in Ulster about the latter end of 1796, and in Leinster at the beginning of 1797. On the 19th of February, 1798, the provincial committee of the latter passed a resolution, "that they would not be diverted from their purpose by anything which could be done in parliament", and this resolution was communicated to the directory. By the new organization, the civil officers received military titles: the secretary of each society of twelve was called a petty officer, each delegate of five societies a captain, having sixty men under his command, and the delegate of ten lower baronial societies was usually the colonel: each battalion being composed of six hundred men. The colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the directory, one of whom was appointed by it adjutant-general of the county, who communicated directly with the executive. The total number of members of the union who had taken the test amounted to 500,000; the total number capable of bearing arms, and counted on by the directory as an available force, was from 280,000 to 300,000.

A military committee was appointed by the Dublin executive in February, 1798; its duty was to prepare a plan of coöperation

with the French when they should land, or of insurrection, in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which the directory was determined, if possible, to avoid. In the memoir delivered to the Irish government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Neven, it is stated that none of them "were members of the united system until September or October of the year 1796". Emmet became a member of the directory in the month of January, 1797, and continued to act in it till the month of May; he was again appointed to it in the month of December, and continued to belong to it till the 12th of March, 1798, when the arrests took place. Dr. M'Neven became a member of the new organization in September or October, 1796; having previously been secretary to the executive directory, he became a member of it about November, 1797, and continued to be one until March, 1798. Arthur O'Connor became a United Irishman, and a member of the directory, in November, 1796, and continued to belong to it until January, 1798, when he left Ireland, and his place in the directory was then filled up. Oliver Bond became a member of the northern executive, and, in 1797, was elected a member of the directory-general, but declined to act officially, continuing, however, to be in its confidence, and to be consulted with on all affairs of moment. Richard M'Cormick, a stuff manufacturer of Mark's Alley, formerly secretary of the Catholic Committee, was the other member of the directory, though not ostensibly or by specific appointment belonging to it. At one period Lord Cloncurry was a member of the directory, but states that he took no active part in its proceedings.

Though a national committee was a part of the plan of the original organization, the election of national delegates did not take place till the beginning of December, 1797, and then only partially.

There was no detailed plan of organization formed by the Dublin directory previously to March, 1798. There was one drawn up in April or May, 1797, for the north, but the plan was given up, and the writing destroyed.

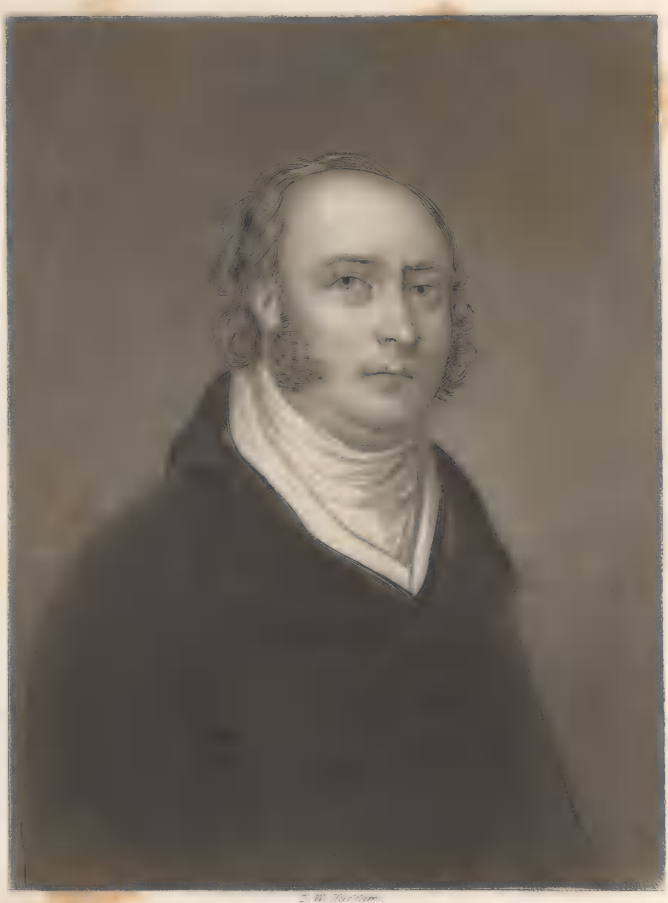
With respect to the entire force armed throughout the country, as estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when a rising was eventually determined on in the month of May, 1798, the particulars are specified in a document presented by Lord Edward to that man whose name and notoriety are never likely to be forgotten, in his own country at least—to Mr. Thomas Reynolds the informer. The document referred to is dated 26th February, 1798.

	Armed men.	Finances in hand.
Ulster . .	110,990	£436 2 4
Munster . .	100,634	147 17 2
Kildare . .	10,863	110 17 7
Wicklow .	12,895	93 6 4
Dublin . .	3,010	37 2 6
Dublin City .	2,177	321 17 11
Queen's County	11,689	91 2 1
King's County	3,600	21 11 3
Carlow . .	9,414	49 2 10
Kilkenny .	624	10 2 3
Meath . .	1,400	171 2 1
Total .	279,896	£1,485 4 9

By this document it would appear that the total number of armed men throughout the country was estimated by Lord Edward at 279,896.

But from another source, and one whose authenticity is unquestionable, the writer has reason to know that Lord Edward imagined that when once he had raised the standard of revolt, 100,000 effective men *only* might be immediately expected to rally round it.

Lord Edward's precise views on the subject of the rising of the people, have never been given to the public; they are now laid before it, in the following memorandum of a conversation with one who possessed his entire confidence, who communicated with him on the subject of the contemplated rising immediately before its intended outbreak, and who fruitlessly endeavoured to dissuade him from it. On the accuracy of the information given respecting this matter, the most implicit confidence may be reposed. The person in question, W. M., met Lord E. Fitzgerald by appointment at the Shakespeare Gallery, Exchequer Street, about one month before the arrests in March, to confer with the delegates from the different counties respecting the projected rising. After Lord Edward had received the different reports of the number of men ready for the field in the different counties, he called on the gentleman above referred to for his opinion. Lord Edward said, "he deeply regretted his friend should have withdrawn himself so long from any active interference in the business of the Union, and that one in whose judgment he so much confided should stand aloof at such a moment: if he unfortunately persisted in so doing, the friends of the Union might be led to imagine he had deserted them in the hour of need; that he, Lord Fitzgerald, had determined on an immediate and gene-



HENRY JACKSON.

From an original Drawing by Herbert.

Dublin, James Duffy, 7 Wellington Quay.

ral rising of the people, their impatience for which was no longer to be restrained, nor, with advantage to the cause, to be resisted". He then appealed to the delegates for the truth of this assertion, and his opinion was confirmed by them. His friend, it is well to state, had withdrawn himself from the Union about the beginning of the year, when the system was changed from a civil to a military organization. He could only regard this change as one likely to direct the attention of their opponents to their proceedings. In fact, the people had not been sworn in exclusively at this time, except in the North, and no great danger was apprehended by the government from them. But when the system was changed, and secretaries, and chairmen, and delegates, were called captains, and colonels, and adjutant-generals, a military aspect was given to the business of the Union, the government became necessarily alarmed, and recourse was had to spies and informers. The danger of this course was obvious to W. M., and to all those who felt that any premature display of military preparation must prove fatal to their cause. In any similar combination, W. M., and T. A. Emmet thought the people should be left alone, and that the system only needed to be previously well organized among the leaders, and, in due time, the people would rise if they felt themselves oppressed. W. M. particularly deprecated the want of caution in the leaders, in confiding in strangers, and speaking and writing rashly and intemperately on the subject of the Union. On the Sunday previous to the arrests, W. M. had declined an introduction to Reynolds, at Jackson's in Church Street, notwithstanding M'Cann's recommendation of him as "one of the best and honestest men in the Union". He had avoided Reynolds, because he did not like his character. He informed Lord Edward, though he had taken no part for some time in the affairs of the Union, he did not cease to give his opinion when consulted, and especially by Lord Edward, though he was well aware, when once his lordship had made up his mind on a point, he was little influenced by the counsel of any man. When Lord Edward had spoken of his deserting the cause, the latter felt hurt at his observation, and replied in strong terms that he had not deserted the cause of the people, nor betrayed their cause; but those people had done so, who had precipitated measures prematurely taken, which did not afford the least promise of success. "My lord", said he, "I am not a person to desert a cause in which I have embarked. I knew the dangers of it when I joined it: were those dangers only for myself, or the friends about me, I am not the man to be deterred by the consideration of what may happen to myself or them—we might fall, but the cause might not fail; and, so long as the country was served, it would matter little; but when I know the step that you are

taking will involve that cause in the greatest difficulties, my fears are great—I tremble for the result. My lord, all the services that you or your noble house have ever rendered to the country, or ever can render to it, will never make amends to the people for the misery and wretchedness the failure of your present plans will cause them". "I tell you", replied Lord Edward impetuously, "the chances of success are greatly in favour of our attempt: examine these papers—here are returns which show that one hundred thousand armed men may be counted on to take the field". "My lord", replied Mr. M., "it is one thing to have a hundred thousand men on paper, and another in the field. A hundred thousand men on paper will not furnish fifty thousand in array. I, for one, am enrolled amongst the number; but I candidly tell you, you will not find me in your ranks. You know for what objects we joined this union, and what means we reckoned on for carrying them into effect. Fifteen thousand Frenchmen were considered essential to our undertaking. If they were so at that time, still more so are they now, when our warlike aspect has caused the government to pour troops into the country". What!" said Lord Edward, "would you attempt nothing without these fifteen thousand men—would you not be satisfied with ten thousand?" "I would, my lord", replied his friend, "if the aid of the fifteen could not be procured".

"But", continued Lord Edward, "if even the ten could not be got, what would you do then?"

"I would then accept of five, my lord", was the reply.

"But", said Lord Edward, fixing his eyes with great earnestness on him, "we cannot get five thousand, and with respect to the larger force we originally wished for, had we succeeded with so large a body of French troops, we might have found it difficult enough to get rid of our allies". To this it was replied, "My lord, if we found it possible to get rid of our enemies, ten times as numerous as our allies, we could have little difficulty in getting rid of the latter when necessity required it".

"But, I tell you we cannot", said Lord Edward, "get even the five thousand you speak of, and when you know that we cannot, will you desert our cause?" The eyes of the delegates were turned on the person thus addressed. He felt that Lord Edward had put the matter in such a light before those present, that he would have been branded as a traitor if he abandoned the cause while there was a ray of hope for its success.

"My lord", said he, "if five thousand men could not be obtained, I would seek the assistance of a sufficient number of French officers to head our people, and with three hundred of

these, perhaps we might be justified in making an effort for independence, but not without them. What military men have we of our own to lead our unfortunate people into action against a disciplined army?"

Lord Edward ridiculed the idea of there being anything like discipline at that time in the English army. "Besides, the numbers", he said, "of the United Irishmen would more than counterbalance any superiority in the discipline of their enemies".

"My lord", said his friend, "we must not be deceived; they are disciplined, and our people are not: if the latter are repulsed and broken, who is to reform their lines? Once thrown into disorder, the greater their numbers the greater will be the havoc made amongst them".

Lord Edward said, "without risking a general engagement, he would be able to get possession of Dublin".

"Suppose you did, my lord", was the reply, "the possession of the capital would not insure success; and even when you had taken the city, if the citizens asked to see the army of their brave deliverers, which might be encamped in the Phœnix Park, the citizens would naturally expect to see some military evolutions performed, some sort of military array, exhibited on such an occasion. Who would there be, my lord, to put the people through these evolutions? What officers have you to teach them one military manœuvre; and if they were suddenly attacked by an army in the rere, what leader accustomed to the field have you to bring them with any advantage to the attack? You, my lord, are the only military man amongst us, but you cannot be everywhere you are required; and the misfortune is, you delegate your authority to those whom you think are like yourself: but they are not like you: we have no such persons amongst us".

The delegates here assented to the justice of these remarks, declaring that the proposal for the aid of the French officers was a reasonable one, and they were proceeding to remonstrate, when Lord Edward impatiently reminded them that they had no assistance to expect from France, and that, consequently, the determination had been come to to prepare the country for an immediate rising.

Lord Edward and his friend, nevertheless, parted with the same feelings of cordiality and confidence in each other that had always subsisted between them.

That remarkable person, one of the profoundest thinkers of his time, who knew the young lord better than any of his associates, the late W. M., says: "*Lord Edward was the noblest-minded of human beings.* He had no deceit, no selfishness, no meanness, no duplicity in his nature; he was all frankness, openness, and gene-

rosity; but he was not the man to conduct a revolution to a successful issue. That man was Thomas Addis Emmet". Perhaps if he had said the men to effect that object were Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet, provided they could have acted through such a struggle, and to its end, in concert and with singleness of purpose, his opinion might be better founded.

For nearly four years the leaders of the United Irishmen went on conspiring, secretly, as they thought, directing all their machinery to bear on one point, *organization*. This mania for organizing seems to have taken possession of the minds of the leaders, of all intellectual grades, with few exceptions. This organization was a work of supererogation; there was no need of it; it was very essential and useful to the spies and informers, the agents of the system of terror; the scourgers and the hangmen got many a good stroke of work by it. This system of organizing was not calculated to escape notice or to baffle detection. It tended directly to excite suspicion; and while its machinery of pass-words and secret signs induced a false security and confidence in ability to keep treasonable plans concealed, it ultimately and almost invariably led to discovery. There was too much military theorizing in this organizing system, and political economy mingled with bluster and braggadocio; and there was too little knowledge of the country, and of human nature, and of common sense, in the means taken of giving a military character all at once to a people unhabituated to arms, but always ready to handle any weapon in their way in a cause which they had at heart. There was too much marching and countermarching to and fro, from baronial to baronial—too much marshalling of men on paper, vapouring in newspapers, barking where the parties could not bite, to lead to any other result than that of nurturing agents for the destruction of confiding parties in the bosom of their societies. Even the man of most mind in that conspiracy, Thomas Addis Emmet, was lamentably mistaken in his view of the matchless fidelity of the members of the Union. One man of infamous celebrity, at a later date, in the society of the United Irishmen, of most importance as an informer, was only then suspected by Emmet; but in the lapse of years the facts which have transpired in relation to the question of the continuance or discontinuance of pensions, and the nature of the services for which they had been granted, have brought the names of individuals connected with the society, whose fidelity to it was considered by its leaders as beyond all suspicion, into juxtaposition with those of Messrs. Reynolds and Armstrong; and in this catalogue of treachery, the names of persons are to be found who were at the same time the prominent partizans—nay, the professional advocates—of the party committed in this unfortunate struggle, and

the secret agents and paid servants of the government, employed as spies on their own accomplices and companions. The treason of these men to their comrades, no doubt, was serviceable to government—nay more, beneficial to the country itself; but the traitors were despicable, even then, in the sight of their employers, and cannot be otherwise now in the eyes of their successors. Every important proceeding of the United Irishmen was known to government. Lord Clare acknowledged, in a debate in the English House of Lords, in 1801, that "the United Irishmen who negociated with the Irish government in 1798, had disclosed nothing which the king's ministers were not acquainted with before". Then why did they suffer the conspiracy to go on? To promote rebellion, for the purpose of breaking down the strength of the country, in order to effect the unpopular measure of the Union. Carnot, the director, in August, 1797, told Dr. M'Neven, that the policy of Mr. Pitt was known to the Directory; "that a union was Mr. Pitt's object in his vexatious treatment of Ireland".*

In Emmet's examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords, he was asked by Lord Clare: "Did you not think the government very foolish to let you proceed so long as you did?" To which Emmet replied: "No, my lord; whatever I imputed to government, I did not accuse them of folly; I knew we were very attentively watched".†

But Emmet did not know that, however cautious they had been, the most secret proceedings of the directors had been disclosed to government, even prior to the application to France for assistance; and the knowledge of their negociation with foreign states, we are told by M'Neven, was in the full possession of government, and that "knowledge was obtained by some person in the pay of England and the confidence of France".

The memoir which the Irish directory had addressed to the French government, demanding military assistance, in 1797, with which Dr. M'Neven was charged, the same gentleman was astonished to find an authentic copy of, in the hands of Mr. Cooke, the Irish secretary in 1798.

The betrayers of their society were not the poor or inferior members of it; some of them were high in the confidence of the directory; others not sworn in, but trusted with its concerns, learned in the law, social in their habits, liberal in their politics, prodigal in their expenses, needy in their circumstances, and therefore covetous of money; loose in their public and private principles, therefore open to temptation.

* *Vide* "Memoir of the Examination of the State Prisoners", etc. † Ibid.

The want of good faith, however, was not alone on the side of the disaffected; in the closets of the most influential friends and agents of government, there existed channels of communication with the leaders of the United Irishmen, by means of which the most important measures of the administration were made known to the directory, and to others in the confidence of its members, which frequently baffled the designs of government, and disconcerted the plans of the law officers of the crown, in the course of the proceedings instituted against the members of this society.

Arthur O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords, stated that "minute information of every act of the Irish government was obtained by the executive directory".*

A person in the employment of government, necessarily entrusted with all important matters, was habitually visited by two members of the society, and when measures of moment to it were under consideration, the knowledge of them was obtained from this source.

On one occasion, when this official was waited on by these members of the society (persons of unquestionable veracity, from one of whom, Mr. W. M——, I have this statement), they were warned to be silent on certain subjects, that a dangerous man was in the adjoining room, and that person was Mr. Walter Cox. With which party he was then most heartily disposed to play fast and loose, it would be difficult to say, but Cox, at that period, was the editor of an infamous journal called *The Union Star*, which advocated the assassination of the persons supposed to be obnoxious to the United Irishmen; and that journal, which professed to be established for the especial advocacy of their cause, had been repeatedly repudiated by the society, and its principles denounced in *The Press*, the organ of the United Irishmen: yet Cox never ceased to possess the confidence of Arthur O'Connor and many others of the leaders.

The fact seems to have escaped the notice both of the government and of the United Irishmen, that, on whatever side there is a deviation from humane, moderate, and justifiable proceedings, there is no confidence to be reposed in the fidelity of the agency employed in promoting violent or unlawful measures. The administration of that day had not the slightest suspicion that many of the most important measures which it meditated, and some of its most secret designs, were known to the directory of the United Irishmen; but that such was the fact there is unquestionable evidence—the evidence of members of that directory—of two of them especially, on whose veracity even Lord Clare had a perfect reliance.

* *Vide* "Memoirs of the Examination", etc.

There were channels of communication, the existence of which would now hardly be believed, between the agents of government and the emissaries of the United Irishmen. On Dr. M'Neven's authority I am enabled to state, that amongst those who were privately known to be favourable to their views, was a member of the privy council and a general officer then serving in the army. The time has not yet come when more may be said on the subject; the general statement of the fact, however, ought to be made; and the lesson may be useful, whether it works upon the fears of tyranny or treason.

In the course of the inquiries connected with this work, it has come to the author's knowledge, that the expenses of the defence of the United Irishmen have been borne by officers of distinction at that period. In one case, I was informed by Bernard Duggan, a person deeply implicated in the rebellion, some of whose exploits are mentioned in Sir Richard Musgrave's history, that his life would have been forfeited, had it not been for the ample and timely pecuniary assistance sent him by an officer serving in that part of the country where he was then imprisoned, to whom he was utterly unknown. That assistance, which enabled him to procure legal assistance on his trial, was sent to him by a Colonel Lumm.

While Lord Edward Fitzgerald was concealed in the house of Murphy, we are informed by Mr. Moore, that he was in the habit of "receiving the visits of two or three persons, among whom were, if he was rightly informed, Major Plunkett and another military gentleman of the rank of colonel, named Lumm".*

Teeling, in his *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion*, speaking of the persons who, in the relative situations in which they stood with the government, must have made great sacrifices and incurred considerable risk in communicating with the leaders of the United Irishmen, says, "I was one evening in conversation with Lord Edward, when Colonel L—— entered his apartment, accompanied by two gentlemen with whose persons I was unacquainted, but who, I have reason to believe, were members of the Irish legislature. The colonel, after embracing Lord Edward with the warmest affection, laid on his table a large canvas purse filled with gold, and smiling at his lordship, while he tapped him on the shoulder, 'There', said he; 'there, my lord, is provision for ———'. A few hours more would have placed Lord Edward at the head of the troops of Kildare".† In the month of May, 1798, Colonel Lumm was arrested in England, and brought to Dublin in custody of a king's messenger.

* *Vide* "Lord E. Fitzgerald's Life and Death", by Moore, vol. ii., p. 50. American edition.

† *Vide* "Teeling's Personal Narrative", etc., p. 117.

CHAPTER XII.

THE USE OF TORTURE TO EXTORT CONFESSIONS OF GUILT OF TREASON, OR INFORMATION AGAINST SUSPECTED PERSONS, FOR THE PREMATURE EXPLOSION AND SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

Of all the barbarities that disgraced this calamitous conflict, whether on the part of ultra-loyalists, a licentious soldiery, or of infuriated rebels, the recurrence to the use of torture for the purpose of inspiring terror, of detecting crime, or of revenging wrongs, was the most atrocious. If this inhuman custom, now, happily, universally execrated and exploded in all civilized countries, had been only partially practised, and not systematically pursued; if the scene of its infliction had been in distant districts, in wild and lawless places, beyond the reach of the civil and judicial powers, and not in the immediate vicinity of the seat of government itself; if the actors were persons of no distinction, of no rank in society, instead of functionaries exercising authority—whose proceedings, though denied, were never repudiated by it—the proceedings might be considered as the excesses which are usually the unfortunate concomitants of civil warfare. It would now be, not only a painful task, but a culpable act, to rake up the recollection of such enormities, if the denunciation of them were not calculated to prevent the possibility of their repetition.

The extraordinary fact, that the employment of torture in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, called forth no general expression of public indignation in England, can only be accounted for by the political circumstances of the time, which made it necessary to keep the people of that country in ignorance of the means which had been adopted to effect a measure which they were taught to consider so advantageous to their interests as the Union.

It is better that the wicked policy of a reckless minister should be exposed, than that the humanity of a generous and enlightened people should be left obnoxious to the charge of inconsistency in the mode and manner of its exhibition. If the same pains had been taken to palliate or conceal the cruelties of exalted individuals in our distant colonies, like those perpetrated in Goree or Trinidad, which have been employed to hoodwink public opinion in England with regard to the cruelties inflicted on the people of Ireland, the loud voice of public reprobation would never have been raised in condemnation of the scourging to death of the unfortunate soldier, or the tortures inflicted on the poor Mulatto girl.

To ignorance alone of the use of torture in 1798, can be attri-

buted the impunity—so far as the silence on this subject, of public opinion in England may be so considered—with which these horrid outrages against humanity have been perpetrated in Ireland. For, otherwise, what idea could be formed of the spirit of philanthropy which carries its sympathies to the remotest regions of the globe—which extends its protection to the victims of cruelty and rapacity, of every creed and clime, no matter of what complexion accounted by their oppressors "incompatible with freedom"—no matter of what modes and customs derogatory to our ideas of refinement and civilization, and degrading to man's nature,—if it could yet withhold its sympathy from those who are nearest to its influence, and, therefore, especially entitled to it? The same mighty spirit that called forth the indignation of the people of England against the oppressors in the West Indies, that caused the echoes of the cries of Negro slaves to resound in the ears of the English people while one human being was left subject to the lash, would surely have roused the lion-heart of England to an ebullition of noble resentment, at the first intimation of the outrages on humanity that were committed on the Irish people in the Riding School of Beresford, the Prevost of Sandys, the Exchange, Custom-House, and other public buildings of the capital, and at the drum-head courts-martial in Wicklow, Wexford, and Kildare, if there were not mighty influences at work, that rendered communication between the victims of cruelty and the advocates of mercy, more difficult across the Irish Channel than it ever proved across the wide waters of the Atlantic. What is there in the fearful pictures that have been drawn of the implements of torture formerly in use in the West Indies—the cart-whip, and the collars, and the thumb-screws, of the slave-holders—more horrifying than the representation which every history of this rebellion of 1798 gives of the scourges and the triangles, the pitch-caps and gunpowder conflagrations, the picketings and half-hangings, and other modes and instruments of torture, indicative of an inventive spirit of barbarity that the ingenuity of Spanish cruelty itself has not surpassed?

These cruelties, indeed, were practised on people in rebellion—not unfrequently on persons only suspected of so being—or whose creed was regarded in too many cases as *prima facie* evidence of disaffection; but the use of torture was abhorrent to the spirit of the laws under which they lived; and even if the enormity of the crime with which they were charged gave a colourable pretext for the employment of rigorous means and summary modes of execution, in cases where capital punishments were thought to be required, cruelty in the infliction of them cannot be defended, and should not escape the reprobation of all Christian men.

The infliction of torture on the most abject or unruly colonial slaves, never found an advocacy in English philanthropy, however outrageous the conduct of Negro rebels might have been in any of those periodical rebellions which constituted epochs in the history of slavery, or marked their suppression with circumstances of signal cruelty. No provocation on the part of the rebellious slave was ever regarded as an apology for barbarous punishment inflicted on him; "the guilty evidence of a skin not coloured like our own", was never admitted as an excuse for the application of the torture of the cart-whip, to elicit a confession of his guilt, however guilty he might be. The criminality of the suspected rebel nearer home, though his conduct were equally infuriated, can hardly be judged by a less merciful rule of ethics; the guilty evidence of a creed, for which he might not be more accountable than the Negro for his complexion, could hardly justify the laceration of his person for the discovery of the crime imputed to him.

To denounce the application of torture in the case of one part of the human race, in one quarter of the globe, at one particular period, and under any peculiar circumstances of society, and not to recognize the savagery of the practice at all times, in all places, and cry out against its infliction on all pleas and pretences, would be a spurious philanthropy, which would justly deserve to be universally scouted and contemned.

The recent atrocities committed in Damascus on the unfortunate Jews of that city, no sooner were made known in England, than the outrages perpetrated on these victims of fanaticism and rapacity, called forth the general indignation of the press and people of this country, and the sufferings of these poor strangers promptly awakened the sympathies of Englishmen of all parties. The victims of oriental barbarity were indeed few in comparison with those of terrorism and cruelty in Ireland; the whole number of persons subjected to the torture of the "courbash" in Damascus, did not constitute one-thousandth part of the numbers tied up to the triangles and tortured with the scourge, or tormented with the pitch-caps, in the Irish prisons and prevosts in the year 1798. Can it be imagined that humanity admits of one measure of compassion for the sufferings of the Jews of Damascus, and another for those of the Christians of Ireland? It cannot be admitted without injustice to the character of British philanthropy, nor can the difference in the manifestation of public opinion in both cases be reconciled, without referring to the fact of the publicity that was given to the one, by the powerful influence of the wealth and station of the leaders of the Jewish people in Great Britain, and the studious concealment, in the other, of the

enormities committed on the part of an administration which had broken down the power and the credit of its opponents.

The fact of the employment of torture, as an ordinary mode of proceeding in the examination of suspected rebels in 1798, has never been denied, except by Lord Castlereagh in a qualified form. It has been openly avowed and defended by members of the Irish government, by the perpetrators of it, and by their advocates in parliament. In the debate in the English House of Commons, in March, 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, in reply to an observation with respect to the use of torture, made by Mr. Taylor, Lord Castlereagh had certainly the boldness to affirm, that "torture never was inflicted in Ireland, with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of government". Mr. John Claudius Beresford, who was the most competent of all men to speak on that subject, observed, that "it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practised"; and in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords, on another occasion, in the imperial parliament, Lord Clare avowed the practice, and defended it on the grounds of its necessity. But the intemperate zeal of Sir Richard Musgrave, the unscrupulous advocate of Lord Castlereagh's policy (for it was chiefly during his connection with government that these tortures were inflicted), carried him to the extent of not only attributing the suppression of the rebellion to the use of torture, but even of defending it on the authority of no less a person than the humane and enlightened Marquis of Beccaria, whose words in reference to punishments, he cites in defence of this practice, and, true to his ruling passion, perverts the meaning of his authority to suit his purpose. The following are the words he quotes: "Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, punishments should be more severe, as strong impressions are required". Little did the benevolent Beccaria imagine that a line of his admirable book should ever be cited by such a man as Musgrave in support of his sanguinary sentiments!

It did not suit the purpose of this writer to cite Beccaria's express condemnation of the use of torture, as an absurd as well as a barbarous mode of eliciting truth or of detecting crime. "To discover the truth", says Beccaria, "by this method, is a problem which may be better solved by a mathematician than by a judge; and it may be thus stated: The force of the muscles and the sensibility of the nerves of an innocent person being given, it is required to find the degree of pain necessary to make him confess himself guilty of a crime".

But Beccaria's condemnation of torture was not wanted in these countries, to prohibit its infliction, in any circumstances and under any form. Blackstone might have informed Lord Clare,

when he acknowledged its employment, or Musgrave, when he defended its infliction, that "the trial by rack is utterly unknown to the law of England": or these men might have learned from another legal authority, Lord Ellenborough, in the debate of 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, "that it cannot but be known to every one, that neither martial law, nor any other law, human or divine, can justify or authorize its infliction".

The reasoning of Sir Richard Musgrave on the advantages of torture and the beneficial effects of its infliction, will appear to the people of England more indicative of the wisdom of our ancestors in the eleventh or twelfth century, than of the humanization of their posterity in the eighteenth or nineteenth age. In a chapter of his *History of the Rebellion*, entitled "Observations on Whipping and Free Quarters", we find the following statement: "To disarm the disaffected was impossible, because their arms were concealed; and to discover all the traitors was equally so, because they were bound by oaths of secrecy, and the strongest sanction of their religion, not to impeach their fellow-traitors.

"But suppose the fullest information could be obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government and the destruction of society, and whipping was resorted to".* The men of "discernment and fortitude" included Sir Richard Musgrave himself, Mr. John Claudius Beresford, Sir John Judkin Fitzgerald, the High Sheriff of Tipperary, Hunter Gowan, Hawtrey White, Archibald Jacob Hamilton, and James Boyd, magistrates of the county Wexford, Lord Kingston, Messrs. Hepenstal, Love, and Sandys, several military gentlemen, and a host of subordinate functionaries, many of whom were liberally rewarded, pensioned, and promoted, for the very services which Lord Castlereagh denied all knowledge of in the British House of Commons.

The sentiments of Sir Richard Musgrave are, unfortunately, still those of a great portion of his party in Ireland, with whom the doctrine, "salus *factionis* suprema lex", prevails over every other obligation.

"That man", says Musgrave, "who would balance between the slight infractions of the constitution in inflicting a few stripes on the body of a perjured traitor,† and the loss of many lives

* Musgrave's "History of the Irish Rebellion", appendix, p. 178.

† During the period of the Whiteboy outrages, when Sir Richard Musgrave was high sheriff of the county Waterford, finding some difficulty in procuring an executioner to inflict the punishment of whipping on a Whiteboy, he performed the office himself, and with all the zeal of an amateur.

and much property, must renounce all pretensions to wisdom and patriotism.

"As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected that the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures —as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation".*

At Castle Otway, in the county of Tipperary, the champion of torture instances the necessity and efficacy of this measure: "Cook Otway, Esq. (says Sir Richard), a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the most active person in the county of Tipperary, next to Colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards persecuted. He raised a yeomanry corps, but was afterwards obliged to disband the Popish members, as they had taken the United Irishmen's oath. The preservation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, must in a great measure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the most important secrets, and confessed where great quantities of arms were concealed". What other evidence can be required to prove the general practice of torture at this period, and the extent of the evil which imposed the embarrassing necessity on Lord Castlereagh of making a solemn denial of all knowledge of its existence? The fact of its existence, indeed, could not be denied, for his own colleagues admitted it. The existence of it, then, even without his knowledge, left the character of the government open to the charge of extraordinary remissness, for it certainly was the duty of the leading member of that government to have made himself acquainted with the measures which were taken for the suppression of that rebellion, and it was his duty to have protected the people against the violation of the laws on the part of the subordinate agents of government. The rebellion did not break out till May, 1798, and, to use the memorable words of Lord Castlereagh, even then "measures were taken by government to cause its premature explosion": words which include the craft, cruelty, and cold-blooded, deliberate wickedness of the politics of a Machiavelli, the principles of a Thug, and the perverted tastes and feelings of a eunuch, in the exercise of power and authority, displayed in acts of sly malignity, and stealthy, vindictive turpitude, perpetrated on pretence of serving purposes of state.

So early as 1797, Grattan described such acts as having been practised by Lord Camden's government in Ireland:—

* Sir Richard Musgrave's "History and Appendix", p. 178.

"The Convention Bill, the Gunpowder Bill, the Indemnity Bill, the second Indemnity Bill, the Insurrection Bill, the suspension of the habeas corpus, General Lake's proclamation by order of government, the approbation afforded to that proclamation, the subsequent proclamation of government, more military and decisive; the order to the military to act without waiting for the civil power; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law; the detaining them in prison without bringing them to trial; the transporting them without law; burning their houses; burning their villages; murdering them; crimes, many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed by the suppression of a free press by military force; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition his majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them, subverting the subjects' right to petition; and finally, the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and Christian countries. Such has been the working of the borough system; nor could such measures have taken place but for that system."* The perfect despotism that then existed in Ireland, Grattan said had produced universal disgust, discontent, and indignation. A member of the government had threatened the opposition for denouncing that system of coercion. He said: "In former times half a million had been expended to break down an opposition: half a million more might have been expended in breaking down another". The parliament was to be corrupted, the people to be coerced. The governmental agent of coercion was sent forth to put down discontent. "He destroyed libery; he consumed the press; he burned houses—and he failed. Recal your murderer, we said, and in his place despatch our messenger—try conciliation. You have declared you wish the people should rebel; to which we answer, God forbid! Rather let them weary the royal ear with petitions, and let the dove be again sent to the king; it may bring back the olive; and as to you, thou mad minister! who pour in regiment after regiment to dragoon the Irish, because you have forfeited their affections, we beseech, we supplicate, we admonish, reconcile the people. Combat revolution by reform: let blood be your last experiment".

The author of a recent publication, under the signature of "A Country Gentleman"—a person, I presume, not unknown to Mr. W. Fletcher, a son of the venerable and just judge of that name —makes the following observation on the subject before us:—

"Thousands were tortured with the connivance of government, and multitudes condemned to death, in defiance of every principle

* Grattan's "Address to His Fellow-Citizens". 1797.

of law and justice". . . . "It has often been asserted, and the writer believes with perfect truth, that the Irish rebellion was fomented and encouraged by government for the purpose of carrying the Union into effect". . . . "Many were suspected of being rebels, who were perfectly innocent; multitudes were falsely accused, and not a few judicially murdered".*

A few brief extracts from Lord Moira's speech in the English House of Lords, on the 22nd of November, 1797, will corroborate the preceding statements. His lordship, on that occasion, brought the subject of the torture, then in full practice in Ireland, before the notice of their lordships. He said: "When I troubled your lordships with my observations upon the state of Ireland, last year, I spoke upon documents certain and incontrovertible; I address you this day, my lords, upon documents equally sure and staple. Before God and my country, I speak of what I have seen myself. But in what I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I feel that I must take grounds of a restrictive nature. . . . What I have to speak of are not solitary and insulated measures, nor partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of government; I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined upon and regularly persevered in.

"When we hear of a military government, we must expect excesses which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to government, but these I lay out of my consideration: I will speak only of the excesses that belong to and proceed from the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. . . . My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practised and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such as I have stated to your lordships. I have said, that if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred, to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression, was in hostility to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states

* "Lights and Shadows of Whigs and Tories", 1841, p. 100.

these things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many circumstances I know of my own knowledge, others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them.

His lordship then observed, that from education and early habits, the *Curfew* was ever considered by Britons as a badge of slavery and oppression. It was then practised in Ireland with a brutal rigour. He had known an instance where a master of a house had in vain begged to be allowed the use of a candle, to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the Inquisition in detestation: one of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was, that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, kept in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice of the Inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security, were taken away. In alluding to the Inquisition, he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features: if the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picketing was in practice, which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picketed until he actually fainted; picketed a second time until he fainted again; as soon as he came to himself, picketed a third time, until he once more fainted: and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture: many had been taken and hung up until they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty, which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander

in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms; it never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising that any reluctance had been shown to comply with it by men who conceived the constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order, the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property was burnt: but this was not all; if it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms, and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts, which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the Privy Council, or at their lordships' bar.

The government at this period, it is needless to say, issued no proclamations, and published no precise instructions to their functionaries to inflict these tortures. It would not have done at the close of the eighteenth century to have addressed Lord Camden in the barbarous terms addressed, in the sixteenth, to the Deputy Carew. Queen Elizabeth, in 1598, in her instructions to Carew, the Deputy of Munster, on his going over to carry "her gracious pleasure" into effect, authorizes him and her officers, "to put suspected Irish to the rack, and to torture them when they should find it convenient".* The *laissez faire* mode of accomplishing the same object answered every purpose at a smaller expense of official character. Outrages on a larger scale than any I have referred to were practised in Ireland in 1798, by its armed Orange bands, with entire impunity.

The sufferings of the Irish people were brought before the English House of Lords on Wednesday, June 27, 1798. The Earl of Bessborough moved the following address, which was seconded by the Earl of Suffolk:—

"That an humble address be presented to the King, to state to his Majesty the advice and request of this house, that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the calamitous state of his kingdom of Ireland, and that, when, under the blessings of divine Providence, the rebellion now ex-

* "Pacata Hibernia".

isting in that kingdom shall have been suppressed, such a spirit of conciliation may be adopted as may tend most effectually and most speedily to restore to that afflicted country the blessings of peace and good government; and also to implore his Majesty, in the administration of affairs of Ireland, to employ such persons as may possess the confidence of the people, and insure to them the permanence of a just and lenient system of government".

It was supported by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, etc., and opposed by Lord Auckland, Lord Grenville, the Bishop of Rochester, etc.

The house then divided: for the address, contents 18; non-contents, 34: majority 16, independent of proxies.

The Duke of Bedford then moved the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That this house, understanding it to be a matter of public notoriety that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and particularly, that scourges and other tortures have been employed for the purpose of extorting confessions, a practice justly held in abhorrence in every part of the (civilized) world; and that houses and buildings have been set fire to—a mode of punishment that can tend only to the most pernicious consequences, and that seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but, on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the husband or father, ought always to be spared and protected, is of opinion that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name; and that our best hopes of restoring permanent tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system as far as depends on the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice those atrocities have been perpetrated, and with regard to whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and horror".

On a division, it was negatived: contents, 17; non-contents, 44: majority, 27.

The late Lord Holland, in his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, edited by his son, thus speaks of the reign of terror of Irish Orangeism, and "*the clemency*" of Lord Camden's rule in Ireland:—

"The premature and ill-concerted insurrections which followed in the Catholic districts, were quelled, rather in consequence of want of concert and skill in the insurgents, than of any good conduct or discipline of the king's troops, whom Sir Ralph Abercrombie described very honestly, *as formidable to no one but their friends.* That experienced and upright commander had been removed from his command, even after those just and

spirited general orders, in which the remarkable judgment just quoted was conveyed. His recal was hailed as a triumph by the Orange faction, and they contrived, about the same time, to get rid of Mr. Secretary Pelham, who, though somewhat time-serving, was a good-natured and a prudent man. Indeed, surrounded as they were with burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions, they were yet full of their sneers at what they whimsically termed 'the clemency' of the government, and the weak character of their Viceroy, Lord Camden.... *The fact is incontrovertible, that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which, possibly, they meditated before, by the free quarters and expenses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country.* Trials, if they must so be called, were carried on without number under martial law. It often happened that three officers composed the court, and that of the three, two were under age, and the third an officer of the yeomanry or militia, who had sworn, in his Orange lodge, eternal hatred to the people over whom he was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians. Other more legal, but not more horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of government. Even in the streets of Dublin a man was *shot* and robbed of £30, on the loose recollection of a soldier's having seen him in the battle of Kilcalley, and no proceeding was instituted to ascertain the murder or prosecute the murderer. Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin, and who was himself shot at by a sentinel between Black Rock and that city, wrote to me many details of similar outrages, which he had ascertained to be true. Dr. Dickson (Lord Bishop of Down) assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from mass, assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, *and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other* PROTESTANT *gentlemen, could rescue them.* The subsequent Indemnity Acts deprived of redress the victims of this wide-spread cruelty". So much for *Lord Holland's glance at the Reign of Terror in Ireland.*

On the trial of Mr. Finnerty, in 1810, for a libel on Lord Castlereagh, that gentleman submitted a number of affidavits to the court in proof of the ordinary and systematic employment of torture during the period that Lord Castlereagh filled the office of chief secretary in Ireland. In the address of Mr. Finnerty, in

his defence on that occasion, in reference to an observation of Lord Holt—" that a man's omission of his duty should be taken as a presumption of his guilt", he said, " If it be pretended that Lord Castlereagh did not order torture, that pretence will not avail when you recollect the affidavits that I have read—when you see that such cruelty has been committed in the Royal Exchange, which immediately adjoins the Castle, and from which the cries of the sufferers might have been heard in Lord Castlereagh's office, where his personal interposition, where the mere expression of his will, might have prevented the continuance of the torture.

" Doubts have been sometimes expressed here", said Mr. Finnerty, " as to the actual infliction of torture in Ireland; indeed I understand that many persons of high rank in this country have been persuaded to doubt on the subject; and I am not surprised at it, for I have myself heard Lord Castlereagh in this country publicly declare that it was not practised with the knowledge, approbation, or authority of government. The government, indeed, not to know of it!—that government which had such a system of espionage established in the country as threw that of Fouché into the shade, which enabled them to ascertain what was passing in every hamlet and village in the land—to be ignorant of what was notoriously taking place in the most public parts of Dublin, under the direction of the immediate agents and confidential friends of government, in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, in such a situation that the screams of the sufferers might have been audible in the very offices where the ministers of government met to perform their functions. The pretence of ignorance, therefore, on the part of government, of such notorious transactions, is quite preposterous".

But it is not on the authority of persons who might be supposed to be inimical to the administration of that period, that the charge rests, of connivance at the use of torture and at the preferment of its perpetrators to places of honour and emolument.

No specific orders, undoubtedly, emanated from the government to Mr. Beresford to convert the Riding School into a scourging-hall — to Mr. Hepenstal to make a walking gallows of his person—to Mr. Love for the half hanging of suspected rebels at Kilkea Castle — to Mr. Hunter Gowan for burning down the cabins of the Croppies—to the high sheriff of Tipperary, for the laceration of the peasant's back, of which Sir John Moore was an eye-witness—to Captain Swaine for the picketings at Prosperous, or Sir Richard Musgrave, to write a treatise in defence of torture; and to all the other gentlemen of " discernment and fortitude" to adopt " the new expedient" for the discovery of crime.

The admitted policy of Lord Castlereagh was, to accelerate the explosion of the insurrection in order to confound the plans of its leaders. For this purpose it was necessary to drive the people mad with terror; and the subordinate agents of this policy were allowed to take their own ways of accomplishing the minister's designs.

These gentlemen were therefore honoured with the confidence of government, and rewarded with its gifts. J. C. Beresford was considered entitled to both; Fitzgerald was created a baronet in 1801; A. H. Gowan was placed on the pension list; Sir Richard Musgrave obtained the office of Receiver of the Customs, with a salary of £1,200 a-year, to mark the sense entertained of his humanity; and the subordinate officers who most notoriously evinced the exuberance of their zeal in the discovery of disaffection, who punished the disaffected with a "vigour beyond the law", were promoted in their several departments. With the exception of Sir Richard Musgrave, there is hardly an instance of a cotemporary writer on the subject of the rebellion, who has not ascribed to the administration of that time, a knowledge of the enormities that were committed on the Irish people. Sir Jonah Barrington, whose political tendencies were certainly not on the side of the insurgents, states, in his *Memoirs of the Irish Union*, that "Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish government to effect a premature explosion. Free quarters were now ordered on the Irish population". He adds in a note: "This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout some of the best parts of Ireland, previous to the insurrection.

"Slow tortures were inflicted, under the pretence of extorting confession; the people were driven to madness. General Abercrombie, who succeeded as commander-in-chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust. Ireland was reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties to which no nation had ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries. Mr. Pitt's object was now effected. These sanguinary proceedings will, in the opinion of posterity, be placed to the account of those who might have prevented them".*

On the same subject, the Rev. James Gordon, rector of Killegny, in the diocese of Ferns, a gentleman, to use his own words, "wholly British by descent", and "his natural bias on the side of Protestantism and loyalty",† states that "great numbers of houses were burned, with their furniture, where concealed arms were

* Barrington's "Memoirs of the Irish Union", vol. ii., p. 248.

† Gordon's "History of the Rebellion of 1798", pp. 65, 66, 76.

found, or meetings of the United Irishmen had been held, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some even in circumstances superior to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, or otherwise put to pain, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots.

"To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to me and many others that reason is not clear".

John Claudius Beresford, the sanguinary terrorist of 1797 and 1798, was born in 1766. He was the third son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, and grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone. He represented the city of Dublin in the Irish parliament. He was the commandant of the merchant's corps of yeomanry; and the scourge and the pitch-cap, in his hands, did much to make his memory very dear to the Orangemen of Ireland. He had gone through many vicissitudes in his long career: he had been a banker and a bankrupt, a terrorist in 1798, a flaming anti-Union patriot in 1800, secretary of the grand lodge of Orangemen, and for a lengthened period agent to the Hon. the Irish Society over their estates in Derry.

In 1806, he was elected for the county of Waterford, and again at the general election in the same year, and also in 1807. He served the office of lord mayor for the city of Dublin with great hospitality and very singular popularity. On one occasion, the populace of the Liberty made beasts of burden of themselves, yoked themselves to his carriage, and drew him through the streets in triumph.

In his latter days, it is said, he was charitable, tolerant, and, it is to be hoped, repentant of his grievous crimes against humanity in his early days. He married, in 1795, a Scotch lady of the name of Menzes, and spent his latter days in the vicinity of Coleraine.

In 1813, John Claudius Beresford, the quondam terrorist, highly influential member of parliament, head of a great faction and family of factious men, jobbers, and "undertakers", master of the Riding School in Marlborough Street, and of a bank in Beresford Place, was a bankrupt in fame, fortune, and physical power, a miserable wreck of humanity, a wretched spectacle of a broken man, grim and ghastly to behold—emaciated, gaunt, and feeble; shabby in his attire; a solitary man, stalking through the streets of his native city, like one of those uncomfortable shades of whom we read, on the shores of Leuce—a poor, unhappy ghost, restless and forlorn.

John C. Beresford died in Newtownlimavady, on the 2nd or 3rd of July, 1846, and was interred in the family vault, at a little church about seven miles from Dungiven, on the Derry line of road.

For illustrations of some of the preceding statements, let us glance our eyes over the following notices of passing occurrences in the daily prints during the reign of terror.

The Press, January 20, 1798.

"In addition to the catalogue of tortures and massacres committed on the men of Ireland by a set of wretches styling themselves friends to the constitution, the following fact, which happened in Carnew, a small town in an unproclaimed barony in the county of Wicklow, may be depended on as strictly true.

"About a fortnight ago, a person of the name of Patrick Doyle, charged with speaking some improper words when in a state of intoxication, was taken prisoner by some soldiers, and confined in the barrack of Carnew. Shortly after his being taken into custody, a Mr. B——— and a Mr. M'C——— came into the barrack-yard, and wanted Doyle to confess his guilt, and to give information against persons disaffected to government. Doyle declared his innocence in the most positive manner, and absolutely denied having any knowledge of disaffected persons. His answers not pleasing these gentlemen, they determined to torture him into others more agreeable, and for this purpose they had him suspended by a penny cord; the unfortunate man was in that situation for some time, but at length the cord broke, and he came to the ground. His sanguinary executioners, not satisfied with the tortures they had already inflicted on him, got another cord, and hung him up a second time, Mr. B——— at the same time declaring that if that cord were not strong enough to do the business, he would provide a shilling rope; however, he was saved the trouble and expense, for when the second cord broke the unfortunate victim fell to the ground apparently lifeless, with his tongue forced to great length withoutside his mouth, and whilst he lay in that situation, the son of Mr. B——— (a son worthy of such a father) repeatedly kicked him and otherwise abused him. By the humane exertions of some women the tongue of the unhappy man was got into its place, and he was restored to life; but it had been better for him to have died under the hands of his butchers, for he is ever since deprived of his reason".

HEPENSTAL.

From *The Press* newspaper, January 11, 1798.

"A lieutenant, well known by the name of the Walking Gallows, at the head of a party of the regiment, marched to a place called Gardenstown in your county; they went to the house of an old man (named Carroll) of seventy years and upwards, and asked for arms, and having promised protection and indemnity, the old man delivered up to this monster three guns, which he no sooner received, than he with his own hands shot the old man through the heart, and then had his sons (two young men) butchered, burned and destroyed their house, corn, hay, and, in short, every property they possessed. The wife and child of one of the sons were enclosed in the house when set fire to, and would have been burned had not one of the soldiers begged their lives from the officer, but on the condition that if the *bitch* (using his own words) made the least noise, they should share the same fate as the rest of the family. This bloody transaction happened about two o'clock on Monday morning, the 19th of June last. He then pressed a car, on which the three dead bodies were thrown, and from thence went to a village called Moyvore, took into custody three men, named Henry Smith, John Smith, and Michael Murray, under pretence of their being United Irishmen, and having tied them to the car on which the mangled bodies of the Carrolls were placed, they were marched about three miles, *possing* in the blood of their murdered neighbours, and at three o'clock on the same day were shot on the fair green of Ballymore; and so universal was the panic, that a man could not be procured to inter the six dead bodies: the sad office was obliged to be done by women. The lieutenant, on the morning of this deliberate and sanguinary murder, invited several gentlemen to stay and see what he called partridge shooting. It may not be improper to remark, that Lord Oxmantown remonstrated with the officers on the monstrous cruelty of putting these men to death, who might, if tried by the laws of their country, appear innocent. He begged and intreated to have them sent to jail, and prosecuted according to law (if any proof could be brought against them), but his humane efforts proved fruitless; the men were murdered!"

Amongst the admissions of the witnesses of those times, of the means they took to extort confessions of guilt, there is one of the same lieutenant (Hepenstal of the Wicklow Militia), which is distinguished for the coolness of its effrontery, and the atrocious-

ness of the crimes openly acknowledged. Hepenstal was a native of the county Wicklow, had been educated at the school of a pious Catholic priest in Clarendon Street, Dublin, of the name of Gallagher, his mother being of the Catholic religion; a sister of his was married to the notorious Dr. Duigenan. He was brought up to the business of an apothecary, but, in 1795, renounced the pestle for the sword—and halter. Being a man of Herculean stature, he made a gallows of his person, and literally hung numbers of persons over his shoulder.

At the trial of Hyland, in September, 1797, at the Athy assizes, under the Whiteboy Act, Hepenstal, being examined touching the mode of procuring evidence from the witness against the prisoner, said on examination, "he had used some threats, and pricked him with a bayonet"; and when cross-examined by Mr. M'Nally, said, "this prisoner had also been pricked with a bayonet, to induce him to confess: a rope had been put about his neck, which was thrown over his (Hepenstal's) shoulder; he then pulled the rope and drew the prisoner up, and he was hung in this way for a short time, but continued sulky, and confessed nothing". Whereupon Mr. M'Nally said, "Then you acted the executioner, and played the part of a gallows?" "Yes, please your honour", was the reply of Lieutenant Hepenstal.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, who tried the case, in his charge to the jury, regretted the treatment of the prisoner; "*but it was an error such as a young and gallant officer might fall into, warmed by resentment*". Sir Jonah Barrington was one of the counsel for the crown. The prisoner was found guilty.

The memory of this infamous man has received its deserts at the hands of a clerical gentleman of the name of Barrett, in the form of an epitaph:—

> "Here lie the bones of Hepenstal,
> Judge, jury, gallows, rope, and all".

Hepenstal died about 1813; his remains were interred in the burying-ground of St. Andrew's church, Dublin.

Dublin Evening Post, 7th February, 1798.

"A few days ago a party of dragoons entered the house of a poor cottager in one of those parts which have been declared out of the peace. After shooting the poor old woman to whom it belonged, with more than savage barbarity, the officer commanding violated the person of her daughter. He was taken into cus-

tody by a guard of the regiment to which he belonged (9th Dragoons), who showed as much indignation at the unnatural and unmanly crime with which he stands charged, as any private citizen could do, and with an alacrity that does honour to this old and respectable regiment, lodged him in the jail of Carlow. He bore until this time a good character in his regiment, and has a brother a lieutenant in Lord Drogheda's Light Horse".

WICKLOW ATROCITIES OF 1798.

From the *Irish Magazine* of December, 1811.

"There lived in the year 1798, at Upper Newcastle, county of Wicklow, an aged man of the name Richard Neill, a poor farmer. This man's son, Michael, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Orangemen of the neighbourhood, by the contempt he uniformly treated them with. He was handsome and athletic, and frequently would exhibit his strength and uncommon activity, chastising the cowards, whenever he detected them in any act of outrage or riot. This raised an implacable hostility in the minds of those fellows against young Neill, which the suspension of the laws, and a license to military outrages, in the years 1797 and 1798, gave them every authority to gratify. As every assassin who had a military uniform, felt himself authorized to shoot and murder every other person he met (*see Wooloughan's Trial*), the enemies of Neill did not omit to use this plenitude of power in its fullest extent, and among other game wrote down young Neill in their book of proscriptions. They had a considerable accession of strength in the Ancient Britons, who also entered into all the spirit of plunder and murder then in such leading estimation.

"A party of those huntsmen, formed of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Cavalry and Ancient Britons, surrounded Neill's house in the middle of the night, and after breaking the doors and windows, they entered the house, denouncing destruction to the wretched inmates. During the struggle to get admittance, young Neill contrived to secrete himself, but was soon called out from his hiding-place by the impulse of filial piety, as the murderers were beginning to torture his father, then more than seventy years of age, to make him discover to them the retreat of the son. The groans of the father were so loud and affecting, that the generous son could no longer think of saving himself, and his parent suffering under the most acute torments. He burst in among the armed banditti, and was immediately seized and handcuffed. Then binding his hands to the saddle of one of the horses, the party mounted and galloped away to Newtown Mount Kennedy,

dragging the unfortunate Neill with the rapid horses a journey of two miles. When they arrived, they were joined by their companions in blood, huzzaing and blaspheming in the most frantic manner. Maimed and mangled as he was, they flung him on the floor of the guard-house, where he fell, without uttering one complaint. He raised himself on his knees, and in silent prayer addressed his God. When the wretches discovered him in this attitude, they called the unfortunate youth every opprobrious name—Papist, rebel, etc. They then proceeded to goad him with the points of their swords, and in a few minutes the guard-house was filled with Ancient Britons, who joined in the amusement. Rendered desperate, and entertaining no idea of mercy from his torturers, he flung himself among them, and succeeded several times in knocking down such of them as he could close with, as he had nothing but his hands to use. At length, and after much difficulty, they succeeded in knocking him down, when one fellow stood on his neck, while another amused his comrades by repeatedly driving his *spurs* into poor Neill's face. Though nearly blinded, and wounded in every part of the body, his strength remaining not much diminished, he took up a fourteen-pound weight that lay where he fell, jumped on his feet, wound it by the ring round his head, and with the other hand held one of the Ancient Britons, until he laid him dead with the iron weight, and then, using all his remaining strength, he flung it from him among the crowd. Disarmed and nearly exhausted, a fellow of the name of James Williams ran him through the body with a bayonet; he fell, and they bound his hands, put a rope on his neck, dragged him to the next gallows, where they finished his life and sufferings, and exposed his naked body for several days after".

Belfast Newspaper, April 6, 1798.

"At the Naas assizes, April 22, Ensign James Battry, of the Dumbartonshire Fencibles, tried for an assault with intent to ravish Mary Ryan, who, with her brother, had been confined in his guard-room on the 3rd of October, 1797—acquitted, though the offence was clearly proved by the brother and sister, and another prisoner, James Dunn".

From the *Dublin Journal*, July 13, 1798.

"Clarke, who received punishment on Saturday, the 9th inst., for treasonable practices, and against whom new charges of an important nature had been exhibited, died in our gaol on the night of the following Tuesday. Wednesday the coroner's in-

quest sat upon him, and returned the following verdict: 'We find and believe the death of the deceased, Thomas Clarke, was occasioned by poison'".

TORTURE, ADMINISTRATION OF, IN 1798, AT THE HANDS OF THOMAS JUDKIN FITZGERALD, HIGH SHERIFF OF TIPPERARY. — CASE OF MR. BERNARD WRIGHT, OF CLONMEL.

In speaking of the tortures inflicted on the gentry, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, says: "Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seized in Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days, without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of laceration could hardly have been expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudice ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was sentenced to pay £500 to his prosecutor. Many other actions on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A letter, written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature".

We must have recourse to the reports of Irish parliamentary proceedings for further insight into the exploits of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald, the history of whose life and loyalty is written in legible characters on the backs of great numbers of his countrymen.

"At the assizes in Clonmel, March 14, 1799, the trial took place of an action brought by Mr. Bernard Wright, a teacher of the French language, against Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq., late sheriff of the county of Tipperary. The damages were laid at £1,000. The trial took place before Lord Yelverton and Judge Chamberlain. The first witness examined, William Nicholson, Esq., deposed, that he knew both plaintiff and defendant; plaintiff, on hearing the high sheriff had expressed an intention of arresting him (Wright), immediately went to surrender himself to a magistrate. The magistrate not being at home,

witness accompanied plaintiff to the high sheriff. Witness told the latter Wright had come to surrender himself; on which the high sheriff said to Wright: "*Fall on your knees, and receive your sentence, for you are a rebel, and you have been a principal in the rebellion: you have to receive five hundred lashes, and then to be shot*'. Whereon Wright prayed for time, hoped he would get a trial, and if he was not found innocent, he would submit to any punishment. Defendant answered: 'What! speak after sentence has been passed!'"

(The Hon. Mr. Yelverton, in the House of Commons, in his statement of these proceedings, said, the words used by Fitzgerald were: "What! you Carmelite rascal! do you dare to speak after sentence?" and then struck him, and sent him off to prison; and next day the unhappy man was dragged to a ladder, in Clonmel Street, to undergo his sentence.)

"The witness, Nicholson, swore that he endeavoured in vain to persuade the high sheriff to have the plaintiff tried, and to convince him of Wright's innocence, 'whom he had known from his childhood, and had always known to be a loyal man'.

"Solomon Watson, a Quaker, affirmed, that on the 29th of May, 1798, the high sheriff told witness he was going to whip a set of rebels. 'Saw Wright brought to the ladder under a guard; had his hands to his face, seemed to be praying; saw him on his knees at the ladder. Defendant, the high sheriff, pulled off Wright's hat, stamped on it, dragged him by the hair, struck him with his sword, and kicked him; blood flowed; and then dragged him to the ladder; selected some strong men, and cried, 'Tie up citizen Wright! tie up citizen Wright!'

"Witness further deposed, that Wright begged to have a clergyman, but his request was refused; then the flogging began. 'Defendant ordered first fifty lashes. He pulled a paper, written in French, out of his pocket, gave it to Major Riall as furnishing his reasons for flogging Wright. Major Riall read the paper, and returned it. Defendant then ordered fifty lashes more, after which he asked how many lashes Wright had received; being answered one hundred, he said: 'Cut the waistband of the rascal's breeches, and give him fifty there'. The lashes were inflicted severely; defendant then asked for a rope; was angry there was no rope; desired a rope to be got ready, while he went to the general for an order to hang him. Defendant went down the street towards the general's lodgings. Wright was left tied up during this time, from a quarter to half an hour. Could not say during this time whether the crowd had loosed the cords; if not, he remained tied while defendant was absent. When defendant returned, he ordered Wright back to jail, saying he would flog

him again the next day; saw Wright sent back to jail under a guard'.

"Major Riall being examined, deposed, that he did not arrive at the place of carrying the flogging into effect before Wright had received fifty lashes. The high sheriff produced two papers, one of which being in French, he (the high sheriff) did not understand, but gave it to him to read, as containing matter that furnished ground for the flogging. Witness read the paper, and returned it, saying it was in no wise treasonable; that it was from a French gentleman, the Baron de Clues, making an excuse for not keeping an appointment, being obliged to wait on Sir Laurence Parsons (subsequently Lord Rosse). Wright, however, was flogged after witness had explained the nature of the letter to the high sheriff. Witness then went away. Next day accompanied the high sheriff to see Wright in the gaol. Saw him kneeling on his bed, while they were speaking to him, being unable to lie down with soreness. Witness further deposed, that he knew of three innocent persons being flogged, whom he believed to be innocent, of whom Wright was one.

"(Solomon Watson had previously deposed, in his evidence, to his knowledge of the defendant having flogged some labourers on account of the kind of waistcoats they wore. He had known defendant knock down an old man in the street for not taking off his hat to him, and he saw a lad of sixteen years of age leap into the river to escape a repetition of a flogging from him.)

"The high sheriff, 'in an animated speech', which took nearly two hours to deliver, defended the practice of flogging generally, as a means of obtaining discoveries of treasonable secrets; that he had flogged a man named Nipper, *alias* Dwyer, who confessed that Wright was a secretary of the United Irishmen, 'and this information he could not get before the flogging'. He insisted on the utility of his efforts to obtain confessions from suspected traitors: when every other means of discovering the truth failed, '*he had a right even to cut off their heads*'.

"This mode of arriving at truth, rather disturbed the gravity of the court.

"The Rev. T. Prior, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, being produced to prove the moral and loyal character of plaintiff, deposed that 'he had known Bernard Wright from his earliest youth, and that he had always conducted himself as an orderly, loyal, and moral man'.

"Judge Chamberlain, in charging the jury, said: 'The jury were not to imagine the legislature, by enabling magistrates to justify their acts under the Indemnity Bill, had released them

from the feelings of humanity, and the obligations of justice in the exercise of power, even in putting down rebellion.

"The jury retired, and found a verdict for the plaintiff, for five hundred pounds, and six pence costs.

"On the 6th of April, 1799, T. Judkin Fitzgerald petitioned the House of Commons, 'praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in the suppression of the late rebellion'. The acts specified were the infliction of corporal punishment, of whipping, on many persons of whose guilt he had secret information, but no public evidence. Petitioner said, not being able to disclose the information on which he acted, 'the learned judges who had presided at a late trial (Wright *v.* Fitzgerald), were of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information on oath of the ground on which he acted, that his case could not fall within the provisions of the Indemnity Act passed last session'.

"Mr. Secretary Cooke bore testimony to 'the national services performed by the petitioner'.

"A Bill of Indemnity was passed in the Irish parliament, in accordance with the prayer of the petitioner, and immediately after an application was made on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, in the Court of Exchequer, to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Mr. Wright, which application was dismissed with full costs".*

In the parliamentary proceedings, "on the petition of T. J. Fitzgerald, Esq., praying for indemnity for certain acts done by him in the suppression of rebellion", April 6th, 1799, Lord Matthew supported the petition, and bore testimony to the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald: "he was an extremely active, spirited, and meritorious magistrate".

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton opposed the petition, on the ground of "there not being found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff, Wright, to justify the unparallelled cruelties exercised on him".

Mr. Yelverton, in stating the facts of the case, read the letter in the French language, which had been shown to Major Riall by the all-mighty sheriff of Tipperary, as a justification of the scourging of a respectable gentleman, a peaceable man, of literary habits and pursuits, who was designated a scoundrel, whom the sheriff would be justified in flogging to death, and which letter, Mr. Yelverton said, had been translated in these words to Mr. Fitzgerald by Major Riall, on the spot, at the place of execution, in one of the intervals of the flogging:—

* Report of the trial Wright *v.* Fitzgerald.

"Sir,—I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons. "Your's,

"To B. Wright, Esq. "Baron Clues".

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton proceeded to state, that "notwithstanding this translation, which Major Riall read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the intestines of the bleeding man could be perceived convulsed through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the action of his cat-o'-nine-tails on that part where he was cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and had fifty more lashes inflicted there. He then left the man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barracks to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the general, he ordered him back to prison, where he was confined in a small dark room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and here he remained six or seven days without any medical assistance".

"Gracious God!" said Mr. Yelverton, "will any man say that such conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house? I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates, for acts done in the performance of their duty for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief: and on these grounds I will give this petition every resistance in my power".

Mr. John Claudius Beresford defended the conduct of the high sheriff.

The Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson opposed the indemnity. He deprecated the conduct of Fitzgerald in the case of Wright. "*He was himself present* when similar acts were committed by Mr. Fitzgerald, whose zeal had led him to deeds of horror. In the town of Clogheen there was a man of some property and good character, who kept an inn; and this man was brought out of his house by Mr. Fitzgerald, tied up to a ladder, and whipped. When he had received some lashes, Mr. Fitzgerald asked him, 'Who swore you?' The man answered he never was sworn. After a few more stripes the question was repeated, and received with a similar answer. The remedy was resumed for the supposed obstinacy, with this additional suggestion: '*If you do not confess, I'll cut you to death*'. The man, unable to bear the torture any longer, then did name a person who he said had

sworn him; but the moment he was cut down, he said to Lord Cahir, 'The man never swore me; but *he*' (Fitzgerald) 'said he would cut me to death if I did not accuse somebody, and to save my life I told the lie'".*

The Attorney-General defended the petitioner, and advocated the proposed indemnity bill. It passed the house by a large majority. Mr. Fitzgerald, emboldened by his success, then applied to the Court of Exchequer to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Wright, but his application was dismissed with full costs.

Mr. Cooke, too, it will be borne in mind, bore testimony "to the national services of the petitioner".†

The government of that day, or rather Lords Camden, Castlereagh, and Clare, were represented on that honourable occasion by Mr. Secretary Cooke in the House of Commons; they defended, through him, the terrible attrocities of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald,‡ and by so doing, they accepted all the responsibility of his acts, and so doing, most heavily they charged their souls with the guilt of sanguinary crimes of astounding atrocity.

In reference to the barbarities committed on the bodies of executed rebels, the Rev. Mr. Gordon§ says: "Many instances might be given of men, who, at the hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists until the storm passed away. On the other hand, many might be given of cruelties committed by persons not natives of Ireland. I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted, but ferocity, not calculated to soften the rancour of the insurgents. Some soldiers of the Ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it".

Mr. Edward Hay, in his history of the insurrection of the county of Wexford, states:—

"In Enniscorthy, Ross, and Gorey, several persons were not only put to the torture in the usual manner, but a great number of houses were burnt, and measures of the strongest coercion were practised, although the people continued to flock to the different magistrates for protection. Mr. Perry, of Inch, a Pro-

* "Report of Proceedings in the House of Commons on Petition of T. J. Fitzgerald", p. 38.

† Mr. Edward Cooke arrived in Dublin the 24th March, 1784, having been appointed under-secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Orde being then chief secretary (See "Cary's Volunteer Journal", 25th March, 1784).

‡ Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, of Lisheen, in the county of Tipperary, received the honour of knighthood for his *services* in 1798. He died in Cork in October, 1810.

§ *Vide* "Gordon's History of the Rebellion", p. 212.

testant gentleman, was seized on and brought a prisoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork militia, one of whom (the noted serjeant, nicknamed *Tom the Devil)* gave him woful experience of his ingenuity and adroitness at devising torment. As a specimen of his *savoir faire*, he cut off the hair of his head very closely, put the sign of the cross from the front to the back, and transversely from ear to ear closer still; and probably, a pitched cap not being in readiness, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire, and the shocking process repeated, until every atom of hair that remained could be easily pulled out by the roots; and still a burning candle was continually applied until the entire was completely singed away, and the head left totally and miserably blistered".*

"It is said that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—they certainly were the introducers—of pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a croppy (by which the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers".†

"Mr. Hunter Gowan had, for many years, distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded by a pension of £100 per annum; and it is much to be wished that every one who has obtained a pension, had as well deserved it. Now exalted to the rank of magistrate, and promoted to be captain of a corps of yeomen, he was zealous in exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn, and a human finger stuck upon the point of it.

"With this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition, while, in the mean time, the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of Orangemen. After the labour and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public-house to refresh themselves, *and like*

* *Vide* Hay's "Insurrection of the County of Wexford", p. 181.
† *Ibid.*, p. 57.

true blades of game, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had *graced* their ovation, in imitation of keen fox-hunters, who *whisk* a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones, where his daughters were, and, while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch bloodhounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to show them the croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady present hid her face with her hands, to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan, perceiving this, took the finger from his daughter, and *archly* dropped into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended! Mr. Gowan constantly boasted of this and similar heroic actions, which he repeated in the presence of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, on whom he waited officially; but so far from meeting with his wonted applause, the major obliged him instantly to leave the company.*

"Enniscorthy and its neighbourhood were similarly protected by the activity of Archibald Hamilton Jacob, aided by the yeomen cavalry, thoroughly equipped for this kind of service. They scoured the country, having in their train a regular executioner, completely appointed with his implements—a hanging-rope and cat-o'-nine-tails. Many detections and consequent prosecutions of United Irishmen soon followed. A law had been recently enacted, that magistrates, upon their own authority, could sentence to transportation persons accused and convicted before them. Great numbers were accordingly taken up, prosecuted, and condemned. Some, however, appealed to an adjournment of a quarter-sessions, held in Wexford on the 23rd of May, in the county court-house, at which three-and-twenty magistrates, from different parts of the county, attended.

"In the course of the trials on these appeals, in the public court-house of Wexford, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob appeared as evidence against the prisoners, and publicly avowed the happy discoveries he had made in consequence of inflicting the torture. Many instances of whipping and strangulation he particularly detailed, with a degree of self-approbation and complacency that clearly demonstrated how highly he was pleased to rate the merit of his own great and loyal services".†

"On the 21st of June, the town of Enniscorthy having been retaken by the king's troops, the house in which the sick and

* *Vide* "Hay's Insurrection of the county of Wexford", p. 70.

† *Ibid.*, p. 71.

wounded of the rebel party were placed, was set on fire, and above thirty of the unfortunate inmates perished. The Hessian troops distinguished themselves particularly on this occasion. The Rev. James Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in speaking of this atrocious proceeding, says he was "informed by a surgeon that the burning was accidental; the bed-clothes being set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds".

The son of the late Mr. Thomas Reynolds, in his recent unsuccessful and ill-judged effort to vindicate the memory of his father, in recounting the various atrocities committed by the rebels, is compelled to acknowledge that their barbarities were equalled, and sometimes provoked, by the massacres of their opponents. "At the same time", says this gentleman, "that numerous acts of equal atrocity, and still less justifiable, were, during the same period, and for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, committed by the opposite party. I say, still less justifiable, because they were urged and frequently countenanced by the actual presence of persons of distinction, who indulged their brutality under the assumed mask of loyalty. Such was the murder of Mr. Johnstone, of Narraghmore, as I have already related; the burning of the rebel hospital in Enniscorthy, with all the rebel sick and wounded it contained, to the number of above thirty persons (Cloney states the number put to death on the occasion was seventy-six); the massacre of above fifty unresisting individuals, by a party of the military, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon, of the yeomanry cavalry, which provoked the massacre of Bloody Friday; the slaughter of upwards of two hundred men, after they had surrendered on terms of capitulation to General Dundas, on the Curragh of Kildare; the numerous murders committed in cold blood, in retaliation for those committed by the outlaws under Holt and Hacket; the flogging of suspected persons, and throwing salt into their wounds, to extort confession, and other acts of a similar nature".*

Mr. Gordon says, "The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation, and many loyalists who escaped from the rebels, were put to death by these foreigners. To send such troops into the country, in such a state of affairs, was, in my humble opinion, a wrong step in government, who cannot be supposed indifferent to the lives of loyal subjects. By what influence the plundering was permitted so long to the soldiery, in some parts of the country, after the rebellion was quelled, I shall not at present pretend to state. The publication of some facts,

* *Vide* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 337.

of which I have acquired information, may not perhaps be as yet safe. On the arrival of the Marquis of Huntley, however, with his regiment of Scottish Highlanders, in Gorey, the scene was totally altered. To the immortal honour of this regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable. To the astonishment of the, until then, miserably harassed peasantry, not the smallest trifle, even a drink of buttermilk, would any of these Highlanders accept without the payment of at least the full value".

Here are the items in the two accounts of savagery, namely, of the Wexford rebels on one side, and of the armed Orangemen and terrorists in authority on the other, and the balance of blood-guiltiness and barbarity struck by Thomas Cloney, an eye-witness of many of the occurrences he relates, but no participator in their barbarities.

The executions that followed courts-martial, be it observed, are not taken into account by Cloney, though many of them, assuredly, had all the leading characteristics of cold-blooded murders; and amongst the latter, not a few out of the sixty-six executions related by Musgrave, "from the retaking of the town of Wexford, June 21, 1798, to December, 1800*."

"I have now", says Cloney, "to direct the reader's attention to a comparative statement of the outrages respectively perpetrated by the magistrates, military, yeomanry, and insurgents, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1798. Nothing, certainly, can be more remote from my intention than to exhibit this melancholy list for the purpose of reviving almost defunct prejudices. I think I shall obtain credit with my countrymen for the declaration I now make, a declaration founded upon long and intimate knowledge of Protestant worth, that a more honourable race of men never existed than the good Protestants of the county of Wexford.

"It cannot, therefore, be supposed that I mean to charge one outrage committed in the county of Wexford against Protestants, as such. The perpetrators were certainly encouraged and hallooed on by men of rank and persons in official station, who called themselves Protestants, but men whom I call practical infidels. Their wretched dupes were motley aggregates of yeomen and military, composed indiscriminately of Protestants, Catholics, and Dissenters. These numerical statements which are subjoined, have been, in some instances, taken from the books of Gordon, Hay, and Alexander; but those accounts which are

* Musgrave's "Appendix", p. 160.

marked 'private memoranda', were obtained from the traditional details of the surviving children and relations of those who had been murdered:—

"Statement of outrages perpetrated by the magistracy, yeomanry, and king's troops, in the county Wexford, in the year 1798.

"Page 64. Driscol, a hermit, from Camolin Wood, flogged and half-hanged three times by Tottenham's Ross Yeomen—Alexander. - - - 1
"Page 65. Fitzpatrick, a country school-master, flogged by same—ditto. - - - - 1
"Denis M'Donnell, dropped dead in a grove near Mr. Gordon's house, with fear of being flogged—Gordon. 1
"Doctor Healy, a most respectable and inoffensive gentleman and physician, flogged almost to death by the Ross Yeomen—Hay. - - - 1
"Flogged by a corps of Yeomen, under the superintendence of a magistrate, in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, it appeared on the trials of appeals at Wexford, under the Insurrection Act, on the 23rd May, 1798—Private memoranda. - - - - 17
"Page 70. Flogged to death by Hunter Gowan's Yeomen, a peasant, whose finger was brought into Gorey by Gowan on the point of his sword—Hay. - 1
"Page 76. Burned from its roots, by Tom the Devil, of the South Cork Militia, the hair of Mr. Perry's head, who was afterwards hanged—Hay. - - 1
"Flogged and pitch-capped in the town of Carnew, before the insurrection—Private memoranda. - - 14
"Page 78. Flogged almost to death by a corps of Yeomen, commanded by a magistrate, at Ballaghkeene, on the 24th of May, 1798—Hay. - - 2
"Page 79. Hanged in the town of Enniscorthy, by the Yeomen, previous to the insurrection, without trial— 2
"Shot by the Wexford Yeomen Cavalry, in cold blood, the day they arrested John Colclough—Hay. - 6
"Shot at Dunlaven, by the yeomanry, without a trial—Hay. - - - - - 34
"Page 76. Shot, on the 25th of May, 1798, in the ball-alley, at Carnew, without any form of trial—Hay. - 28
"Page 135. Shot by Hawtry White's Yeomen, on the 27th May, between Oulart and Gorey, men and boys —Hay. - - - - - 28
"Page 135. Shot, in Gorey, by the Tinnehely and Wing-

field Yeomanry, and without trial, eleven farmers, who had been taken out of their beds within a mile and a-half of the town—Hay. - - - 11

"Page 150. Shot, by the military, at New Ross, General Harvey's Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Matt. Furlong—Private memoranda. - - - - 1

" Hanged in Enniscorthy, a drummer of the North Cork Militia, for refusing to beat his drum to the tune of the 'Boyne Water'—Hay. - - - 1

" Page 153. Burned by the military, at New Ross, wounded men who had taken refuge there during the battle—Hay. - - - - 78

" Page 158. Shot by the Yeomen of Gorey, in his own garden, Mr. Kenny, of Ballycanew—Hay. - - 1

" Shot by Ogle's Blues, at Mayglass, in running away from Wexford—Hay. - - - 2

" *Shot* by the military and yeomen at same place, seven men and *four women*—Hay. - - - 11

" Page 105. Shot near Scarawalsh, an idiot nephew to the parish priest—Hay. - - - - 1

" Shot by the Newtownbarry Yeomen, in that town, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, and left in the streets to be torn by pigs—Hay. - - - 9

" *Violated and murdered*, near Ballaghkeene, by the Homperg Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, *seven young women*—Private memoranda. - 7

" *Bayoneted* in Enniscorthy, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, by the military, twelve men and *three women*—Private memoranda. - - - - 15

" Murdered in the neighbourhood of Limerick Hill, by the army encamped there—Private memoranda. - 13

" Burned in the insurgent hospital at Enniscorthy, by the military and yeomen, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill—Private memoranda. - - - 76

" Shot by the yeomen infantry and cavalry, in cold blood, in the retreat from Kilthomas Hill—Private mem. - 42

" *Murdered* on the road between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, after the defeat of the insurgents, by the yeomanry, sixteen men, *nine women*, *six children*—Private mem. 31

" Murdered in the hospital of Wexford, by the yeomen and military, after General Lake entered the town, sick and wounded—Private memoranda. - - 57

" *Shot* by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, nine men and *three women*—Private memoranda. - 12

" Shot at Moneymore, at Mr. Cloney's house, a very old

sportsman, who came from the county Carlow to inquire for the author, called Shawn Rooe, *alias* John Doyle—Private memoranda. - - -	1
" Shot at same place, an aged and most innocent and inoffensive man with a large family, Richard Mullett, and while struggling for death, a pike thrust through his nose into his head, by which he died in the most excruciating torture—Private memoranda. - -	1
" Shot by the King's County Militia and some yeomanry, near Carrigrew, disarmed insurgents—Private mem.	28
" Shot by the military, near Killoughrim Woods, industrious, inoffensive farmers, entirely unconnected with the persons concealed in those woods—Private mem.	38
" *Murdered* by the supplementary yeomen, *alias* the black mob, between Gorey and Arklow, seventeen men and *five women* —Private memoranda. - .	22
" Men, women, and children, - - -	726
" Murdered at Kilcomney, by Sir C. Asgill's troops, at least - - - - -	140
	866

" The foregoing are the numbers only of those victims of military outrage, *in cold blood*, of which a very imperfect account has been kept by some of the surviving relatives of the sufferers; but if I were to set down the whole number of those who are reported to have innocently fallen by the muskets and bayonets of a cruel and licentious military and yeomanry, it would more than double the amount of what I have stated. The burning of New Ross suburbs, with its inhabitants enclosed in their cottages, although mentioned by Mr. Hay, I do not calculate. I now present the reader with a detail of all the outrages perpetrated by the insurgents in cold blood, which I could collect. No doubt, individuals may have unfortunately fallen in some quarters, an account of which I have not been able to discover. I certainly should not conceal or suppress such an account on one side no more than I would on the other. It should never be forgotten how much the people were wronged by Sir Richard Musgrave; he returned the names of many individuals murdered in cold blood during the insurrection, who lived for many years after, nay, some of whom are, I believe, living to this day. And he unblushingly returned a great number killed in battle as having been murdered in cold blood.

"Murdered by the insurgents in Wexford, immediately after their entry, Mr. John Boyd—Hay. - -	1
"Mr. Turner—ditto. - -	1
"Two Murphys, Catholics—ditto. - -	2
"George Sparrow—ditto. - -	1
"Ensign Harman, on returning from General Moore—ditto.	1
"On the bridge of Wexford, 20th June—ditto - -	36
"In the parish of Davidstown, during the insurrection—Private memoranda. - - - -	5
"Of the Wexford Militia, on the ridge of mountains near Castlecomer—Private memoranda. - -	7
"On Vinegar Hill—Hay. - - -	84
"In Enniscorthy, on the day of the first battle, when the insurgents discovered the drummer hanging in the Rev. Mr. Handcock's lodgings—Hay - -	14
"Shot by the insurgents, near Carnew, a black trumpeter, belonging to the Ancient Britons—Hay. - -	1
"Mr. Hay states that there were but eighty persons suffered death at Scullabogue. Sir R. Musgrave mentions, if my memory does not err, 184. I have reason to say, that between those that were shot, and those burned in the barn, the number was about 100, of whom it is said eight were Catholics.* - -	100
	257

Mr. Charles H. Teeling, in his *History of the Rebellion*, speaks in similar terms to those of Cloney of the tortures and free quarters of 1798. This gentleman was arrested in 1796 on a charge of treason, by Lord Castlereagh; but whoever was acquainted with him, friend or foe to his political sentiments, knew him to be an honest man, and incapable of misrepresenting facts, the knowledge of which few men had fuller opportunities of obtaining.

In speaking of his arrest, he says: "I was the first victim to the political apostacy of Lord Castlereagh. On the 16th of September, 1796, while yet in my eighteenth year, I was arrested by him on a charge of high treason. The manner of my arrest was as novel as mysterious, and the hand which executed it the last from which I could have suspected an act of unkindness. Lord Castlereagh was the personal friend of my father, who admired him as the earliest advocate of civil and religious liberty.

"In the year, 1790, the representation of Down was contested, and the independence of that great and populous county

* Cloney's "Personal Narrative", p. 216—219.

threatened, through the powerful influence of the Downshire family, and a combination of local interests hostile to the rights of the people. Lord Castlereagh, then the Honourable Robert Stewart, was selected by his countrymen for his talents and his patriotism, and after the most obstinate contest ever witnessed in Ireland he was triumphantly returned to parliament, not only by the suffrages, but by the pecuniary assistance, of the friends of civil and religious liberty.

"The penal laws at this time operated against my father's personal exercise of the elective franchise, but neither his fortune nor his best personal exertions were unemployed in the service of his friend".

After describing his having passed the evening preceding his arrest at a party in the neighbourhood, he says: "Accompanying my father, the following morning, on a short excursion on horseback, we were met by Lord Castlereagh, who accosted us with his usual courtesy and politeness. We had proceeded up the streets together, when, having reached the house of his noble relative, the Marquis of Headford, we were about to take leave of his lordship; 'I regret', said he, addressing my father, 'that your son cannot accompany you', conducting me, at the same time, through the outer gate, which, to my inexpressible astonishment, was instantly closed; and I found myself surrounded by a military guard.

"My father entered, and with a firm and determined composure inquired the cause of the arrest. 'High treason!' replied his lordship. Our interview was short: my father was not permitted to remain. My horse was led home by a faithful domestic; but to that home I never returned".

The young man was sent to Dublin, committed to Newgate, and kept in confinement there till the latter part of 1797, when, broken down in health, he was indebted to the humanity of Mr. Secretary Cooke for his release, on condition of surrendering himself, if called on by the government; but he was left unmolested. His father's house, in the meantime, had been assailed by the military, and his entire establishment, in the course of a few hours, had been left a desolate ruin.*

With regard to the cruelties practised on the people, Teeling observes: "It was notorious that in the districts where the (United) system had made the least progress, the greatest acts of outrage were perpetrated under the sanction of the government; and in those quarters where the inhabitants were remarkable for a peaceful demeanour, moral disposition, and obedience to the

* C. Teeling's "Narrative", p. 15.

laws, every principle of justice and humanity was violated. Wexford, which was the scene of the greatest military atrocity, and, consequently, the boldest and most effectual in resistance, was, at this period, less identified with the organized system than any county in Ireland. Of this fact government was perfectly aware; and it was only when the outraged feelings of human nature were no longer able to bear the torture of the scourge, the blaze of incendiarism, and the base violation of female virtue, that Wexford rose as one man.

"From the humble cot to the stately mansion, no property, no person, was secure". After detailing the various atrocities committed in the way of flogging, half-hanging, the pitch-cap practice, etc., he adds: "The torture practised in those days of Ireland's misery, has not been equalled in the annals of the most barbarous nation, and the world has been astonished at the close of the eighteenth century, with acts, which the eye views with horror and the heart sickens to record, not only on the most trivial, but most groundless occasions: it was inflicted without mercy, on every age and on every condition. In the centre of the city of Dublin, the heart-rending exhibition was presented of a human being rushing from the infernal depôt of torture and death, his person besmeared with a burning preparation of turpentine and pitch, plunging, in his distraction, into the Liffey, and terminating at once his sufferings and his life.

"A melancholy transaction occurred in the town of Drogheda. —The unhappy victim was a young man of delicate frame; he had been sentenced to five hundred lashes, and received a portion with firmness, but dreading lest bodily suffering might subdue the fortitude of his mind, he requested that the remainder of his punishment should be suspended and his information taken. Being liberated from the triangles, he directed his executioners to a certain garden, where he informed them arms were concealed. In their absence, he deliberately cut his throat. They were not discovered, for no arms were there.

"About the same period, and in the same populous town, the unfortunate Bergan was tortured to death. He was an honest, upright citizen, and a man of unimpeachable moral character. He was seized on by those vampires, and in the most public street stripped of his clothes, placed in a horizontal position on a cart, and torn with the cat-o'-nine-tails, long after the vital spark was extinct. The alleged pretence for the perpetration of this horrid outrage, was that a small gold ring had been discovered on his finger bearing a national device—the shamrock of his unfortunate country".

* Teeling's "Narrative", p. 138.

A Dublin newspaper, a few years ago, commented on the use of torture in Ireland in 1797 and 1798, and compared the brutality of it with the barbarity of similar practices on the continent, then strongly reprobated in England. The Irish reign of terror, and Major Sirr and his compeers, found a zealous advocate in a correspondent of a London newspaper. The writer says:—

"The allusion made to Major Sirr is as untrue as the malignancy towards England is shameful.

"I happened to know Major Sirr at the period alluded to. I was quartered in Dublin with my regiment before and when the rebellion of 1798 broke out, and remained in that garrison some time after the 23rd of May. I also happened to be attached to the picket guard that Major Sirr directed to meet him at Murphy's, the feather merchant, in Thomas Street, on the evening (I think) of the 6th of June, 1798, when and where Lord Edward Fitzgerald was taken. In consequence of this transaction I became more intimate with Major Sirr, and in justice to his memory I think it my duty to state, that if he had ever been guilty of the base and unmanly conduct of flogging the wives and sisters of rebels, I must have heard or known of it. I am sure he never did; and, what is more, although I served through the entire rebellion in the counties south of Dublin, and witnessed a good deal of what was going on at that eventful and unfortunate period, *yet I never saw nor even heard of any cruelty or dishonour practised by any person connected with the army towards any females*".

The writer might, with more prudence than he has displayed, have limited his defence of the reign of terror to the exculpation of one of the principal actors in it from the charge of torturing rebels or suspected persons with his own hands. Sirr's advocate, however, says he has had great experience of the affairs of 1798, and "*he never heard of any cruelty or dishonour practised by any person connected with the army towards any females*". As it is possible this marvellously strange assertion may be credited in England, the following accounts of Irish torturings in our reign of terror are given to the public. And it may be observed, if the writer above referred to had said he had never heard an instance of any insult or dishonour on the part of the rebels to women who had fallen into their hands, he could not be contradicted.

"In one point", says the Rev. Mr. Gordon, "I think we must allow some praise to the rebels. Amid all their atrocities, the chastity of the fair sex was respected. I have not been able

to ascertain one instance to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though many beautiful young women were absolutely in their power".*

The instances, I am sorry to say, of dishonour and insult to women of the people by the Orange military rabble, are by no means few. I will refer to one or two cases noticed in the public prints:—

Dublin Evening Post, March 3, 1798.

"Whereas William Vennell, lieutenant in his Majesty's 89th regiment of foot, and Thady Lawler, lieutenant in the Clare light company, attached to the said regiment, stand charged on oath with having forcibly and violently committed a rape on Catherine Finn, a prisoner in charge of the guard whereof the said Lawler was officer;

"We, the undersigned officers of the 89th regiment, at head quarters, desirous of testifying to the country our abhorrence and detestation of such inhuman and infamous conduct, and being determined, as far as lies in our power, to bring the said William Vennell to justice, do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas to any person or persons who will apprehend and lodge him in any of his majesty's jails, within the space of six months from the date hereof, which reward will be paid on application to the commanding officer of said regiment.

"Said William Vennell is about twenty years of age, about five feet six inches high, round face, ruddy complexion, fair hair, and rather inn-kneed.

"WILLIAM STEWART, Lieut.-Col."

The reader is referred to Lord Holland's account of the statement made to him by Dr. Dickson, Lord Bishop of Down (at page 303), who assured his lordship, "that he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, *and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them*". But the friend of Major Sirr, and the enlightener of the British public on the subject of the rebellion of 1798, "*never saw nor even heard of any cruelty or dishonour practised by any person connected with the army towards females!!!*"

The reader is referred to Cloney's statement of the outrages committed on the people in the county Wexford in 1798, by the

* "History of the Irish Rebellion", by Rev. James Gordon, p. 213.

military and magisterial terrorists (at page 322); and there he will find an account of seven young women violated and murdered, near Ballaghkeene, by the Homperg Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill; and on the same awful record, accounts of four women being shot on one occasion (after the flight of the rebels from Wexford), of three women being bayoneted in Enniscorthy after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, of nine women and six children being slain by the yeomanry between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, on the high road, of three women being shot by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, and of four women being murdered by "the supplementary yeomen" between Gorey and Arklow.

The torture of women, by pricking their arms and shoulders with bayonets, to extort information relative to fugitives of their families, masters, and neighbours suspected of treasonable practises, though not pursued systematically, or with the cognizance and sanction of the higher power, most unquestionably occurred at the hands of that yeomanry rabble, who were formidable, in Lord Cornwallis's opinion, to all except the enemy, in the presence, too, of those demons, yclept captains and majors, some of whom figured in those times on the bench, scoured rural districts, and swaggered in the streets as gentlemen of unequivocal loyalty and undoubted authority, albeit in their character, position, principles, and conduct in private life, exceedingly questionable and equivocal

The tortures inflicted on Anne Devlin, the servant of Robert Emmet, I have given an account of in the memoir of the latter. She was half hanged from the back-band of a car, the shafts being elevated for the purpose of making a temporary gallows—a common contrivance of the terrorists of those times. The account of her sufferings I had from her own lips, on the spot where these atrocities were perpetrated. When she was taken down, her shoulders and the upper parts of her arms were pricked with bayonets, the cicatrized marks of which I have seen and felt.

In 1798, a man (if indeed the person referred to deserved that name), a colonel of a militia regiment, was governor of New Geneva barracks, which, during the rebellion, had been converted into a monster prison, where hundreds of persons suspected of treason, or of a creed or political opinions to justify the appearance of suspicion, were cast into jail without the intervention of judge or jury. New Geneva served as a depôt for the victims of Protestant ascendency selected for transportation to the salt mines of the King of Prussia.

The atrocious cruelties inflicted on the state prisoners confine

in this stronghold are hardly credible. A great number of the prisoners in this place were of respectable Roman Catholic families. The privations and persecutions they were subjected to were intolerable and rigorous beyond anything known of the prisoners elsewhere. The female relatives of the prisoners who visited the latter, were subjected to insults and indignities, which were not unfrequently witnessed by the commandant.

Mrs. O'Neill came to the prison called New Geneva in 1798, from the county Antrim (a distance of nearly one hundred and fifty miles), to take leave of her son, a young man, who was in that place of confinement under sentence of transportation, and, like many others of his associates, was destined to pass the remainder of his days in the salt mines of the King of Prussia. Mrs. O'Neill could only get access to her son by bribing some of the officials of the prison depôt. The act of bribery was discovered after the interview had been gained with the son, who was a person of superior manners and education, and had been intended for the priesthood. The painful nature of this meeting so affected the poor mother that her cries of anguish and sorrow were heard by every one in the prison. She was separated violently from her son, and carried before the colonel who commanded the garrison of New Geneva, to account for the crime of gaining access to her son without the sanction of the former. The unfortunate mother was delivered up to the tender mercies of the soldiers, taken to the court yard of the fortress, and tossed in a blanket for several minutes. After this barbarous outrage she was stripped almost naked by the military ruffians of the garrison, and thus divested of apparel, the body of this respectable woman was subjected to every insult and annoyance that could be devised: the shouts of the savages in military costume who assisted in this brutal pastime of female blanketing were heard by the people with dismay and horror. The pastime ceased; the maltreated woman was released from their hands, a few rags were thrown to her, she crawled to a neighbouring cabin, and there it is stated she died of the tortures she underwent at the hands of the military terrorists of New Geneva.

Those who desire more minute particulars of this case may refer to Cox's *Hibernian Magazine* for January, 1815, p. 52.

The whipping of an aged woman in Kildare, is related by Cox in *The Irish Magazine* for October, 1813, p. 437.

It is in vain, utterly futile and fruitless, to deny the constant use of torture in 1797 and 1798, in the Riding House, Marlborough Street, under the direction of John Claudius Beresford, and in the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, then governed by Major Sandys, brother-in-law of Mr. Secretary Cooke (Lord

Castlereagh's chief official in the secretary's office); occasionally, too, in the Royal Exchange, and in the small vacant space adjoining the entrance to the Upper Castle Yard, immediately behind the offices of Lord Castlereagh, and having on the opposite side the back part of the Exchange, where, under the very windows of Lord Castlereagh's office, the triangles were set up for fastening the wretches to, who were flogged, tortured even to death.

There two remarkable executions took place. A young Dominican clergyman named Bush, and a Quaker named Shaw, were scourged, by the command and under the eyes of Lord Kingsborough, and with such severity that the latter is said to have died from the effects of his punishment. A young man, wholly innocent of treasonable designs, of the name of Purcell, educated for the Church (the son of an industrious mechanic, a master-nailor of Stoneybatter), whom I afterwards knew long and intimately in the ministry, a most worthy and holy man, a Roman Catholic priest, for many years a curate of Bridge Street chapel, and but recently (in the beginning of the present year) deceased, was scourged in the Prevot, in the Royal Barracks, along with his father, by the command of Major Sandys, being tied by the wrists, and fastened to the same iron hook in the prison wall, stripped to the waist, and flogged alternately by a Negro executioner, and at every blow the major calling on the son to inform against the father; and when no effect was produced on the poor youth, terrifying the father with diabolical threats, to make him hang his own son. When the monster Sandys—the brother-in-law of Cooke, Lord Castlereagh's secretary—put an end to the long-protracted torture, the two Purcells, father and son, alike exhausted, were dragged to their cells in a state, apparently, of men more dead than living.

The case of one of the tortured priests in 1798, will serve for an illustration of the savage proceedings adopted against several of his order at that time. We are indebted to the stupid bigotry of Lord Chancellor Redesdale, as it was displayed in a trashy, insolent letter addressed to Lord Fingall, September 6, 1803, for the authentic statement of this most striking case of horrible cruelty and injustice. Lord Redesdale said, in his polemical epistle: "I am assured from very high and respectable authority, that, at least in one district, the priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalists in the late rebellion, are universally discountenanced by their superiors; and that a priest *proved* to have been guilty of sanctioning murders in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the

same superiors, to what, in defiance of the law, he calls his parish, and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that government to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes".

Lord Fingall felt that it was incumbent on him to inquire into the case of this sanguinary priest, who had been transported and pardoned, and whose return to his own parish had been so insulting to the feelings of the Protestants. Lord Fingall found the sanguinary priest was a virtuous ecclesiastic, of unblemished life and manners, innocent of all political crime, who had been barbarously persecuted, most inhumanly tortured, unjustly condemned to transportation; and on the representations of his bishop, the loyal prelate, Dr. Coppinger, had been restored to his liberty and his country. Lord Fingall published an account, drawn up by this clergyman, of his sufferings, entitled, "The Humble Remonstrance of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, Roman Catholic Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, county of Cork", from which the following passages are extracted:

"Under a full conviction that an appeal to the God of Truth in support of known falsehood, would be nothing less than a call upon Him to expunge my name for ever from the book of life, to withhold from me all participation in the merits of my Redeemer, to doom, of its own nature, my soul to never-ending misery, I now most solemnly swear, in the presence of the mighty God, upon His holy Gospel, first, that I was never an United Irishman; that I never took that oath; that I never encouraged, advised, or permitted others to take it; but, on the contrary, that I dissuaded others from taking it, some of whom have had the generosity to make affidavit of my exertions in this behalf; and there are those who have candidly added, that they would have taken it, had I not prevented them....

"I shall now proceed to the particulars of my case:—Immediately upon my arrest, I was brought into Youghal, where, without any previous trial, I was confined in *a loathsome receptacle of the barrack*, called the black hole, rendered still more offensive by the stench of the common necessary adjoining it. In that dungeon I remained from Friday until Monday, when I was conducted to the Ball Alley to receive my punishment. No trial had yet intervened, nor ever after. I was stripped and tied up, six soldiers stood forth for this operation; some of them right-handed, some of them left-handed men, two at a time (as I judge from the quickness of the lashes), and relieved at intervals, until I had received two hundred and seventy-five lashes, and so deeply inflicted, that my back and the points of my shoulders were quite

bared of the flesh. At that moment, a letter was handed to the officer presiding, written, I understand, in my favour by the late Hon. Capt. O'Brien, of Rostellan. It happily interrupted my punishment; but I had not hitherto shaken the triangle, a display of feeling which it seems was eagerly expected from me. To accelerate that spectacle, a *wire cat* was introduced, armed with scraps of tin or lead (I judge from the effect and description given me). Whatever were its appendages, I cannot easily forget the power of it. In defiance of shame, my waistband was cut for the finishing strokes of this lacerating instrument. The very first lash, as it renewed all my pangs, and shot convulsive agony through my entire frame, made me shake the triangle indeed. A second infliction of it penetrated my loins, and tore them excruciatingly; the third maintained the tremulous exhition long enough—the spectators were satisfied".

But the satisfaction was of short duration. The following day, the unfortunate lacerated priest was threatened with a repetition of the torture of the preceding day, if he did not give under his hand an admission of guilt. Terror-stricken, after various protestations of innocence, he at length consented, to satisfy the honourable gentlemen by whom he was menaced. So, in the terrible perplexity of mortal fear and frightful suffering, he wrote to his brother, for the gentlemen, some lines to the effect that he deserved his sufferings. The moment the terrorists left their victim, the tortured priest wrote two letters, solemnly proclaiming his innocence, and declaring the circumstances under which he had written to his brother as he had done.

The atrocities that were committed in Antrim, after the defeat of the rebels, were of the usual character of the yeomanry outrages. The following account of the melancholy fate of Mr. Quin, of Antrim, and his daughter, was given to me by a gentleman of that town, of high character, one who had a personal knowledge of the circumstance, and in some of the matters connected with it a closer acquaintance than was consistent at that period with the security of life itself:—

"Mr. Quin lived in Antrim, near the head of the street that leads to Belfast. After the rebels had fled, some cannon were placed by the military in a position to play upon the houses. A shot struck the house next to Quin's, when he and his daughter, a lovely girl of sixteen, fled through the garden towards Belmont, and had proceeded but a short distance, when they were shot down by the yeomen or militia, who had orders to shoot every person in coloured clothes. They were buried where they fell, and it was said that the beautiful long hair of the girl

was partly above the ground waving in the wind for many days. This was the fact, and I recollect it excited more sympathy among the poor people than many horrid barbarities of the time; she was a sweet lively girl, much beloved. Their relative, the present Mr. Quin, lived in a distant town. As soon as he dare venture to the spot, he had his father and sister decently interred in the neighbouring burying ground".

A Presbyterian clergyman of respectability in Belfast addressed to me the following communication in Feb., 1844:—

"Permit me to correct an inaccuracy in your relation of the tragical fate of Mr. and Miss Quin, who were killed at the battle of Antrim. I am sorry to say there was a third victim, the brother of the young lady. All perished under the same volley, and were buried where they fell. The bodies were *not removed.* A considerable time elapsed before any friends dare visit the place; and when the two remaining brothers did so, they judged it better not to disturb the remains. They, however, enclosed the spot, and planted a few willows round the grave.

"This account I received from Mr. Arthur Quin, the only remaining member of the family, who is a member of my congregation.—Respectfully yours, J. P."

There were many such murders as those of the Quins during the twenty-four or forty-eight hours after the engagement at Antrim. One of the military atrocities, the most cruel and unprovoked (says my informant of Antrim), was that of James M'Adam and the two Mr. Johnstons. These men had been appointed by the authorities in Ballymena, to convey and see deposited at the military camp beside Shane's Castle, several cartloads of arms which the people had delivered up after the skirmish in that town. They had deposited these arms at the camp, and had passed through Antrim on their way to relatives who resided a mile or two from Antrim. On passing the avenue of Merckamore Abbey, the residence of Mr. Allison, which was then in the act of being burned and destroyed by a party of the 22nd light dragoons, from Antrim—(these lawless and unrestrained troops had, no doubt, revelled in Mr. Allison's cellar)—our unfortunate friends, in riding past, happened to attract notice, when they were shot down, and their bodies thrown into the road ditch. Their horses were sold by auction in Antrim by the military. Some humane persons had the bodies buried the next day in the graveyard hardby.

James M'Adam was a millwright and builder, who had erected most of the bleach-mills for many miles round that centre of

the linen manufacture; of course he was generally known, and from everything I could learn afterwards (I was then very young), he was much esteemed by all classes; by the linen merchants and bleachers as clever and conscientious in his profession, and by others as a sincere friend and good neighbour. Mr. John Johnson was a respectable cattle dealer, and Mr. Andrew Johnson was in the linen business; none of these men were engaged in the insurrection.

In gratitude to the memory of the late venerable rector of Antrim, Mr. Macartney, and as a tribute to his humanity and goodness, I must relate the following anecdote:—

The son of Mr. M'Adam was then a little boy of fourteen, and had gone to business with two persons who were both involved, and had made themselves obnoxious to Mr. Macartney. The one was in prison, the other had been wounded and fled, their house was wrecked, and the goods all destroyed. M'Adam's boy was a wanderer in the streets several days after the fight. He went up to Mr. Macartney in the street, and asked him to give him a pass to go home; he (Mr. Macartney) said something that frightened him, but the next moment asked him his name, and the name of his father and mother, and where they were from; he said he knew who they were, and spoke rather angrily, but he immediately turned to the boy, took him by the hand, got him a red ribbon to put into his hat, and went with him along the road that leads by the steeple to Ballymena, and enabled the poor lad to reach his home in safety.

The fate of William Neilson, the son of a poor widow, who was put to death after the battle of Antrim, was not less shocking to humanity than that of the daughter of the unfortunate Quin. The particulars of this case were communicated to Miss M'Cracken by the mother and sister of young Neilson, and by Miss M'Cracken to the author.

There was a poor widow of the name of Neilson, living in the village of Ballycarry, near Carrickfergus, who had four sons and two daughters; her second son, Samuel, had been taken prisoner on account of fire-arms having been found in the house, but was liberated on the 2nd of June, on giving bail. On the memorable 7th of June, the people assembled for the purpose of going to Antrim. In the same neighbourhood there happened that day to be a man from Carrickfergus, of the name of Cuthbert, a pensioner, who was in the house of one M'Ternan. It was considered advisable not to let him return to Carrickfergus. William Neilson, a lad of fifteen years, being young and enthusiastic in the cause in which his elder brothers were engaged, offered to be one of a party to go to M'Ternan's house, to make

a prisoner of Cuthbert, and take him with them to Donegore Hill, the place where the people assembled previously to their marching on Antrim. William, after all was over, returned to his mother's house, no fear being entertained by his friends for him on account of his extreme youth. He was taken and tried by court martial, and sent back to prison. The boy seemed to be quite unconscious of his intended fate. When his friends visited him, they found him amusing himself with his brothers.

"At midnight an order came for his removal. He was torn from the arms of his eldest brother, John, who was confined in the same cell, and hurried to the new jail, where his second brother Sam was confined. He was offered his pardon, on condition of giving information against the leaders at Antrim. He rejected the proposal; strenuous efforts were made to induce him to alter his determination, but they had no effect upon him. He requested that his own minister should be brought to him, the Rev. Mr. Bankhead. This request was granted, and he spent the remainder of the night with that gentleman. In the morning he begged he might be allowed to see his brother Sam; that wish was also complied with. The brother expected he would share the same fate; the fear of it, however, did not prevent his encouraging William to persist in his determination. The boy was then brought to his native village, Ballycarry, and within a mile of the town he was met by his distracted mother, who was then on her way to visit her imprisoned family. She made her way through the soldiery, who endeavoured to keep her back, but the poor boy caught her hand, exclaiming, 'Oh! my mother!' when he was dragged from her. She then threw herself in the midst of the cavalry, at the feet of Richard Kerr, Esq., her landlord, requesting to be allowed to speak one word to her poor child; he ordered her to 'get out of his way, or he would be obliged to ride over her'. Her son was brought to her door to be executed; but he requested he might not die there. He was then taken to the end of the village. His presence of mind never forsook him. He made a last effort in behalf of his brothers, begging that his death might expiate their offences, and that his body might be given to his mother, which last request was granted. His body was brought to his mother's, and strict orders given that no persons should attend at his wake. That night some cavalry surrounded the house and forbid any strangers to attend the funeral. The next morning being the Sabbath, he was followed to the place of interment by his almost distracted mother, his little brother, and two younger sisters, all who were not in confinement. His brother John was never brought to trial, but had to sign a paper consenting to his banishment for seven years, his

second brother Samuel for life. William's death took place the latter end of June, 1798. His brothers sailed from Belfast in May, 1799. They were taken by the French, and the passengers being in general exiles, were treated with kindness. The vessel was retaken by the English, and sent to the West Indies. Samuel died on the voyage: John contrived to make his escape, and got to America. Their mother had been a schoolmistress, and had managed to get John bound to the first architect in Belfast, Mr. Hunter. He left a wife and child. He followed with success the business of a builder in America, and was employed by some of the first people there. While engaged in building for President Madison, he attracted the notice of Mrs. Madison; and that lady, moved by the sad story of his brother's fate, showed, by many acts of kindness, the interest she took in his welfare. He died in America, 1827.

"The first part of this account was given me by his sister; but I remember his mother telling me that when William was told at the place of execution to cover his face, as was usual on such occasions, he refused, saying, 'he had done nothing to be ashamed of'. His mother represented him as a very handsome boy, fair and blooming, with light hair, and with his open shirt neck, looking even younger than he was. Mr. Kerr offered his mother ten guineas to give up her house, which she indignantly refused. She was at the time extremely poor, and obliged to seek assistance from others. Some time afterwards she left the place and went to live in Island Magee, as everything surrounding her in the place of her bereavement daily reminded her of the loss of her poor boy".

Mr. William Freckleton, of Belfast, informs me of an occurrence, on the authority of a brave officer in the king's service—Lieutenant Lind, now residing in Cookstown.*

The occurrence related by this brave officer took place at Lisburn in 1798. It is stamped on his memory in characters which time has not effaced in the slightest degree: it was the first occasion of seeing blood shed by soldiers, and on this occasion it was not in war. Lieutenant Lind observed a party of dragoons escorting a prisoner into town. The prisoner was a remarkably fine, manly-looking man, in the uniform of an officer. As the party and their prisoner were proceeding along, a yeoman rushed

* Lieutenant Lind commenced his military career at the battle of Ballinahinch, and terminated it with glory at Waterloo, having fought in every pitched battle throughout the Peninsular war, and in the last at Waterloo, while leading on a company of the 71st regiment, received a grape-shot wound in the upper part of the chest, which he marvellously survived, though reported in the returns of the casualties of the day as mortally wounded.

forward in the midst of the dragoons, and stabbed the prisoner through the back with a bayonet. Lind saw the blood gush forth, and the stabbed man drop down dead. The murderer escaped, but not with the connivance of the dragoons: they exhibited the utmost horror and indignation. Probably they had not been long on service in Ireland, and were unaccustomed to those little escapades of Orange yeomanry loyalty.

ATROCITIES IN KILDARE.

Letter of the Rev. P. Dunne, P.P. of Naas, to the Most Rev. Dr. Troy.

"My Lord,—I have remarked in the account which Sir Richard Musgrave has given in his book on the late rebellion, that he has in the article regarding Naas made very great misstatements. I recollect he says that a Captain Davis was wounded, etc. Not one word regarding that fact is true. There was no Captain Davis in the garrison at the time. A Captain Davis came in a short time after, who is yet alive. All the officers in the garrison of Naas know this to be the case. Sir Richard Musgrave also states that there were five hundred rebels killed in the attack on Naas. The officers then serving in the army can give testimony, as they were eye-witnesses, that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall in that attack; but in the course of three or four hours after it, fifty-seven of the number, crowded together in the street, were killed, many of them coming out of their doors when their huts were set on fire, and others taken out of their houses, or from their gardens, and brought to the *ship*, as the expression was, and were hanged in the street. I knew two men, one named Cardiff, the other Costello, son and son-in-law of Mr. William Costello, who lived near Craddocstown, on the Baltimore road, who were called out of their field when at work, by a horseman, who, getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Baltimore: they, relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to jail, walked on quietly with the single dragoon and were hanged. The same day, a young man named Walsh was brought into Naas, who was said by a female to be the person who shot Captain Swaine in the action of Prosperous. It is well known at present

he was not within sixteen miles of Prosperous at the time of the action there; he, however, was taken without any form of trial to the *ship*, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and there set fire to, and when left half burned, his body opened, his heart taken out and placed on the top of a house, where it remained until taken down by the military, who marched into the town about nine weeks after. When the body was almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house, where Mrs. Nowlan, who owned, was obliged to give a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman named Daniel was obliged to bring salt; these two women heard them say that *Paddy ate sweet*, and confirmed it with *a damn their eyes*. These two women are still living and worthy of credit, being deemed honest and respectable in their line and situation of life. Another fact misstated, or rather falsely asserted, in the book alluded to above: Sir R. Musgrave says there was a man named Cullen, who was charged with firing three shots at a yeoman, and that a person named Kennedy, who was to prosecute, said Cullen was seen speaking to a priest by Mr. Kemmis, the Crown-Solicitor, through the bars of the jail, and, in consequence of this conversation, said Kennedy denied what he before had said regarding Cullen. Perhaps a more hardy falsehood than this could not be advanced. Mr. Kennedy, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare that not one word, so far as regards him (Kennedy) or the priest, is true; neither is it possible it could be true, as no man of the name of Kennedy was in the jail to prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was Serjeant James Tallant, who said that Cullen charged and fired three shots at him, but when asked by counsel why he did not fire at Cullen whilst he was charging and firing three shots at him, the prosecutor answered that Cullen was in a sand-pit. But the court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, did not the same *view* which enabled him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, allow him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen? Cullen partly owes his life to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this. When it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, it excited additional zeal in his counsel to petition the court to save a point of law; and the court humanely thought proper to extend the royal clemency. The matter was laid before the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assizes, and acquitted.

"Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor; Cullen's advocates, Counsellors C. Ball and Espinasse; Baron Smith, the judge before whom Cullen was tried; the grand and petty juries of the

successive assizes of Naas and Athy, bore testimony that thus Cullen's life was saved, and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of a priest.

"I have the honour to be, etc. etc,.

(*signed*) "P. DUNNE, P.P.

"Most Rev. Dr. Troy".

[Copied, for R. R. M., by Mr. Peter Clinch, from a document in the hand-writing of Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, April 7, 1836.]

BARBARITIES COMMITTED IN KILDARE.

Letter from T. Fitzgerald, Esq., Geraldine, Co. Kildare, to James Bernard Clinch, Esq.

"Geraldine, Dec 20, 1802.

"DEAR SIR,—Absence from home prevented my answering your letter prior to this period, as I would feel particular satisfaction in having it in my power to communicate to you any satisfactory communication.

"When I was examined before the council in June, 1798, Arthur Wolfe, then Attorney-General, now Lord Kilwarden, interrogated me, if I had not among my papers the Orangeman's oath? I replied, that I had an oath, which was enclosed under cover to me by post, entitled the Orangeman's oath; and the words were written upon the cover,—'*Rely upon it, Sir, the Orange system is rapidly increasing about the town of Athy*'. The Attorney-General then asked, 'Mr. Fitzgerald, do you conceive it possible that any gentleman, or any person of principle or education, could take such an oath?' I answered, I believe it to be the Armagh oath. The oath I do not recollect, nor did I, at the time, understand it; it spoke of rivers of blood, of wading through the Red Sea, and a brotherhood, etc. Many frivolous, absurd, and contradictory questions were put to me, particularly by the late unprincipled Lord Clare, to which I was an entire stranger. Lord Camden and the majority of the council were polite and attentive.

"After my examination closed, I prayed leave to observe to his Excellency, and the noblemen and gentlemen present, that there was one circumstance which appeared unfavourable to me. An awful silence followed; when I observed, 'That noble lord (pointing to Lord Clare) thought proper to supersede me as

a magistrate of my county; upon which occasion I did myself the honour of addressing your Excellency (Lord Camden), requesting an investigation of my conduct. Your Excellency did politely acknowledge the receipt of my letter, referring me to the Lord Chancellor, to whose department the transaction belonged. I then addressed the Lord Chancellor, who did not think proper to condescend to answer my letter. I now call upon his lordship to state any solitary instance wherein I either neglected my duty or overacted'. After waiting a few moments in vain for a reply, I observed, that 'it appeared easier to his lordship to reconcile to his honour and justice leaving an unfavourable impression of me, than I could reconcile the propriety of such conduct to my mind'. His lordship was so irritated, that he rose from the table, and walked in an agitated manner about the room. During the remainder of his life he was a most inveterate enemy of mine. Lord Camden appeared highly gratified at my observing upon his lordship.

"Upon the 28th of April, 1798, my house, offices, and grounds, which are very considerable, were taken possession of by 120 cavalry and infantry, and twelve officers, who possessed themselves of all kinds of property within and without, and what they could not consume sent to Athy barracks. They continued in possession about thirty days, until the press of the times obliged them to change their position. Upon the approach of the military, my wife and family, of course, were obliged to fly my habitation, without the shortest previous intimation, and I was sent, under a military escort, to Dublin, where, after an arrest of ninety-one days, I was liberated, without the slightest specific charge of any kind. At the time of my arrest, I commanded as respectable a corps of cavalry as any in the kingdom, containing fifty-six in number, and not the slightest impropriety was ever attached to any of its members. From the time the military possessed themselves of my residence, the most iniquitous enormities were everywhere practised upon the people of the country; their houses plundered, their stock of all kinds seized, driven to the barracks, and sold by auction; their persons arrested, and sentenced to be flogged, at the arbitrary will of the most despicable wretches of the community. A man of the name of Thomas James Rawson, of the lowest order, the offal of a dunghill, had every person tortured and stripped, as his cannibal will directed. He would seat himself in a chair in the centre of a ring formed around the triangles, *the miserable victims kneeling under the triangle until they would be spotted over with the blood of the others.* People of the name of Cronin were thus treated. He made the father kneel under the son while flogging, the son under the

father, until they were mutually covered with the blood of each other: this without any specific crime, only what was termed 'speculation', to make them '*whistle*'. They gave an innocent man five hundred lashes (as they were afterwards obliged to acknowledge). The man considering himself dying, requested a priest. They dressed a soldier in black clothes, and sent him to the unfortunate man as a clergyman, who, however, detected the imposture.

"With much esteem, your most faithful,

"T. FITZGERALD.

"To James Bernard Clinch, Esq."

The savagery of the Carlow slaughter and conflagrations, chiefly by the yeomanry, after the defeat and flight or concealment of the rebels, during a period of eight or ten days, in the month of May, 1798, is certainly not exceeded by any atrocity of Haynau in Hungary. In cold blood, between 400 and 500 defenceless people were put to death in this sole massacre of the Irish reign of terror. There are men still living who remember its horror.

In this Carlow exhibition of Lord Camden's notion of "vigorous measures", the bodies of men coolly murdered were flung into the flames of the burning houses of suspected or obnoxious parties.

A terrible barbarity that was practised in Wicklow and Wexford on some occasions, was also resorted to in Carlow on four occasions, of flogging prisoners first, and hanging them immediately they were taken down, from the backbands of cars or from triangles. A child under twelve or thirteen years of age was threatened with the punishment of half hanging, in order to extort information to implicate suspected parties. The terrified child was actually suspended from the backband of a car, when a captain of the Carlow militia had the child taken down. What would the brewers and draymen of Austria have to say to these Haynaus of Orangeism let loose on the Irish people, if peradventure these yeomanry heroes and shoneen justices visited the Barclay and Perkins premises of Vienna?

What would Christendom say, if they beheld an exhibition that was made in the public streets of Carlow, of a representation of the Redeemer of mankind borne on the point of a bayonet? and yet this spectacle was seen approvingly by men exercising power and authority in a Christian land. In the midst of the Carlow massacre, "an Orange trumpeter was seen parading with a wooden crucifix stuck on his bayonet, crying: 'Behold the wooden Jesus'"—*Cox*, February, 1817, p. 79.

Every massacre of the people in 1798 was hailed as a great victory, and received with exultation. The slaughter of the unresisting capitulated people at the Gibbet Rath of Kildare, was regarded as a vigorous measure which the emergencies of the time required. The rebels, according to Sir R. Musgrave, amounted to about 3,000 in number; they had entered into terms with General Dundas, and were assembled at a place that had been a Danish fort, called the Gibbet Rath. Having offered terms of submission to General Dundas on the 26th of May, that general despatched General Welford to receive their arms and grant them protections. Before the arrival of the latter, however, on the 3rd of June, the multitude of unresisting people were suddenly attacked by Sir James Duff, who, having galloped into the plain, disposed his army in order of battle, and with the assistance of Lord Roden's Fencible Cavalry, fell upon the astonished multitude, as Sir Richard Musgrave states, "pell mell". Three hundred and fifty men under terms of capitulation, admitted into the king's peace and promised his protection, were mowed down in cold blood, at a place known to every peasant in Kildare as "the Place of Slaughter", as well remembered as Mullaghmast itself, the Gibbet Rath of the Curragh of Kildare.

The massacre took place on the 3rd of June; the terms of surrender were made by one Perkins, a rebel leader, on the part of the insurgents, and General Dundas on the part of the government, and with its express sanction and permission for them, on delivering up their arms, to return to their homes. Their leader and his brother were to be likewise pardoned and set at liberty.

It was when the people were assembled at the appointed place, to comply with these conditions, that Sir James Duff, at the head of 600 men, then on his march from Limerick, proceeded to the place to procure the surrendered weapons. One of the insurgents, before giving up his musket, discharged it in the air, barrel upwards; this simple act was immediately construed into a hostile proceeding, and the troops fell on the astounded multitude, and the latter fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued and slaughtered without mercy by a party of Fencible Cavalry, called "Lord Jocelyn's Foxhunters".* According to the Rev. James Gordon, upwards of 200 fell on this occasion; Sir R. Musgrave states 350.

No part of the infamy of this proceeding attaches to General Dundas. The massacre took place without his knowledge or his sanction. His conduct throughout the rebellion was that of a humane and a brave man.

* *Vide* Gordon's "Rebellion", p. 100.

The scene of the massacre of the peasantry on the hill of Kilcomney, in the county of Carlow, is one that reeks with reminiscences of the bloody deeds of that "beau sabreur" of 1798, Sir Charles Asgill.

The Wexford insurgents were encountered by Sir Charles at Gore's Bridge; they fled at his approach, and as they fled, they were still pursued and slaughtered. All this is fair, no doubt, in war—in Ireland.

The massacre at Kilcomney, by the yeomanry and militia force under the command of Sir Charles Asgill, Cloney states, amounted to 140 individuals. The slaughter took place on the 26th of June.*

The band of rebels, who, in their flight from Scollagh Gap, in their attempt to get back to Wexford, had directed their march through Kilcomney, were attacked by the army under Sir Charles Asgill; they fled, and were pursued upwards of six miles, having lost, according to Gordon, two or three hundred.

It was after the disappearance of the rebels that the unfortunate and peaceful people of Kilcomney were slaughtered in their homes. Asgill's exploits on this occasion are given by one of the rebels, who had the good fortune to escape the sabres of his band—by Thomas Cloney.

"The defenceless inhabitants of an unoffending and most peaceable district—men, women, and children—were butchered this day (he says), and neither age, sex, nor infirmity, could obtain exemption from the common fate; they were all slaughtered without mercy". He gives the names of a vast number of the victims, whose only crime was, that a band of rebels, when pursued, had fled through their district. A hundred and forty, he states, were slaughtered in this way, and, amongst the sufferers, he speaks of a man of the name of Patrick Fitzpatrick. When his cabin was entered by the marauders, his poor wife, with an infant in her arms, ran to her husband's side, and, while endeavouring to protect him, a volley was poured into them, and they fell dead at the same moment. The cabin was then set fire to as a matter of course over the heads of the children of this unfortunate couple—six in number; and five of them, "poor innocent creatures", ran into a neighbour's house who had escaped the massacre, one of them crying out, "My daddy is killed—my mammy is killed—and the pigs are drinking their blood". The infant that was left in the dead mother's arms, Cloney states, a few years ago was still living, and was called Terence Fitzpatrick. A poor woman of the name of Kealy, an aunt of theirs, took the

* *Vide* Cloney's "Rebellion", p. 82.

children home, and when her scanty means were exhausted for their support, she became a beggar to get them bread: the neighbours helped her—they gave her assistance, and God, in His mercy to her, enabled her to bring them up. There may be no space in the records of the noble deeds of woman for the goodness of this poor creature; but her conduct will not be forgotten, at all events, on that day when virtue is destined to receive its own exceeding great reward—the ample recompense of all its sufferings and sacrifices here below, and where the man of blood will find no act of indemnity available for his sanguinary and inhuman deeds.

The massacre of the unhappy prisoners at Carnew, convicted of no crime—imprisoned on mere suspicion—taken out of the jail on the 25th of May, and deliberately shot in the ball-alley by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia, in the presence of their officers,* is an incident that probably never reached the ears of the people of England. Had it taken place in India or Australia, the perpetrators of it would have been denounced and reprobated; but the victims of this atrocity were Irish, and, at that unhappy period, there was no people in the world whose sufferings and oppression were held entitled to so little Christian sympathy.

A striking instance of the kind of encouragement given to the loyalty of the Catholic members of the yeomanry corps at this period, is recorded by Sir Richard Musgrave. On the 3rd of May, Captain Ryves, who commanded the yeomanry at Dunlavin, the rebels having made their appearance in his neighbourhood:—"The captain", says Sir Richard, "marched out of the town with a party of yeomanry cavalry, to encounter the rebels, but they were so numerous and desperate that he was obliged to return, after some of his men had been marked. The officers, having conferrred for some time, were of opinion that some of the yeomen, who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen, therefore, of the Saunders Grove corps, and nine of the Narramore, were immediately led out, and suffered death. It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that period threatened the town".†

Thus, the suspected yeomen were deliberately taken out of prison, and put to death—"*pour encourager les autres*".

The Roman Catholic gentlemen who had the presumption to join the yeomanry corps, were, in numerous instances, treated as rebels in disguise, and, on some occasions, were even driven into

* *Vide* "Hay's Insurrection of the County of Wexford", p. 76.
† *Vide* "Musgrave's History of the Rebellion", p. 243.

rebellion. In fact, no means were left untried to prevent those of this persuasion from manifesting their zeal in the king's service, and to bring them under the suspicion of countenancing those of their communion who were disaffected.

Throughout the country, the total loss on both sides, in this rebellion is estimated by Plowden, Moore, Curran, and Barrington, at about 70,000; 20,000 on the side of government, and 50,000 on that of the insurgents. It is generally admitted by all, but more especially by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, that very many more were put to death in cold blood, than perished in the field of battle. The number of deaths arising from torture or massacre, where no resistance was offered, during the year 1798, forms the far greater portion of the total number slain in this contest. The words of Mr. Gordon are: "I have reason to think, more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms".*

In detailing these enormities, it would be to make one's self the accomplice of ferocity, to attribute all the barbarity of these disastrous times to one party only, and to shut one's eyes against the inhuman acts of its opponents. It is in vain to refer to the barbarities of the Orangemen, to the previous scourgings, the house-burnings, and the various military excesses, for an apology, or even a palliation, of the wicked deeds done at Scullabogue, on the Bridge of Wexford, and at Vinegar Hill. There may be some allowance made for the frenzy which has driven men to the resistance of tyrannical authority; but there can be none for the dastardly revenge of armed men over their defenceless enemies.

I have not gone through the revolting process of inquiring into these loathsome details without feelings of repugnance, not unfrequently almost insurmountable: but it is not my purpose to take away one iota from the infamy which belongs to the excesses of the insurgents. My object is to put it out of the power of either party ever to recur to the practice of such enormities; to show the members of a partizan administration (if ever there should, unfortunately for Ireland, be one in power there like that of 1798), that a cruel and remorseless policy, whatever efforts may be made to conceal its wickedness, sooner or later will be brought to light, and its authors reprobated by all good men. It matters not under what garb of loyalty they may permit the agents of its policy to lay the mischief which it provoked or aggravated to the charge of a people infuriated by them: in tolerating, countenancing, or re-

* *Vide* Gordon's "History of the Rebellion", p. 269.

compensing the excesses of their subordinate agents, they become responsible for them.

Of the atrocious massacre committed by the rebels on their prisoners on the 5th of June, Sir Richard Musgrave states, that "184 Protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue", and that "37 were shot in front of it". In all, by his statement, 225; of which number, he subsequently states, "a few Romanists were put to death in the barn".

"The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide, and the walls were but twelve feet high". The number described by Musgrave, in a space like this, must have perished by suffocation. Government accounts give the same number as Sir Richard Musgrave.

Cloney states that the total number massacred in this murderous business, was about one hundred, of which number sixteen were Catholics.

Mr. Hay, on the authority of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood in which the nefarious transaction took place, estimates the number at eighty. The murders committed by the rebels on the bridge of Wexford, on the 20th of June, Sir Richard Musgrave estimates at ninety-seven, after five hours' unceasing slaughter; Hay and others, at thirty-six.

The massacre by the rebels at Vinegar Hill, Sir Richard Musgrave states, "he was assured exceeded five hundred"; Gordon says, "the number was little short of four hundred"; and Hay, "eighty-four".

These are the three signal massacres in which the rebels manifested their barbarity. An atrocity on a smaller scale than the preceding ones, was committed by them at Enniscorthy, when, according to Hay, they put fourteen unfortunate persons to death in cold blood. The total number thus slain in all these massacres, Cloney estimates at two hundred and fifty-seven, and the veracious Sir Richard Musgrave, at more than treble that amount.

Independently of the above-mentioned massacres on the part of the rabble of the insurgents, there were many instances of murders of individuals, accompanied by acts of abominable cruelty, and in some cases, but very few indeed, where circumstances showed religious animosity to have been the motive for the murders. The name of Orangeism had been made so detestable to the people, by the outrages committed on them by the members of that institution wherever it gained a footing, that their fury in some cases was directed against Protestants and Catholics indiscriminately, who were not known to be favourable to their views. The fate of the sixteen victims of their own creed, supposed to have leanings to Orangeism, at Scullabogue, was a proof

of this feeling; and throughout the rebellion there was an abundant evidence of their frenzy being more the impulse of a wild resentment against Orangeism, than any spirit of hostility to the sovereign or the state.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPELS DESTROYED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS DURING AND SINCE THE LATE REBELLION.

In the Archdiocese of Dublin.

County of Wicklow:—

Roundwood	June 26,	1798
Annamoe	June 28,	1799
Kilpatrick	Oct. 11,	1798
Ballinvolagh	Oct. 11,	1798
Castletown	Nov.	1798
Ashford	Jan. 25,	1799
Boomaley	Jan. 25,	1799
Johnstown	April 20,	1799
Castledermot	March 20,	1799

The windows of Wicklow chapel broken, and part of the new chapel at Newbridge destroyed by fire, in January and May, 1799.

In the Diocese of Ferns.

County of Wexford:—

Boolavogue (Whitsunday)	May 27,	1798
Maglass	May 30,	1798
Ramsgrange	June 19,	1798
Ballymurrin, slated	June 22,	1798
Drumgold	June 21,	1798
Gorey	Aug. 4,	1798
Annacorra	Sept. 2,	1798
Crane	Sept. 17,	1798
Ballyduff	Oct. 19,	1798
Rock	Oct. 12,	1798
River Chapel	Oct. 19,	1798
Monaseed	Oct. 25,	1798
Clologue	Oct. 26,	1798
Killevery	Nov. 11,	1798
Ferns	Nov. 18,	1798

Oulart	- - -	Nov. 28, 1798
Ballygarret	- - -	Jan. 15, 1799
Ballinamona	- - -	Jan. 18, 1799
Askamore	- - -	Feb. 24, 1799
Murntown	- - -	April 24, 1799
Monomolin, slated	- -	May 3, 1799
Kilrush	- - -	May 15, 1799

In the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

County Kildare:—Kildare	- -	June 8, 1798
Queen's County:—Stradbally	- -	June 24, 1798
County Carlow:—Clonmore	- -	March 6, 1799
Kilquiggan	- -	March 24, 1799

N.B.—The altars and windows of some other chapels, in different places, were broken or injured.

The chapel of Dunboyne, in the diocese and county Meath, destroyed in May or June, 1798.

Total number of Chapels destroyed (in five counties).

County Wexford, - -	22
County Wicklow, - -	9
County Kildare - -	2
County Carlow - -	1
Queen's County - -	1
Total number, -	35

This paper has been carefully copied from the original manuscript, in the handwriting of the late M. R. Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

The total number of chapels damaged or destroyed between 1798 and 1800, throughout the country, is estimated by others at sixty-nine.

Poor Dr. Troy was greatly mistaken in the low estimate he formed of the zeal of armed Orangeism for the good of religion in the county Wexford.

"A list of the Roman Catholic Chapels burned in the county of Wexford, by the military and yeomanry, in 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1801". From *Personal Narrative of Transactions in the County of Wexford, etc.*, by Thomas Cloney, page 221.

"Boolavogue, 27th May, 1798,	1
Maylass,	1
Ramsgrange,	1
Drumgoold, 21st ditto,	1
Ballymurrin, ditto,	1
Gorey, 24th August,	1
Anacurragh, 2nd September,	1
Crane, 17th ditto,	1
Rock, 12th October,	1
Ballyduff, 19th ditto,	1
River Chapel, ditto,	1
Monaseed, 25th ditto,	1
Clologue, 26th ditto,	1
Killeveny, 11th November,	1
Ferns, 18th ditto,	1
Oulart, 28th ditto,	1
Castletown, ditto,	1
Ballygarret, 15th January, 1799,	1
Ballinamona, 18th ditto,	1
Askamore, 24th February,	1
Murrintown, 24th April,	1
Monamolin, 3rd May,	1
Kilrush, 15th ditto,	1
Marshalstown, 9th June,	1
Monfin, 10th ditto,	1
Crossabeg, 24th ditto,	1
Kilenurin, 29th June,	1
Monagier, 1st July,	1
Kiltayley, 10th October,	1
Glanbryan, 13th March, 1800,	1
Kaim, ditto,	1
Ballymakesy,	1
Courtnacuddy, 12th August, 1801,	1
Davidstown, set fire to, but saved,	
Burned, thirty-three Roman Catholic Chapels.	33

One Protestant church (Old Ross) burned in consequence of the murder of an unarmed and inoffensive Catholic by the Ross Yeomen".

Who can read the preceding statements without perceiving that many analogies are discoverable in the doings and dispositions, though not in the destinies, of the terrorists of France and Ireland?

Fouquiere Tinville, Henriot, Marat, Robespierre, and Danton, with all their *sang froid* in the midst of human sufferings, stern, hardhearted, unfeeling, and unscrupulous men, were of a class that had its representatives similarly constituted in our own reign of terror of 1797 and 1798 in Ireland. We had our Castlereaghs, Carhamptons, and Clares, and they might have disputed the preëminence in guilt with many of the state criminals of France of 1792 and 1793. We had, moreover, our truculent, sanguinary Tolers to pit against the Fouquiere Tinvilles, our Judkin Fitzgeralds against the Marats, our Claudius Beresfords against the Henriots; and we had the armed Orangeism of Ireland let loose upon the people; and its ferocious spirit was quite as murderous as that of any faction of fierce and ruthless Jacobins, at the beck of Robespierre or Danton.

The power and position of the terrorists of France differed from that of their fellows in Ireland. The former were either head men in the state or the partizans of some faction for the time being in possession of the government. They generally aimed at the destruction of persons of the same rank as their own, or superior to it, in other factions. They had no innate hatred against the people of their country, no detestation of their creed, no abhorrence of their race. In all these respects they differed from the Irish terrorists. Both, however, were sanguinary, savage, and unrelenting in their several spheres of action and within the operation of it. The peasantry of Ireland, however, in the proportion which they bore to that of France, suffered in all probability more in the years 1797 and 1798, than the latter did at the hands of their tyrants in 1792 and 1793.

The freedom from all religious and moral restraint in the conduct of the terrorists of those times was not less manifest in Ireland than in France. I have inquired a great deal, and examined with much care the evidence I collected with respect to the atrocities committed on the people of both countries in those times of terror, and I have come to the conclusion, that there was more protection in France to be expected for the great mass of the people from the government of the revolution, than was afforded to them in those bad times in Ireland by the administrators of the English government. The British constitution had been made a sophism in Ireland, even while a sort of parliamentary obligation and state necessity existed there for keeping up a show of justice, a semblance of a recognition of Christianity, in governmental forms, an affectation of anxiety for the law's supremacy.

Terrible sufferings were endured by the Irish people in 1797 and 1798. But the government of Ireland of that time, and the British minister, William Pitt, who guided its course, were deaf as adders to all complaints of these sufferings. We need not expend all our denunciations on the crimes and the state criminals of the Convention or Directory of France. We may, indeed, reserve a large share of well-merited opprobrium for that prime minister of England, and the agents of his government in Ireland, who delivered the people of that country into the hands of the armed Orangemen, consigned them to their tender mercies, suffered them to be harassed by the free quarter system, and connived at their being tortured, and indemnified their oppressors for hunting them down, for scourging or picketing them, and casting them into prison on small pretexts or slight suspicions.

The man in Ireland of our terrorists who, perhaps, resembled Robespierre most in cool, phlegmatic insensibility, and calm, unruffled, imperturbable indifference for the effusion of blood in the accomplishment of his political ends, was Lord Castlereagh; I mean, when such ends involved sanguinary acts that were not to be done under his eye, nor to be performed by his own hand, for Castlereagh could not bear the sight of blood, or the spectacle of a tortured man, or an execution.

The secret of Robespierre's early rise and seizure of power, was a vigilant observance of the actors of his time, and of the aspirants to political notoriety, which made him familiar with the peculiarities, the passions, the opinions, and the weaknesses of the public men of his time. Such was the secret, too, of the rise of Robert Stewart, the volunteer, the delegate of the Convention of Dungannon, the pledged reformer, the member of parliament, the corrupter and buyer-up of its members; the man who dallied with sedition, and vaunted of having caused rebellion to explode prematurely, who sought in that rebellion the accomplishment of a political object, and achieved it for his master at the expense, be it remembered, of more blood than ever Robespierre caused to be shed—of 70,000 human beings.*

Robert Stewart, the Robespierre of Ireland, the Castlereagh of Camden's reign of terror, the cold-blooded, cruel, crafty politician, who could smile while his councils were deluging his country with blood, he, like Robespierre, cared not how much carnage he committed in the prosecution of his objects. But Robespierre died on the scaffold; Castlereagh did not. The former has left a memory that smells of hot blood. The latter was not a better man, yet, in a country in which he died a minister of

* 20,000 of the king's troops, and 50,000 of the people perished in this rebellion.

state, he has left a name that is read on a tomb in Westminster Abbey. When he died, the papers of all kinds of politics, save one that was edited and written by a coarse, blunt, vigorous-minded man of the name of Cobbett, eulogized his virtues.*

Danton—the able, bold, remorseless Danton—had his peer amongst our men in power in 1797 and 1798. Lord Clare, in his remarkable perversion of great mental powers; in audacious insolence and assumption; in disregard for prindiple; in fitful, inconstant, ill-considered manifestations of good and evil qualities, applied with the same energy to good or evil purposes, was the Danton of our reign of terror. Clare, like Danton, was always in contradiction with himself. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, was of a character very similar to that of Danton's. He was bold enough, and reckless enough of all laws, divine and human, to have engaged in any undertaking. His actions and principles were so constantly at variance, that he might be said to have had a controversy with himself every hour in the day, and for every side of a question or a cause.

* When the Marquis of Londonderry died, the morning papers gave a false account of the mode and manner of his death. Cobbett, who resided near Footscray, was enabled to publish the true account, which he did in his "Register", and also in very large letters on a placard, which was placed outside his shop door in Fleet Street. It began thus: "People of England, rejoice! Castlereagh is dead!" Then followed some words respecting his self-inflicted death, of a very savage character. The author saw this placard, and was present at *his lordship's funeral.* When the remains were taken from the hearse, at the entrance to Westminster Abbey, the Duke of Wellington, two princes of the blood, and some of the ministers of state, formed on either side, and took hold of the pall, and at that moment, when all was silent and solemn, a shout of a vast multitude of people congregated about the porch, and partly clustered about its columns, simultaneously arose, and at the sound of that cheer, Wellington, and the royal and noble dukes, and other exalted persons who stood beside the coffin, seemed shocked and horror-struck. All was silent again; there was no disorder; the Duke of Wellington stepped forward, and looked sternly at the people around him. The bearers of the coffin began to move, and the Duke had to fall back into his place at the right side of it. That instant, a second shout, similar to the former, as sudden, loud, and simultaneous, was given: again the Duke stepped forward, and gave some directions to those around him. The cortege moved on. When the body passed the porch, and was borne into the abbey, a third and a last cheer was given, and a more vociferous one than either of the former shouts, and this one was accompanied by a general waving of hats on the part of this great multitude, many of them well-dressed people. That all this proceeding was preconcerted and executed by persons who were under some kind of direction, I have little doubt. I was very near to the Duke of Wellington, and I observed him closely. It would not express my idea of the effect which the scene had on him, to say that he was horrorstruck. He was astonished, rather, that a prime minister, a great Tory chief, who possessed his confidence, and with whom he had been so closely allied in politics, and of late especially in those of the holy alliance, could be so unpopular, or that any number of Englishmen should dare, in public, to manifest their feelings of hostility to his policy, by thus publicly insulting his remains. My impression is that this occurrence made a deep and lasting impression on Wellington, one which shook his faith in the permanence of the good old *regime* of Toryism.

One day for the altar, and another for the scaffold; now for his country, and a little later for its enemies; again, for ambition, and then for pelf. He counselled the shedding of blood, without stint or scruple, in 1797 and 1798; but occasionally he did generous and humane acts, when his personal resentments were not concerned; but when they were, he was implacable and fiendish in his vindictiveness, as in the case of the Sheares.

Of all the French terrorists, Fouquier Tinville is probably the man whose memory is held in the greatest abhorrence and disgust by his countrymen. This execrable man was represented in Ireland, in its bad times, by an unprincipled legal functionary, an obdurate, unjust, and unmerciful judge—the iniquitous Toler, better known to the world as Lord Norbury.

Toler possessed all Tinville's inhumanity of disposition. He manifested the same unfeeling, savage nature in the midst of the most afflicting circumstances; the same vulgar levity in the discharge of his official duties; the same thorough contempt for justice; and was singularly scandalous and open in the manifestation of contempt for all appearance of judicial decorum or common decency in the exercise of his functions.

On the trial of John Magee for libel, in 1813, O'Connell, in his memorable speech on that occasion, thus alludes to Toler, when employed on special commissions in the early part of his career: "Why, in one circuit during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before *one* judge: of these, ninety-eight were *capitally convicted*, and *ninety-seven hanged!* One escaped, but he was a soldier, who murdered a peasant—a thing of a trivial nature. *Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!!*"*

The career of Toler, like that of Fouquier Tinville, was one long course of judicial bloodshed, so that it might probably be said of him, as well as of Fouquier Tinville, he killed more in his judicial capacity than any single man ever slew with his own hand by the sword. At length this murderous officer of justice was brought before his own tribunal. But Tinville was tried for his multitudinous murders, and condemned the 6th of May, 1795. He was charged—how different was this with the painted sepulchres of justice in other countries!—*he was charged with destroying great multitudes of people under pretence of conspiracies and seditions*,—with causing between sixty and eighty individuals to be tried, on one occasion, in four hours,—with clearing prisons by cartloads of prisoners, without trial, or even depositions against them.

* *Vide* "Memoir and Speeches of D. O'Connell, Esq.", vol. i., p. 498.

The evidence against him disclosed acts of wickedness in the way of perverting justice to the wills and whims of the ruling powers, making a mockery, a delusion, and a snare of the form of a trial, packing and intimidating juries, cramming together people *en masse* in one great mesh of imputed crime, and bringing to trial on the same indictment persons often who had no previous communication or connection, and finally glutting the scaffold and the gibbet with daily victims—acts of wickedness that never had a parallel except in Ireland.

It was proved that in the course of the proceedings on the trials, he was in the habit of stopping the defence with such words as these: "I think, citizens, that you are fully convinced of the guilt of the accused". And the jurymen then used generally to declare, "Our consciences are satisfied". And the melodrama of justice commonly terminated with a sentence of death delivered *en gros*, and a carting of the victims of the unjust judge to the place of execution. It was proved that he had *procured the conviction* and the execution of forty-two persons on one occasion; and when some doubt had been expressed to him of the policy of putting so many people to death in one day, and the possibility of the people murmuring at it, this true Toler of the French tribunal of justice, this energetic and facetious judge, said, "Never mind: justice must take its course".

On the 18th of April, 1795, justice did take its course in his case: this iniquitous judicial functionary was guillotined. Toler, the ribald judge, stained with blood shed judicially, and obdurately wicked to the end of his infamous career, died a lord, in his bed.

Henriot, the lictor of Robespierre, began life as an attorney's clerk, then became a trader, a speculator in politics, in patriotism, a brawler in patriotic assemblies, a commander of the National Guard of Paris, and eventually, a terrorist and a man of blood. He was at once the servile sycophant of Robespierre, his bully, and his parasite. It seemed to him to be an honourable employment and a pastime to shed blood in his official capacity. He died too on the scaffold, the 28th of July, 1794. He was represented in Ireland by John Claudius Beresford. But our Henriot lived unmolested, and died in some repute in his locality; and those who are acquainted with his career, and are placed in different circumstances to those in which he figured in early life, have abundant reason to thank Heaven their lot was cast in happier times, and at their outset into active life that the same evil influences were not in operation, which his passions, his prejudices, political opinions, and the infirmities of his mind were exposed to. John Claudius Beresford, when he waxed old, lived on decent terms with Roman Catholics, nay, even went out of his way to

promote the interests of some men who had suffered much in purse and person in 1798. In private life he bore a good character. Perhaps the inclination to commit sanguinary and inhuman acts had died away with the bad circumstances of public affairs around him. Perhaps, like other passions, that of cruelty, in the course of time, had worn itself out, and in the spent volcano of terrorism, in latter years, there might be scarcely a spark to be found in his bosom. At all events, the times had passed away for torturing his fellow-men; the taws had to be laid aside; the dominion of brutal passions, freed from all restraint, was at an end. John Claudius Beresford, deprived of power, ceased to be a monster. We are therefore called upon by the advocates of his politics to refuse credence to what history tells us of his enormities when he had the power to commit them.

Ali Pacha, of Yanina, was as mild a man as ever cut a throat, and of a loving nature in his family. Claudius, in his retirement from public life, was the same in his: the Riding-School atrocities, picketings, and the pitch-capping were never recurred to by him, even in conversation.

Dionysius the tyrant, we are told, when he had shed blood enough to make the streets of Syracuse slippery with gore, fled from the vengeance of his people, and passed for an amiable schoolmaster in Corinth. Dionysius the tyrant could enjoy the sight of executions of men and women, and take an interest in the prolongation of their agonies, but the cries of children undergoing correction distressed him. And Sylla, too, after he had butchered some sixty thousand of his countrymen, was found to be a good neighbour, very quiet and inoffensive *in his retirement.* He could not have been more so than our Claudius in his private life in his latter days.

CHAPTER XIII.

COST OF PREMATURELY EXPLODING AND SUPPRESSING THE REBELLION OF 1798.

THE arrest of the Sheares, on the 23rd of May, 1798, was the death-blow to the Society of United Irishmen. From the date of its origin, October, 1791, having existed seven years, whether viewed in its results, the character of its members, or the nature of its proceedings, it may certainly be regarded as a confederacy

which no political or revolutionary society that has gone before it has surpassed in importance, boldness of design, and devotion to its principles, however mistaken those belonging to it may have been.

It is unnecessary to refer more at large "to the well-timed measures pursued" to cause the insurrection to explode; the partial outbreak that ensued, deprived of its leaders, baffled in its original designs, was sufficiently formidable to require a military force exceeding 137,000 men, comprising regulars, militia, yeomanry, and volunteering supernumeraries, and the employment of six general officers, to suppress it. The yeomanry force alone, according to the report of the Commons' Secret Committee of 1798, "exceeded 50,000, and might have been increased to a much greater extent".

The total number of the rebels who had risen in the county of Wexford, Sir Jonah Barrington estimates at 35,000. "Wexford", he observes, "is only one of thirty-two counties, by no means the most populous, and far from the most extensive. Had the rising been general, the northern counties might have furnished as many, the southern counties more, and the midland less than Wexford; a rough, but, no doubt, an uncertain, average may be drawn from these data, as to what the possible or probable amount of insurgents might have been throughout the entire kingdom, if the struggle had been protracted. Enough, at least, will be ascertained to prove that the rebellion never should have been permitted to arrive at that dangerous maturity. It is equally clear, that had the rebels possessed arms, officers, and discipline, their numbers would soon have rendered them masters of the kingdom, in which there exists not one fortress capable of resisting a twenty-four hours' investment".*

With respect to the actual force of the United Irishmen, we find in the province of Ulster alone, by O'Connor's evidence before the Secret Committee in 1797, 150,000 men were sworn and enrolled in the province of Ulster alone. When Dr. M'Neven was asked by a member of the Secret Committee of 1798, to what number he thought the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom, he replied: "Those who have taken the test, do not, I am convinced, fall short of 500,000, without reckoning women and old men. The number regularly organized is not less than 300,000; and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight for the liberty of Ireland, when they get a fair opportunity".†

* Barrington's "Memoirs of the Irish Union", vol. ii., p. 256.

† "Memoir of Examinations", etc., by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Neven, p. 74.

The suppression of this rebellion, and the accomplishment of the Union, which was carried into effect by its instrumentality, entailed on Great Britain an enormous expenditure.

The amount of the claims of the suffering loyalists for their losses sustained in 1798, laid before the commissioners, by Sir Ricard Musgrave's statement, was £823,517 sterling; but in 1799, the sum total, according to Gordon, amounted to £1,023,000, of which more than half, or £515,000, was claimed by the county of Wexford;* "but who", says Mr. Gordon, "will pretend to compute the damages of the croppies, whose houses were burned, or effects pillaged or destroyed, and who, barred from compensation, sent no estimate to the commissioners? Perhaps, if the whole amount of the detriment sustained by this unfortunate island, in consequence of the united conspiracy, were conjectured at £2,000,000, a sum of such magnitude might not exceed, or even equal, the reality".

The purchase of the Irish parliament for the accomplishment of the Union, rendered it necessary for Lord Castlereagh to introduce a bill into the House of Commons in the beginning of December, 1800, for the purpose of "compensating the proprietors of boroughs". The ugly word for which "compensation" stands, suggests itself at once to every mind; the fact of £1,500,000 having been spent in buying up the Irish parliament, in some ten or twelve years hence will appear, not only a sufficient proof of its venality, but of the impolicy as well as wickedness and profligacy of Pitt and Castlereagh.

It is impossible to estimate the loss occasioned in this rebellion, by the destruction of property consequent on the government privilege of free quarters enormities, the pillage of houses, the burning of the cabins of the peasantry, the spoiling of towns and villages—outrages and injuries of various kinds which were held entitled to no compensation, and whose perpetrators were indemnified for their atrocities by a special act of parliament. If Mr. Gordon, however, imagined that £2,000,000 would cover the total amount of the value of property destroyed in this rebellion throughout the island, he was exceedingly mistaken. Surely the injuries inflicted on the property of loyalists bore no proportion to those which the insurgents and the Roman Catholic people generally, who were considered out of the king's peace, suffered at their hands, and at those of an army exceeding, at one

* Gordon's "History of the Rebellion". By later writers, however, than Gordon, we learn that the "suffering loyalists", for several years after the rebellion, instead of dying off, as they might naturally be expected to do, went on, year after year, adding to their numbers, until the jobbers of Protestant ascendency netted eventually £1,500,000.

time, 137,000 men turned loose upon them. And yet, the admitted claims of the "suffering loyalists" eventually amounted to £1,500,000. The number of Roman Catholic places of worship destroyed during the rebellion, or immediately subsequent to it, may afford some criterion by which we can judge of the number and extent of other outrages on property belonging to persons of that communion. In six counties alone, by the statement of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin of that period, a copy of which I was fortunate enough to procure from the original document, the number of Roman Catholic places of worship utterly destroyed or partly demolished during 1798–9, amounted to thirty-six; and from another document, printed some years ago in America, giving a list of the chapels destroyed or greatly damaged in other parts of the country, the total number will be found to amount to no less than sixty-nine.

If the *razèes* of Sir Charles Asgill in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny, the proceedings of Sir T. Judkin Fitzgerald in the county Tipperary, of Messrs. Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, in the county Wexford, had been traced in 1797 and 1798, and the smouldering ashes of the houses and haggards of the suspected gentry, the smoking ruins of the cabins of the peasantry, the demolished doors and windows and trampled crucifixes of the people's chapels, the exploits of "Burn-chapel Whaley", the brother-in-law of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the humbler cabin victories of the Rochforts, Blayneys, Kerrs, Montgomerys, Furlongs, etc., had been made due use of, in this track of true inquiry, it might have furnished records to enable us to form some idea of the value of property of the suffering people, for the loss of which they were not indemnified.

As to the expenses the government had to encounter and defray, on account of this rebellion and its consequences, the following calculation may give some approximate idea of the amount:—

From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland, estimated at £4,000,000 per annum, - -	£16,000,000
Purchase of the Irish parliament, - -	1,500,000
Payment of claims of suffering loyalists -	1,500,000
Secret service money, from 1797 to 1804 (from official reports), - - -	53,547
Secret service money previous to 21st August, 1797, date of first entry in preceding account—say from date of Jackson's mission in 1794, estimated at - - -	20,000

Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion and the promotion of the Union, to the present time -	1,200,000
Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals - - -	500,000
Additional expenditure in public offices consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of parliamentary archives, and compensation of offices, servants, etc., - -	800,000
	£21,573,547

I am aware that the amount has been estimated at £30,000,000 by some writers, and at nearly double that amount by others. "In three counties", it has been said, "its suppression cost £52,000,000; what would it have been, if it had extended to the other twenty-nine counties?"

I have set down the items which, I believe, constituted the bulk of the expenditure for the excitement, premature explosion, and suppression of the rebellion, for the corruption, purchase, and abolition of the Irish parliament, and permanent provision for the agents of Government in these transactions; and that amount, though it falls short of all the calculations I have seen on the subject, I have given as the nearest approximation to the actual expenditure which my own inquiries have led to.

The reduction of Ireland by King William cost England, according to Story, £9,956,613; being the "total expense of English regular forces in Ireland in 1689, 1690, and 1691". According to Mr. O'Callaghan, a very able and accurate historical writer, the author of *The Green Book*,* the total expense, inclusive of the cost of the militia and yeomanry force, was about £11,000,000. In the three campaigns, the expenditure is estimated by Story, in 1689, for 25,000 men; in 1690, for 41,000; and in 1691, for about 37,000.

The population of Ireland, at the Revolution, did not exceed 1,500,000. The Catholic portion of it was about 1,000,000; and as the rebellion was a "Popish" one, the subjection of that portion of the million capable of bearing arms, cost William three campaigns, and England between ten and eleven millions of money. These wars of William cost Ireland, in the course of three campaigns, the lives of 100,000 of her people, and left 300,000 "ruined and undone". These latter incidents in the history of

* "Green Book", p. 462.

William's wars in Ireland are slight events, perhaps, in comparison with their successful issue; but the ten millions of pounds sterling are mighty matters of consideration for English chancellors of the exchequer. It may not appear very surprising that the people of Ireland should connect the glorious name and immortal memory of "the great and good King William" with certain historical data, rather painful to recur to, than otherwise; and that his triumphs cannot be recalled at the orgies of Orangeism without suggesting, in the minds of one party, ideas fraught with mournful reminiscences of defeat and carnage, and exhibiting most ungenerous feelings on the part of their opponents, in the celebration of the blood-stained successes of a civil war, in those calamities of a most savage strife in the worst of evil times, no Christian people should exult.

The population of Ireland in 1798 exceeded four millions. In forty-five years the population had more than doubled. On the authority of Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Neven, the number of United Irishmen enrolled amounted to 500,000; the number they counted on as an effective force was 300,000. At the close of 1798, the military force in Ireland, including the troops of the line, militia, and yeomanry, amounted to 137,590.*

The loss on the part of the king's troops, regulars, militia, and yeomanry, in this rebellion of 1798, is estimated by Plowden, Barrington, Curran, and Moore, at 20,000; and the loss on the side of the people, at 50,000. Total loss, 70,000.

In the preceding page, the cost of fomenting and suppressing this rebellion (confined to three counties), and thereby of effecting the measure of the Union, was shown, at the very lowest estimate, to have amounted to nearly twenty-two millions,

* The military force in Ireland immediately after the rebellion, in 1799:—

From Parliamentary Returns.

The Regulars,	32,281
The Militia,	26,634
The Yeomanry,	51,274
The English Militia,	24,201
Artillery,	1,500
Commissariat,	1,700
	137,590

These figures are taken from a report of the parliamentary proceedings of the 18th of February, 1799. They are introduced in a speech of Lord Castlereagh, prefacing a motion on military estimates. He did not think that one man could be then spared of the 137,590, though the rebellion was completely over, and though he had to deal with a population only *one-half* of the present. We have not at hand the means of ascertaining the force of 1800, but there is ground for concluding that it was over that of 1799, though the time of the rebellion was still farther off by a year.

or more than six times the amount which was expended in the suppression of the last Canadian rebellion, which, on the authority of Sir Robert Peel, cost three millions and a-half.* To go to war with Ireland, and accomplish the object of that war, fifty-nine years ago, when Ireland had less than half the amount of its present population, cost Great Britain upwards of twenty-two millions, and both countries a loss of 70,000 lives.

The preceding details were intended to give some insight into the origin, progress, and "premature explosion" of the conspiracy of 1798.

A full and faithful history of the rebellion yet remains to be written. The object of this work is to place before the public the scattered memorials of it, collected from those who were actors in that struggle. The reminiscences of those persons, it seemed to me, were likely to perish with them, had no effort been made in their latter years to preserve them. Most of these persons were far advanced in years when I commenced my labours in 1836; some, indeed, were on the verge of the grave, and during the past twenty-one years (the period of collecting and publishing these materials), the greater number of them have died. It certainly would be impossible, at this date, with any probability of success, to set about commencing the same task, to which I have devoted so much labour in many lands, and, I may add, so much money in the accomplishment of it. The men of 1798 who have enabled me to execute this undertaking have passed away, with very few exceptions.

To enter into any detailed account of the conflicts in this rebellion, the military operations, or results of the successive engagements, from the 20th of May, 1798, when "the rising" of the peasantry commenced in the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, to the 8th of September, when the French, under Humbert, surrendered at Ballinamuck—would be foreign to my purpose. The task which I have undertaken to accomplish, is to illustrate the events of a very stirring epoch of Irish history, by biographical notices of many eminent men who were prominent actors in it.

The persons who are the subjects of the memoirs contained in the succeeding volumes, are those whose histories are most intimately connected with events or proceedings, to which I have

* "Debate on the Canadian Corn Importation Question", May 23, 1843:—Sir Robert Peel said: "They found that a rebellion had recently existed in the colony; that the cost of suppressing that rebellion had been, by direct votes of that house, little short of two millions of money; that when they came to add the additional cost of maintaining the army in the colony, and of transporting forces thither, the total expense was in reality little less than £3,500,000; there was a force in Canada of no less than twenty-two battalions of British infantry".

directed attention in this First Series of *The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen.*

This portion of my subject cannot be more aptly concluded than in the words of a man who, about a century ago, manifested extraordinary power in his political writings, and enthusiasm in his zeal and attachment to the liberties of his country: "There never was a rebellion or insurrection in Ireland that was not apparently the effect of an unjust, tyrannical administration".*

* "The History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of several late Insurrections". London, 1760. Page 44.

APPENDIX I.

SECRET SERVICE MONEY EXPENDITURE.

ITEMS EXTRACTED FROM AN ORIGINAL OFFICIAL DOCUMENT, HEADED "ACCOUNT OF SECRET SERVICE MONEY APPLIED IN DETECTING TREASONABLE CONSPIRACIES, PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL LIST ACT OF 1793".

From the 21st of August, 1797, to Sept. 30, 1801	£38,419	8	0
And from Sept. 30, 1801, to March, 28, 1804	15,128	5	1
	£53,547	13	1

THE ACCOUNT UP TO SEPTEMBER,
"PER AFFIDAVIT OF MR. COOKE".

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Aug. 21.	E. Cooke, Esq., for M. . .	50	0	0
„ 22.	Newell	11	7	6
„ „	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon . .	20	0	0
Sept. 1.	Mr. Cooke for M. . . .	10	0	0
„ „	Kerr's wife, 1 guinea; Grey, 1 guinea; Mitchel, 1 guinea; ditto Mr. Cooke for Magowan . . .	4	11	0

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 2.	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon	20	0	0
„ 7.	Diet and lodging bill for Mr. Smith and wife	77	17	10
„ 11.	Sir G. F. Hill	100	0	0
„ 12.	Mr. Cooke for M.	100	0	0
„ 16.	Jus. Bell in search of offenders, by Sirr	45	10	0
„ „	Dawes for Bird	20	0	0
„ 26.	Mr. Cooke for M.	200	0	0
„ 29.	Watkins, for diet of Messrs. Newell, Murdock, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermot, Kavanagh, Sandys	228	9	11½
„ 30.	Sent to Newell by post	10	0	0
Oct. 5.	Mr. Cooke for Magowan	4	11	0
„ 13.	Mary Gamble, for 13 weeks' lodging for Newell and Murdock	6	16	6
„ 5.	Ditto for Boyle	10	4	9
„ 23.	John Coghlan of Clonard	20	0	0
„ 19.	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Verner	22	15	0
„ 23.	Mrs Dawes for O'Brien's clothes	4	18	9½
„ „	Keeper of Bridewell for Bell Martin's diet, 21 weeks	12	16	10
„ 32.	Dawes, to send Smith to bring him to town	11	7	6
Nov. 3.	Bell Martin, to take her out of town	5	13	9
„ 4.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Carhampton	11	7	6
„ 6.	Allowance for 13 men in the Tower for one week, per Major Sirr	14	15	9
„ 9.	Lowry 3 gs., Newell 3 gs., and Newell (again), to go out of town	18	4	0
„ 10.	J. Pollock, per Rt.	100	0	0
„ 15.	Ditto.	50	0	0
„ 22.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholls	10	0	0
„ 23.	Serj. Dunn of the Invalids, going with Grey to Derry	3	8	3
„ „	J. Pollock, Esq.	25	3	9

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Nov. 27.	Capt. A. M'Nevin	150	0	0
„ 28.	Mr. Cooke for M'Carry	50	0	0
„ 29.	J. Pollock, Esq.	20	0	0
„ „	Subsistence of 13 men in the Tower	14	15	9
„ 30.	Smith	5	13	9
Dec. 8.	A. Worthington, balance of account in advance	45	10	0
„ 11.	J. Pollock, Esq.	300	0	0
„ 12.	O'Brien for a great coat; Grey, Mitchell, and Wheatley, one guinea each; Lindsey, two guineas	5	13	9
„ „	Cooke, to send to Newell	20	0	0
„ 13.	Patrickson, for diet and lodging of Smith and wife in the Co. Wicklow	9	2	0
„ 14.	W. B. Swan in search of offenders	20	0	0
„ 15.	Mr. Darcy Mahon	50	0	0
„ 18.	Smith	10	0	0
„ „	Mr. Cooke, for F——y	11	7	6
„ 19.	R. Marshall, by direction of Mr. Pelham	159	5	0
„ 20.	Jos. Nugent, by direction of Mr. Cooke	5	13	9
„ „	Smith, for clothes	20	0	0
„ „	Col. Longfield, for soldiers of the Cork Militia	127	8	0
„ 22.	Wm. Morriss, for 15 days' lodging of Smith and wife, to 21st Dec.	14	9	3
„ 23.	Mr. Collins, sent to him in London	108	0	0
„ „	W. Atkinson, of Belfast, expenses and allowance for going to England in search of Magee	65	0	0
„ „	Earl Carhampton, for Ferris (Ferris to have £100 per annum from Dec.)	200	0	0
„ 29.	Ben. Eves, of Blessington, what he advanced to Johnston, *alias* Smith	14	4	4½
1798.				
Jan. 1.	Lindsay of the Fifeshire Fencibles, returning to Glasgow	20	0	0

1798.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan.	4.	Capt. Coulson . . .	30	0	0
„	„	Serj. Chapman and John Connell .	9	2	0
„	5.	Lord Enniskillen, for Capt. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Pelham .	100	0	0
„	8.	Serjeant Denis M'Gawley, of the Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton . . .	22	15	0
„	„	Mr. Marshall, by desire of Lord Pelham	113	15	0
„	13.	Mr. Dutton . . .	68	5	0
„	„	Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Higgins .	100	0	0
„	18.	Mr. Cooke, for Jus. Bell . .	50	0	0
„	20.	Wheatley, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham, and Travers, 1 guinea each	6	16	6
„	„	Mr. Smith . . .	10	0	0
„	„	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell . .	40	13	9
„	22.	Major Sirr for Bourke . .	5	13	9
„	23.	Wheatley, to take him home .	20	0	0
„	25.	Mr. Cooke for Corbett . .	20	0	0
„	27.	Major Sirr for M'Cann . .	5	13	9
„	29.	Mr. Cooke for Warren . .	2	5	6
Feb.	2.	The Hon C. Sheffington, what he paid Newell . . .	22	15	0
„	„	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell . .	40	13	9
„	„	Mr. O'Bri— from the North .	13	13	0
„	9.	Mr. Cooke for B. . .	10	0	0
„	16.	Newell, on going to England .	56	17	6
„	24.	Mr. Pollock for I. W. H. . .	56	17	6
„	29.	Mr. Cooke (Mr. Cope) . .	341	5	5½
Mar.	6.	Rev. Mr. Vignolles, by direction of Mr. Pelham . . .	6	16	6
„	8.	Mr. Dawes for Joyce's clothes .	4	15	2½
„	13.	Wm. Logan, police constable, on going into the country . .	22	15	0
„	14.	Mr. Philip Gahan, by direction of Mr Cooke . . .	1	2	9
„	15.	Serj. Chapman, to send his wife to Cork and bring her back . .	11	7	6

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 16.	Mr. Swan, expenses of coach and guards, etc. at Mr. Bond's	23	13	6
„ „	Mr. George Murdock, by direction of Mr. Cooke	150	0	0
„ 20.	Lowry, by direction of Mr. Cooke, on Lord Castlereagh's letter	5	13	9
„ „	The two Joyces, to take them home	11	7	6
„ 21.	Mr. Lee's 220 gs., by direction of Mr. Cooke	250	5	0
„ 22.	Major Sirr, for Brennan, by direction of Mr. Cooke	22	15	0
„ 26.	J. Welsh, expenses of bringing Keleher and Wilson from Cork	34	2	6
„ 27.	Mr. Godfrey's expense of coach-hire to Arklow	3	19	1
„ 28.	Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
„ „	Chapman, to buy clothes on his going back to Cork	3	8	3
„ 29.	Mr. Lindsay, for Mr. Bell	20	0	0
„ „	Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Swan	100	0	0
„ 28.	Major Sirr, for Lennan and his two sons, who attended at Roscommon	5	13	9
„ 30.	Travers, to buy clothes on his going to Trim	4	11	0
„ 31.	Major Sirr, for Brennan	22	15	0
Apr. 2.	Lord Enniskillen, for Captain Henry St. George Cole	160	0	0
„ 3.	Mr. Cooke (*qy. Mr. Verner*)	11	7	6
„ 6.	Ditto, per his note	100	0	0
„ 7.	Major Sirr, for Doran, M'Alister, and Magrath, expenses coming home from the assizes	10	4	9
„ „	Oliver Carleton, on going to Mr. O'Connor's trial in England	115	0	0
„ „	Sir George Hill, for a man going to ditto	11	7	6
„ „	Mr. Dutton, going to England to attend Quigley's trial	34	11	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Apr. 20.	J. Armit (account of Oliver Carleton), for expenses of a man sent by Sir G. Hill to attend Quigley's trial .	34	11	0
„ 21.	Major Bruce, for soldiers of the Cork militia, looking for Trenor .	1	2	9
„ 23.	Mr. Brownlow, going to Whitehaven for Sampson . . .	11	7	6
„ 27.	Darcy Mahon . . .	100	0	0
„ „	J. Pollock, on going to England .	110	0	0
May 3.	George Hobbs, by desire of Mr. Rochfort, of Co. Carlow . .	20	0	0
„ „	Major Sirr, for Bourke's widow, 3 gs., Edward Joyce, 1 g. .	4	11	0
„ „	Grey, for clothes and lodging, by Mr. Cooke's desire . .	4	11	0
„ „	Lowry, by desire of Lord Castlereagh .	2	5	6
„ „	Lord Carhampton's bill to Mr. Luttrell, on account of James Ferris, to 1st of May . . .	54	3	4
„ 12.	Hon. R. Annesley, per Mr. Swan .	50	0	0
„ „	Mr. Medlicott, by desire of Mr. Cooke .	5	13	9
„ „	Major Sirr, for Brennan . .	11	7	6
„ 14.	Counsellor Townsend, what he advanced in Cork to two persons to attend O'Connor's trial . .	34	2	6
„ 19.	Lowry, to buy clothes, and in full, by Mr. Cooke's desire . .	5	13	9
„ 24.	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler .	32	17	0
„ 31.	C. Brennan . . .	22	15	0
„ „	Mr. William Edgar, by Mr. Cooke's desire . . .	100	0	0
June 6.	Mr. Jennings . . .	50	0	0
„ 12.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	50	0	0
„ 13.	Mr. Swan, by Mr. Cooke's desire .	100	0	0
„ „	Mr. Dennis, for Mr. Ryan's widow, by ditto . . .	100	0	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June 15.	J. Pollock, Esq., bill from London .	109	7	6
„ 20.	F. H. Discovery of L. E. F. .	1000	0	0
„ „	Mr. Sproule . . .	50	0	0
„ 21.	Mr. Stewart, Surgeon-general, for attendance on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, viz.: Mr. Garnett, who sat in the room, £22 15s.; Mr. Kinsley, for attending him in a delirium, £4 11s.; Surgeon Leake, sixteen days, £2, attendance twice a-day . .	59	6	0
„ 30.	Fred. Trench, for Bergan . .	50	0	0
July 4.	J. C. Beresford . . .	50	0	0
„ „	T. M'Donnell, for eight horses, with Dr. Esmond and from Naas, 8th June .	4	6	8
„ „	Ensign Murray, York regiment, expenses of bringing priest Martin from Rathdrum . . .	5	13	9
„ 19.	Major Sandys, on account of prisoners in the provost . . .	100	0	0
„ „	Earl Enniskillen for Captain Henry St. George Cole . . .	37	10	0
„ 25.	Major Sandys, on further account of prisoners in the provost . .	200	0	0
„ 26.	Major Sirr for pistols for Mr. Reynolds . . .	9	2	0
„ „	T. Collins's bill for London . .	54	17	6
„ 30.	Mitchell, to pay his rent and buy clothes . . .	5	13	9
„ 31.	Mr. Sproule . . .	30	0	0
Aug. 7.	Major Sirr, for Serjeant M'Dowall, of the Dumbarton Fencibles .	11	7	6
„ 16.	J. Magin, per rect. . .	700	0	0
„ 17.	Ditto, ...	56	17	6
„ „	Chaise and horses, with Sir T. Esmond and Captain Doyle, from Bray, and returning with the officers who guarded them . . .	2	3	4

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug. 18.	O'Brien for eight men, at one guinea, and three men at half-a-guinea .	10	16	1½
,, ,,	Major Sirr, expenses of Conolly from Drogheda to Belfast, in July, and Conolly and Martin from Drogheda to Dublin, in August . .	6	18	8
,, ,,	J. Pollock, Esq., bill to F. Carleton, Esq., dated Newry . . .	56	17	6
,, ,,	Serjeant Lodwick Hamilton, Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton, for attendance at assizes to prosecute . . .	22	15	0
,, 27.	Mr. Taggert from Newtownards, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . .	10	0	0
,, 28.	Mr. Sproule . . .	50	0	0
,, ,,	Cahill and Charles M'Fillan, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	4	11	6
,, ,,	Mr. Pollock's bill, dated Belfast .	56	17	6
Sept. 6.	Charles M'Fillan . . .	20	0	0
,, 7.	Mr. Taggert and three others, for attending Secret Committee Co. D. .	54	11	0
,, 12.	Major Sandys, for subsistence of prisoners in the barracks . .	58	16	8
,, 14.	Lieutenant Atkinson, of the Louth Militia, expenses of bringing La Roche and Teeling, French officers, to Dublin	16	14	10
,, ,,	Mr. Pollock's bill, Belfast . .	56	17	6
,, ,,	Major Sandy's subsistence of prisoners .	100	0	0
,, 22.	Mr. Sproule . . .	24	14	7
,, 24.	Mr. Cooke . . .	10	0	0
,, 26.	Mr. Ellis, from Enniskillen, for his expenses . . .	20	0	0
,, 29.	Mr. Thomas Reynolds . .	1000	0	0
Oct. 9.	F. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . . .	50	0	0
,, 19.	Mr. Sproule . . .	20	0	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 22.	Subsistence at Cork of the Hills, witnesses for the crown . .	74	4	9
„ „	Thomas Collins's bill from London .	54	3	4
Oct. 24.	Mr. Tucker, of King's End, for M'Carry	20	0	0
„ 27.	Mr. O'Brien, for men—Grey, Mitchell, Travers, O'Neil, Bourke, Chambers, and Lindsay . .	21	0	10½
Nov. 12.	Major Thackeray, his expenses from Derry with T. W. Tone . .	28	8	9
„ 16.	Mr. T. Reynolds . .	2000	0	0
„ 17.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half year	54	3	4
„ 20.	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler .	32	14	0
„ „	Mr. Nugent, to take him back to England	5	13	9
„ 24.	Right Hon. D. Browne for Flattelly, who prosecuted F. French, Esq., at Castlebar, for high treason .	100	0	0
„ 29.	Bryan Lennan, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . . .	30	0	0
Dec. 8.	E. Cooke, Esq. . . .	500	0	0
„ 15.	For informer respecting O'Neill, Major Sirr	11	7	6
„ „	Mr. John Mahon, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	200	0	0
„ „	William Plunkett for attending courts-martial at Castlebar . .	227	10	0
„ 31.	Major Sirr for six men as Christmas boxes . . .	6	16	6
„ „	Mr. Pollock for two persons, £50 each .	100	0	0
1799.				
Jan. 1.	Major Sirr . . .	500	0	0
„ 5.	Thomas Lennan to take him to England, by direction of Lord Castlereagh	12	0	0
„ 12.	Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers . .	7	19	3

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan.	18.	W. B. Swan, per Mr. Cooke's order	100	0	0
„	19.	Mr. T. Reynolds, per receipt	1000	0	0
„	23.	J. Pollock, Esq.	1137	10	0
„	24.	Rev. George Lambert, per Mr. Cooke's note	300	0	0
„	26.	Mr. Collins's bill, dated London	55	5	0
Feb.	9.	Mr. Cooke for N.	22	15	0
„	„	O'Brien, expenses for three men to Bray, two days' coach hire	1	19	0
„	12.	Sir J. Blaquiere for Leonard Cornwall	22	15	0
„	15.	Serjeant Daley, per Mr. Cooke's note	10	0	0
„	16.	J. Pollock for T. W. £150, G. M. £50	200	0	0
„	20.	Earl of Enniskillen, for Captain H. St. George Cole	75	0	0
„	22.	Major Sirr, for O'Kean, to take him away	10	0	0
„	23.	Mr. Crofton, for three men of Mohill, co. Leitrim	34	2	6
Mar.	4.	Mr. Reynolds, to complete £5000, viz.: September 29, £1000; November 16, £2000; and January 19, £1000	1000	0	0
„	2.	Thomas Jones Atkins, per Mr. Marsden's note	113	15	0
„	5.	J. Pollock for M'G. sent by post to Belfast	60	0	0
„	6.	Dr. Harding, for the Hills' subsistence at Cork	18	4	0
„	12.	Colonel Jackson for Mr. Moran, by direction of Lord Castlereagh	100	0	0
„	15.	Marquis of Waterford, for Dr. Hearn	70	0	0
„	16.	Lord Boyle, by direction of Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
„	19.	Oliver Carleton, Esq., for Shea, who was to prosecute pikemakers	20	0	0
„	25.	Mr. Marshall for Fred. Dutton, per bill on Harriss, London	550	0	0
Apr.	18.	Mr. Pollock, per receipt	50	0	0
„	20.	Right Hon. Denis Brown, for Michael Geraghty	50	0	0

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Apr. 25.	Sir John Carden, for Brown and Cahill . . .	100	0	0
„ 27.	Thomas Collins's bill, dated London .	55	10	0
May 1.	Thomas Kearney, recommended by Sir J. Parnell, from Queen's County .	56	17	6
„ 3.	J. Pollock, Esq., for G. M. I. .	50	0	0
„ 4.	R. Cornwall, Esq., amount advanced by him last year to Kelly and Nowlan for information, as per account .	73	18	9
„ 8.	Mr. Cooke on advance . .	400	0	0
„ „	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler, at Bath . . .	54	17	6
„ 9.	Henry St. George Cole, per Lord Enniskillen, one quarter . .	37	10	0
„ 13.	Cummins, by direction of Mr. Cooke .	5	13	9
„ 20.	Mr. Cooke for K. . .	50	0	0
„ „	Mr. Richard Jennings, of London, per Mr. Robert Norman . .	200	0	0
„ 20.	Mr. Marshall for what he paid in London by Lord Castlereagh's direction, to Dutton, and also to R. Jennings,	111	0	10
„ 24.	Mr. Darcy Mahon, per Mr. Cooke's desire . . .	100	0	0
„ 27.	Mr. Sproule, by direction of Mr. Cooke	28	8	9
„ „	Alexander Worthington . .	50	0	0
June 3.	Support of the Hills, of Cork, to Dr. Harding . . .	27	6	3
„ 4.	Mrs. Carey, in full discharge of Mr. Carey's demands . .	100	0	0
„ 5.	Mr. Pollock, account of G. M. I. .	50	0	0
„ 14.	Mr. Reynolds, in full to 25th March .	1000	0	0
„ „	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	9
„ 18.	Earl of Altamont, by direction of Lord Castlereagh, for Jennings and Conmee, two priests, £50 each; Raffarell, £20; Clerk, £11 7*s.* 6*d.*, and sheriff of county Mayo, £53 3*s.* 6*d.* . .	184	11	0

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June 19.	Mr. Darcy Mahon for B., by Mr. Cooke's order	100	0	0
„ 28.	T. Collins's bill, dated London	55	10	0
July 8.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholson	20	0	0
„ 9.	Ross Mahon for the discovery of the Hardimans	68	5	0
„ 17.	T. Collins, bill dated London	55	10	0
„ 24.	Major Sirr for Hugh M'Laughlin	22	15	0
„ 25.	J. Lindsay to take him home, and in full of all demands	100	0	0
„ „	Hugh M'Laughlin, per Mr. Marsden's note	20	0	0
„ „	Harper, to take to Mr. Price's, Saintfield, Co. Down	11	7	6
Aug. 3.	Mr. Pollock, for G. M. I.	100	0	0
„ 23.	Thomas Collins's bill	55	15	0
„ 30.	Henry St. George Cole, by Lord Enniskillen	37	10	0
„ „	Expenses of bringing J. Townley and William Wallace to Co. Down, to prosecute rebels	28	6	1
Oct. 1.	M'Gucken, Belfast, per post, by direction of Mr. Cooke	50	0	0
„ 19.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq., high sheriff Co. Waterford, expenses of apprehending and convicting rebels, per Col. Uniacke	100	0	0
„ 22.	Sir G. F. Hill, for M'Fillan, Murphy, Honiton, and Birch	460	0	0
„ „	Sir C Asgill, for Anglen, a priest	50	0	0
Nov. 5.	Thomas Collins's bill, dated Gosport	56	2	6
„ 6.	Gerraghty, per Gustave Rochfort	100	0	0
„ 9.	Major Sirr, for discovery of attempt to break the New Gaol	22	15	0
„ „	Mr. Marsden, to remit to — an English bank note, for £50	56	0	0
Dec. 5.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq., one quarter	37	10	0
„ 13	Mr. Cooke	50	0	0

1799.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 14.	Hanlon, for 16 men at one guinea, and four at half-a-guinea each	20	9	6
„ 19.	James Flannigan, by order of the lord-lieutenant	20	0	0
„ 21.	Major Sirr, for the person who discovered Bermingham	17	1	3
„ 27.	Serjeant John Lee, by direction of Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
„ 28.	Hanlon (and his twenty men as before)	20	9	6
1800.				
Jan. 3.	Mr. Cooke, for N.	5	13	9
„ „	O'Brien, amount paid him for coach hire with prisoners, per account, vouched by Major Sirr	19	4	0
„ 7.	Mr. Cooke, for K.	50	0	0
„ 19.	H. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
„ „	Justice Drury	100	0	0
„ 21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken	100	0	0
„ 27.	Colonel Uniacke, for prosecutors, Co. Waterford	200	0	0
„ 31.	Henry St. George Cole	37	10	0
Feb. 7.	Lord Carhampton, bill for Ferris's allowance, half-year	54	3	4
„ 9.	Mr. Cooke, for Fitzgerald	250	0	0
„ 24.	Colonel Fitzgerald, of North Cork Militia, for the mother of Serjeant Moore, killed in taking a rebel	25	0	0
„ 27.	Mr. Cooke, for M. N.	100	0	0
Mar. 6.	J. Baker, Col. Uniacke's note	100	0	0
„ 14.	Capt. W. Harris, of the Killeshandra cavalry, expenses of bringing up Matthew Tone, September, 1798	20	6	3
„ „	Watkins, for Mr. Dease and Mr. Waldron's diet and lodging, December and January, to the 24th February	105	18	5

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 18.	Mr. Archer, high sheriff, Co. Wicklow	100	0	0
„ 21.	J. Pollock, for T. W.	200	0	0
April 1.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
„ 3.	Coleman, per letter from E. D. Wilson, Esq.	11	7	6
„ „	Clothes for Coleman and Burns, in the Tower, per Major Sirr	3	9	1
„ „	Mr. Thomas Collins's bill, dated Dominica	55	17	6
„ 16.	Sir Richard Musgrave, for Michael Burke, to take him to England	5	13	9
„ „	Ditto for ditto, 13 weeks' allowance in advance, from 12th April	14	15	9
„ 19.	Hon. W. W. Pole, for informers, Queen's County	100	0	0
„ 21.	Mr. Ram, for Serjeant Tuttle, who prosecuted Wexford rebels	22	15	0
May 2.	Lord Rossmore, for the widow Portland, whose house at Newtown Mount Kennedy was destroyed by the officer commanding when the rebels attacked the town	10	0	0
„ „	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
„ 5.	Henry St. George Cole, by Col. Uniacke	200	0	0
„ 22.	Andrew M'Neven, by post to Carrickfergus	300	0	0
„ 23.	Mr. Cooke, for N.	10	0	0
June 11.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
„ „	Coleman	11	7	6
„ 17.	Col. Jones, Leitrim Militia, expenses of executing Dunn and Cottin, two rebels, at Naas and Ballymore Eustace, December, 1799	10	0	0
„ „	Earl Carhampton, for Ferris, half a-year	54	3	4
July 1.	Bryan Lennon, in full and positive discharge of all demands	11	7	6
„ 16.	Alexander M'Donnell, per Mr. Marsden	150	0	0

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 17.	Major Sirr, for Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Daniel Gore, James Murphy, John Kearney, 30 gs. each, in full discharge of their claims for service . . .	204	15	0
„ 21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G. . .	100	0	0
„ 23.	Dr. Harding, from Cork, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . .	500	0	0
„ 24.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W. . .	100	0	0
„ 26.	Isaac Heron, a young man taken up and confined in the tower instead of another person, who dropped a paper in England, signed Colclough .	11	7	6
Aug. 2.	Major Sirr, to take men to Hacketstown	22	15	0
„ 4.	R. Harper, to take him to the assizes, Co. Down, and back . .	17	1	3
„ 7.	H. St. George Cole . .	37	10	0
„ 18.	James Edward Hill, from Cork .	5	13	9
„ 27.	Major Sirr, per Mr. Trevor, for ———	56	17	6
Sept. 11.	Magan, per Mr. Higgins . .	300	0	0
Oct. 1.	Mr. Marsden, for Murphy, who was sent from London . . .	20	0	0
„ 13.	Mr. Cooke . . .	200	0	0
„ 14.	Captain Fitzgerald, per Mr. Cooke .	100	0	0
„ 18.	Murphy from London, by desire of Mr. Marsden . . .	11	7	6
„ 23.	Murphy, to return to London .	22	15	0
„ 24.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	20	0	0
„ „	Henry Laverty, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's desire .	5	13	9
Nov. 2.	N. per Mr. Cooke's note . .	30	0	0
„ 7.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter to October . . .	37	10	0
„ 14.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris, half a-year	54	3	4
„ „	Mr. Cooke . . .	200	0	0
Nov. 18.	Neville, for Ann Lewis, £300, for W. Pollen £200, per receipt .	500	0	0

1800.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec.	3.	George Clibborn, per receipt .	500	0	0
„	24.	W. Wright, remitted to him per his letter	54	15	0
1801.					
Jan.	1.	M'Gucken, per post to Belfast .	100	0	0
„	„	A. M'Neven, Carrickfergus, per his letter	140	10	0
„	„	Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
„	5.	Major Swan . . .	113	15	0
Feb.	1.	Mr. Dudley Hill, of Carlow, expenses incurred under the order of Sir Charles Asgill, in 1798 . .	55	17	2
„	5.	Wheatley, in full of all demands .	115	2	9
„	12.	Manders, washing for Hughes and Conlan	11	7	6
„	13.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	20	0	0
Mar.	2.	To bury Chambers . .	5	13	9
„	10.	Major Sirr, for Nowlan, who prosecuted at Dundalk . . .	17	1	3
May	12.	Mr. Whitley, by direction of Mr. Cooke	40	19	0
„	14.	Haughton, to release his clothes, to go to Trim assizes . . .	5	13	9
„	16.	Hayden, a woman who gave information of the murderers of Colonel St. George . . .	20	0	0
„	21.	Major Sirr, maintenance, etc., of James O'Brien in gaol . .	21	2	6
„	„	Mr. Cooke, for F. . . .	200	0	0
Apr.	27.	Mr. Archer, late sheriff, Co. Wicklow .	70	0	0
„	30.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter .	37	10	0
May	5.	Henry St. George Cole, per Col. Uniacke	200	0	0
„	20.	Lord Carhampton, draft for Ferris .	54	3	4
„	28.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, Roman Catholic priest, of Cork, at Mallow . . .	100	0	0
June	1.	Lord Tyrawley for Rev. Charles Doran, Roman Catholic priest, at Monastereven, instead of a warrant of concordatum for the last year . .	20	0	0

1801.	PAYMENTS.	£	*s.*	*d.*
June 9.	Mr. Marsden, for Cody . .	200	0	0
„ 16.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W., repaid from pension . . .			
July 8.	James Corran, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's recommendation .	20	0	0
„ „	To Chapman in Cork, for one year and eleven weeks, at one guinea, per Mr. Turner . . .	71	13	3
„ 25.	Mr. Cooke, for K. . .	100	0	0
„ 27.	J. Bell, by direction of Mr. Cooke .	200	0	0
Aug. 8.	Mr. Pollock, for Stockdale . .	5	13	9
„ 10.	Mr. Marshall, what he paid for the *Beauties of the Press* .	1	2	9
„ 20.	W. Corbett, by directions of Mr. Cooke	358	10	0
„ 21.	Edward Lennan, to take him out of town, per Mr. Trevor . .	3	8	3
„ 27.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter .	37	10	0
Sept. 16.	Dr. Macartney of Antrim, for candles and firing for a guard in 1796 .	1	13	0
„ „	Lord Longueville for the Rev. Michael Barry, priest at Middleton .	100	0	0
„ „	Thomas King, Esq., of Rathdrum, by order of Lord Cornwallis .	300	0	0
„ 30.	Mr. Cooke, what he gave to Whelan in London . . .	21	13	4
	Total amount applied, according to Act of Parliament, from 20th August, 1797, to 30th September, 1801, per affidavit of Edward Cooke, Esq., lodged in the Treasury . .	£38,419	8	0

Oct .10.	Bryan O'Reilly, of Lord ——— yeomanry, who apprehended William Maroney, by Sir C. Asgill's letter .	56	17	6

1801.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 19.	Hanlon, to bury E. Lennan	1	2	9
„ 30.	J. Keogh, per receipt	100	0	0
„ „	To the Cushmore corps, for apprehending rebels and robbers, by R. Power, sheriff, Co. Waterford	91	0	0
Nov. 7.	Hon. Denis Brown, for informer against Rt. Jordan	102	7	6
„ 18.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
„ 25.	Lord Carhampton's bill for James Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	4
Dec. 5.	W. Wright (*alias* Lawler) per bill remitted to him in London	55	5	0
„ 9.	Campbell, for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan, Hughes, etc., since June, 1798	22	15	0
„ 12.	Richard Campsie, in full of all his claims, by desire of Mr. Abbott	56	17	6
„ 31.	Major Sirr, to discharge two men on his list, who were employed in the Co. at one guinea each	56	17	6
1802.				
Jan. 28.	Justice Drury	100	0	0
Feb. 6.	Bryan Ford, who came from Lord Harburton, in full of all claims	68	5	0
„ „	John Hughes, ditto	200	0	0
„ 8.	John Cranny, of Athy, ditto	34	2	6
„ 10.	Henry St. George Cole	37	10	0
„ 11.	Mitchell, in full of his claims on Government	100	0	0
„ „	Captain Graham, what he advanced to Henry O'Hara, of Antrim, per Dr. Macartney's letter	57	17	6
„ „	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
„ 13.	Mr. Cassidy, for the Rev. Mr. Doran, of Monastereven, recommended by Lord Tyrawley	50	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 13.	Coleman from Carrickfergus .	5	13	9
„ „	Major Sirr, for John Beckett, Mrs. Lennan, Mrs. Dunn, C. M'Gauran, John Kearney, and Dan Cart—, in full of their claims on Government .	328	8	9
„ 20.	J. M'Gucken, to replace £100 advanced to him 16th May, 1801, but afterwards stopped out of his pension .	100	0	0
„ „	Mr. W. Corbett, per agreement, by Mr. Pollock, relative to Stockdale .	100	0	0
„ „	Campbell, for lodging of Hughes and Conlan . . .	22	15	0
„ „	Worthington, for account of Boyle .	50	0	0
„ „	Major Sirr, for Mrs. O'Brien, John Neill, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and T. H. Jackson, in full of their claims	300	0	0
„ „	Sir Richard Musgrave, for Michael Burke, in full of his claims .	113	15	0
„ „	Marquis Waterford, for sub-sheriff and expenses of the sheriff of the county .	162	0	0
Mar. 27.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, parish priest of Mallow .	100	0	0
Apr. 3.	Lord Mayor, for R. Lowther .	22	15	0
„ 8.	J. C. Beresford, Esq., amount of an account of money expended for Government, between 1798 and 1802 .	470	11	8½
„ 27.	Richard Grandy . . .	100	0	0
June 2.	Coleman, in full of claims for his services (appointed tide-waiter) .	34	2	6
„ „	Hon. St. George Cole, one quarter .	37	10	0
„ 14.	Bridget Dolan, per Captain Wainwright, Co. Wicklow . . .	22	15	0
„ 24.	Thomas Little, of Court Duff, Co. Kildare, for exertions in bringing offenders to justice . .	100	0	0
July 7.	Captain Prendergast, Tipperary Militia, expenses on actions against him, for proceedings,—rebels .	34	2	6

1802.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 14.	J. Kelly, from Carlow, in full of his claims (made a guager)	113	15	0
,, ,,	James Corran, of Portaferry, an annual allowance engaged to him by Lord Castlereagh	20	0	0
,, 19.	Earl Carhampton's draft for Ferris	54	3	4
,, 23.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
,, 30.	James Edwin Hill, Philip Hill, John Hill, and Mary Hill, widow of Wm. Hill, in full for their claims for services at Cork during the rebellion (£100 each)	400	0	0
Oct. 20.	E. O'Neill, in full of all claims (made a guager)	113	15	0
,, 26.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris	54	3	4
Dec. 13.	Mr. Oliver, member for Co. Limerick, per Mr. Marsden	34	2	6
,, 14.	Mr. Flint	21	14	0½
,, 15.	Francis Magan, by direction of Mr. Orpen	500	0	0
,, 16.	Mr. Worthington, for Boyle, in full of all claims	200	0	0
,, 18.	Mr. Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill on London	55	7	6
,, 20.	H. B Cody	100	0	0
,, 23.	John Conlan, in full of all claims	315	0	0
1803.				
Feb. 2.	Mr. John Stockdale, of London, for printing Sheares' trial, 1798, by direction of Lord Castlereagh	46	11	0½
,, 7.	Richard Grandy, per Loftus Tottenham	50	0	0
,, 10.	Justice Drury	100	0	0
,, 12.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken, an extra allowance	50	0	0
,, ,,	William Corbett (telegraph) by Mr. Marsden's directions	34	2	6

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 16.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
„ „	Mr. Marsden, for T. W.	100	0	0
„ 19.	Major Sirr, for Carroll	5	13	9
Mar. 28.	Captain Bruce, to remit to Londonderry, for two years' allowance to Thomas Townley, £30; James Gordon, £20; and Charles Young, £20	70	0	0
„ 29.	Lord Erris, for the Rev. Mr. Neligan	200	0	0
Apr. 2.	F. Magan, by post to Philipstown	100	0	0
„ „	Major Sirr, for Wicklow Mountains	7	19	3
„ 7.	Ditto for Mr. Cox	11	7	6
May 2.	Mr. Marsden, for Quigley	40	0	0
„ 14.	Mr. William Corbett, for Kennedy	11	7	6
„ 21.	Richard Chapman, in full of his claims for his services to Government	113	15	0
„ 27.	William Corbett	50	0	0
„ „	Major Sirr, for Boyle, Carroll, and Smith	22	15	0
„ „	Mr. Giffard, for M'Owen, of Co. Wexford	11	7	6
June 1.	Rev. R. Woodward, for Mr. Knox, for the Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow	100	0	0
„ 6.	Mr. Pollock, for D. and M.	20	0	0
„ 10.	Henry Ellis, of Rochbrook, Kilkenny, for two years' allowance	60	0	0
„ 13.	Major Sirr, for Hayden	22	15	0
„ 14.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	4
„ 18.	Marquis of Sligo, for persons who apprehended Thomas Gibbons	56	17	6
„ 20.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
„ 25.	Mr. Pollock, for J. M'G	100	0	0
July 16.	William Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill remitted to London	57	10	0
„ 28.	Major Sirr, for informer	17	1	3
Aug. 5.	William Corbett	50	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug. 8.	Major Swan, carriage-hire for prisoners .	22	15	0
„ 10.	Mr. Giffard, for informer . .	22	15	0
„ 11.	A. Sneyd, expense of bringing up Ferrall Kiernan, a prisoner . .	20	0	0
„ 16.	Major Sirr, for expenses . .	34	2	6
Aug. 23.	Major Sirr, for W. A. H. . .	68	5	0
„ 25.	Mr. Pollock, for L. M. 100, Co. Meath, £10 . . .	110	0	0
„ 26.	Major Sirr, for Boylan, Carroll, and Farrell . . .	28	8	9
„ 27.	John Reilly . . .	50	0	0
„ 31.	Mr. Dawes, for Nicholson . .	50	0	0
„ „	Mr. Giffard . . .	22	15	0
Sept. 1.	Mr. Flint, to send to E. . .	20	0	0
„ 2.	Major Sirr, for Fleming . .	15	0	0
„ 5.	Earl Annesley, for Mrs. Ford .	50	0	0
„ 13.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
„ 14.	Mr. Marsden, for L. M. . .	100	0	0
„ 15.	Major Sirr, for Fleming and others .	40	0	0
„ „	William Corbett, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	50	0	0
„ 19.	Mr. Marsden, to send M. G. .	100	0	0
„ 26.	The coachman taken at Emmett's depôt; compensation for his loss of time, etc., per General Dunn's note .	30	0	0
Oct. 8.	Surgeon Byrne, for attendance on Howley and Redmond . .	3	8	3
„ „	Alex. Worthington, for B. . .	30	0	0
„ 12.	Mrs. M'Cabe, per Mr. Wickham's note .	11	7	6
„ 13.	Mr. Justice Drury, going to the country	11	7	6
„ „	Dr. Trevor, for Ryan and Mahaffy .	100	0	0
„ 14.	Expenses of bringing up Stafford, Quigley, and Perrott . .	10	0	0
" 15.	Major Sirr, for informer for Howley and Condon . . .	56	17	6
„ „	Do. for Pat. Farrell . .	11	7	6
„ „	Do. coach-hire for prisoners .	25	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 19.	Capt. Hepenstal, for the persons who discovered pikes . .	5	13	9
Nov. 1.	Colonel Alexander, for bringing Finney from Liverpool . .	15	10	9
„ 2.	James Mallow, half-a-year's allowance .	10	0	0
„ „	Major Sirr, for Carroll and Boylan .	22	15	0
„ „	Do. funeral expenses of Hanlon .	11	7	6
„ „	Do. for assistant in his office for six weeks . . .	13	13	0
„ 4.	W. Corbett, by desire of Mr. Marsden .	50	0	0
„ 5.	Finlay & Co., acc. of Richard Jones (to be replaced to this account hereafter)	1000	0	0
5.	Chaise for C. Teeling from the Naul .	1	6	0
„ 15.	Bishop of Derry (Dr. Knox) by direction of Mr. Marsden . .	50	0	0
„ 17.	Mr. Flint for K. £100 (returned same day) . . .			
„ 17.	Captain Sutherland, County Wicklow .	34	2	6
„ 23.	Doyle of Ballymore, for loss of time on trials, per Mr. Flint . .	25	0	0
„ 25.	Mr. Flint, for L. . .	25	0	0
„ 26.	Murphy, Castle Street, for five days' diet, two men from Fort George, to identify Russell . . .	3	0	0
„ „	T. W., by direction of Mr. Marsden .	100	0	0
„ „	Mr. Flint, for Fleming and Finerty .	11	7	6
„ „	Callaghan, who gave information to Gen. Dunn on the 23rd July . .	22	15	0
Dec. 1.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy . .	25	0	0
„ 2.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half-a-year . . .	54	3	4
„ 5.	J. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's note .	100	0	0
„ 13.	Major Sirr's expenses for retaking J. Murray or Morgan . .	23	13	0
„ 16.	Mr. Flint, per Mr. Wickham's note, Cox	68	5	6
„ 17.	Subsistence of Mr. Holmes and Cloney in the Tower . . .	4	11	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 19.	Mr. Flint, for Farrell's expenses from London	50	0	0
„ 25.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy going to Belfast	25	0	0
„ 31.	Mr. James Cahill, of Hospital, County Limerick, by Mr. Marsden's directions on Baron M'Clelland's recommendation	50	0	0
„ 31.	Mr. Flint, for M. going to the Isle of Man	25	0	0
1804.				
Jan. 11.	Captain Cole, of the Fermanagh Militia, bringing up the rebel General Clark	17	10	0
„ 13.	H. B. Cody, per Mr. Marsden's note	100	0	0
„ „	Ditto, for Campbell	22	15	0
„ „	J. Pollock, for Col. Wolfe, for men taken up in the County Kildare	113	15	0
„ 25.	W. Corbett, by Mr. Marsden's direction	100	0	0
„ 26.	Chaise from Naas, with Fleming, Cox, Keogh, Finnerty, and Condon	3	1	9
„ 27.	Right Hon. Col. King, for Rev. Mr. Nelligan, of Ballina, in full	50	0	0
Feb. 4.	W. H. Hume, Esq., for William Murray, who assisted in bringing in Dwyer, etc.	32	2	6
„ 7.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G.	500	0	0
„ 8.	Major Sirr, for Ditton to Cork (*qy. Dillon*)	11	7	6
„ 9.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy	200	0	0
„ 10.	Troy, by direction of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
„ 13.	Richard Grandy, by Loftus Tottenham	50	0	0
„ 14.	Mr. Justice Drury	100	0	0
„ „	Mr. Pollock, for E. Herdry	100	0	0
„ 15.	Mr. Flint, for Lacey	34	2	6
„ 16.	Mr. Griffith, for Serjeant Cox's wife	11	7	6
„ 21.	Mr. St. John, per Mr. Marsden's note	22	15	0
Mar. 2.	John Ditton (*qy. Dillon*)	100	0	0

[The foregoing extracted items are the principal ones that are set down in the official returns; but such weekly charges as those of James O'Brien, for the pay and subsistence of his staff of spies and informers, and those, likewise, of Hanlon, for the same species of service, are only inserted herein occasionally, to show the nature of this expenditure.]

The sum total of the various payments, made from the 21st of August, 1797, to the 30th of September, 1801, amounted to £38,419 8*s.*

The sum total of the various payments, from the 30th of September, 1801, to the 28th of March, 1804, amounted to £15,128 5*s.* 1*d.*

The total amount is £53,547 13*s.* 1*d.**

* In the preceding official account of recipients of secret service money, the name occurs of Mr. William Corbett. The author thinks it right to mention, that this gentleman held an office in the Castle connected with a government press for printing proclamations and other state papers requiring secrecy, which confidential post he discharged the duties of honourably; and the payments made to him, I think it right to state, were for no services which a man of honour and of humanity might not have performed. This gentleman, in bad times, was well known to persons with whom I am closely connected, and regarded by them as a man of great worth, probity, and humanity.

R. R. M.

APPENDIX II.

SECRET SERVICE MONEY REVELATIONS,

FROM ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS FOR PENSIONS, GRANTS, AND ALLOWANCES.

THE receipts are generally endorsed by the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being; the date and amount are also specified, and the particular service for which the money had been granted is indicated by initials, thus:—

S. S.
O. A.
S. A.

And by the word "correspondent" or "correspondence".

RECEIPTS FOR PAYMENTS OF PENSIONS AND ALLOWANCES. COPIED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

L. M'N.

"July 5, 1816.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., seventy-five pounds, due the 25th June last. "I. W."

Endorsed, 5th July, 1816. £75. L. M'N.

S. A.

This document is exceedingly important. The receipts, with few exceptions, are for quarterly payments of pensions. The pension, then, of the person who gave the above receipt may be presumed to be £300 a-year. The initials affixed to the receipt I. W. were not those of the party who signed it, as the endorsement of the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant plainly shows, L. M'N. On the mysterious motives for the party concealing his name and using false initials, and being allowed to do so by the secretary in a receipt for a large money payment, we have only that kind of light thrown, that shines dimly in dark places; but still there is a great deal to be discerned in the three significant letters on the back of the document, L. M'N. I have compared the handwriting in the body of the receipt with that of a gentleman who was in the receipt of a pension of £300 a year, and who bore a name, the initials of which were L. M'N., and I found the writing of both were identical. In the secret service

money account vouched by Mr. Secretary Cooke, I find the following entries of payments made to T. W.:—

1799.				
Feb. 16.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . . .	£150	0	0
1800.				
Mar. 21.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . . .	200	0	0
1801.				
June 16.	J. Pollock, for T. W., repaid from pension. .			
1803.				
Mar. 16.	Mr. Marsden, for T. W. . . .	100	0	0
Nov. 26.	By directions of Mr. Marsden, for T. W. .	100	0	0

I cannot help thinking the mysterious gentleman, the ghost of whose services ever and anon rises up in the initials T. W. in the official list of secret service payments above referred to, and who so long has preserved his incognito in them, is no other than the same individual who figures as I. W. in the original receipt for his quarterly pension, endorsed L. M'N., which is in my possession. The Secretary of State, who thus endorsed that document, and made entries of the several secret service payments, may have easily mistaken the first initial, for it is only with the aid of glasses of considerable magnifying power that one can pronounce with certainty that initial is an I, and not a T.

John Pollock, whose name figures so often in the list of secret service payments, was the registrar of Judge Downes, third Justice of the King's Bench, and Clerk of the Crown *for the Leinster circuit* in 1798. This circumstance deserves attention, for, as it appears, the money which passed through his hands was always for persons in some way connected with the administration of justice, as the perversion of it and the corruption of its agents and ministers, in official parlance, was termed in 1798.

R. R. M.

MALACHY DWYER.

"Received from Edward Wilson, Esq., the sum of thirteen pounds sterling, being the quarter's allowance from Government, commencing the 8th of March, and ending the 8th of June, 1818.

"Dated this 8th June, 1818. "MALACHY DWYER".

"Received the same, this 10th of June, from Thomas Taylor, Esq.
"EDWARD WILSON".

Witness present, J. M'Donagh.

The signature Malachy Dwyer is in the handwriting of a well-educated person. Particular attention might be called with advantage to the nature of the services of this man.

Mr. Patten, the brother-in-law of T. A. Emmet, informed me, that among Robert Emmet's confidential agents was a Wicklow farmer, named Malachy Dwyer, but this person never was suspected. There is a very

curious account of a person named Malachy (no sirname mentioned) in those very remarkable papers entitled *Robert Emmet and his Cotemporaries*, published in the *London and Dublin Magazine* for 1825, and probably written by the late Judge Johnston, the author of *Roche Fermoy's Commentary on Tone's Memoirs*. The Malachy therein mentioned is described as the betrayer of his friend, Robert Emmet.

Who gave the information to Major Sirr of Emmet's place of concealment at Harold's Cross? Who borrowed Emmet's pistols from him the morning of the day on which he was arrested? Who is the "Lacey" who received from the Government, on the 15th of February, 1804, £34 2s. 6d.? Lastly, who is the Malachy Dwyer, in the receipt of a pension of £52 a year for secret services, paid to him through the hands of Edward Wilson?

There was a man of the name of John Dwyer living in the Glen of Imaal, in comfortable circumstances in 1798; he was a captain in the United Irish cause. His house was burned in 1798 by the yeomanry; he was shot at Dunlavin, and all his property destroyed. He had a son, Darby Dwyer, lately living in Fleet Street, who kept a dairy. But I think we must look elsewhere for the betrayer of Emmet.

In the official account of payments of Secret Service Money, in the year 1803, we find the following item:—

"November 5. Finlay and Co., account of Richard Jones, £1000".

The same amount as that which was paid F. H., for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Robert Emmet was arrested by Major Sirr on the 25th of August, 1803, a little more than two months previously to the payment of the £1000 into Finlay's bank for Richard Jones. Who was this gentleman, Richard Jones? For whom was the money paid "to account of Richard Jones"?

In the county Wicklow there was a family of the name of Jones, of Kilencarrig, near Delgany. In 1815 there was a brewery kept there by a family of that name. They were Protestants, quiet people, who did not meddle with politics.

In the county Dublin, at Ballinascorney, near where Emmet was concealed for some time, there was also a family of the name of Jones, small farmers, Catholics.

There was a gentleman of the name of Jones, the Right Hon. Theophilus Jones, a member of the Privy Council, a collector of revenue. In 1800, being in parliament, he voted for the "Union", and he was a person of some distinction in 1798. He lived at Cork Abbey, Bray. He was a humane, good man in "the troubles", and interested himself much for the people.

There were two attorneys of the name Richard Jones, living in Dublin at the period of Emmet's capture. One resided in Pitt Street, the other in Mercer Street.

A small farmer of the name of Doyle, holding about forty acres of land

near Tallaght, incurred suspicion of betraying Emmet on very slight grounds. He had afforded shelter to Emmet and several of his fugitive companions three days after the failure of the insurrection, the 23rd of July. Doyle's son kept a public-house, "the Half Moon", at Harold's Cross. Several men were subsequently arrested there under peculiar circumstances. The father died about 1839, and a pension of £50, it was stated in the newspapers at the time, fell in to the government. He gave evidence on Emmet's trial, which might have unjustly created suspicions of him. When Emmet was concealed at Harold's Cross, young Doyle is said to have supplied him with milk, eggs, etc.

Some injustice has been done to the memory of a brave officer, who had been in the Austrian service. There was a young man named Malachy Delany, the son of a respectable family living near Mullaghmast, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1798, and also in the insurrection of 1803; he accompanied Robert Emmet from the Continent when the latter came over to Ireland on his unfortunate expedition, I am informed by Mr. Patten. He had been imprisoned in 1803, and was liberated. He eventually quitted the country, and, it is said, got into the Austrian service. But this man, from the best sources of information, I am enabled to state, was not more brave than he was true to his principles and his associates. He returned to Ireland, and died in March, 1807, at Finglass, in the vicinity of Dublin.

FRANCIS MAGAN.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., by William Taylor, Esq., fifty pounds sterling, for the quarter, to 24th December last.

"Dublin, January 22, 1816. "F. MAGAN".

Endorsed by Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, January, 1816. £50.
S. A. F. MAGAN.

Another receipt of same party for £50, for the quarter ending Sept. 29, 1816, signed F. Magan, and initialed on the back, S. A.

Mr. Francis Magan, a barrister without briefs, a Roman Catholic, an eccentric, shy, reserved, and timorous person, lived in 1798, and till the last six or seven years, resided at No. 20 Usher's Island.

On the 17th of May, 1798, Major Sirr, from some person having received intelligence that Lord Edward Fitzgerald would be, at a certain hour that night, on his way from Lord Moira's house on Usher's Island going towards Thomas Street, or coming from Thomas Street, was likely to pass by the back premises, it is conjectured, of Mr. Magan, to Usher's Island, took his measures accordingly. Taking with him a sufficient number of assistants for his purpose, and accompanied also by Messrs. Ryan and Emerson, Major Sirr proceeded, at the specified time, to the quarter pointed out, and there being two different ways (either Watling Street or Dirty Lane) by which the expected party might come, he divided his force, so as to intercept them by either road.

A similar plan happening to have been adopted by Lord Edward's escort, there took place in each of these two streets a conflict between the parties, and Major Sirr, who was stationed with his party at Dirty Lane, was near losing his life at the hands of W. P. M'Cabe. This statement, however, rests on no sure foundation.

But Counsellor Francis Magan's services to Government, whatever they were, were well rewarded. Besides his secret pension of £200 a year, he enjoyed a lucrative official situation in the Four Courts up to the time of his decease. He was one of the commissioners for enclosing commons. The awards of the commissioners in the various cases which were brought before them, are filed in the Rolls' Office, each having the signature of the commissioners.

In the preceding Secret Service Money lists we find the following entries:—

Dec. 11, 1800, Magan, per Mr. Higgins, . . £300.
Dec. 15, 1802, Francis Magan, by direction of Mr. Orpen, ... £500.

CAPTAIN RYAN'S FAMILY.

"Received from the Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, by the hands of ———, one hundred pounds sterling, ordered to be paid to us as the daughters of the late Captain Ryan, etc.,* for half year ended 25th day of March, 1825. April 25, 1825, Kinsale.

"JANE STANDISH.
"EDWARD STANDISH.
"CATHERINE CAREW".

Endorsed, 19th April, 1825. Miss Ryan. S. A.

DR. JOHN BRENNAN.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., fifty pounds sterling.
"Oct. 11, 1825. "JOHN BRENN—".

Endorsed by Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, October 11, 1825. £50. DR. BRENNAN.
O. A.

There is an evident attempt to make the final letters of the name in the receipt illegible. The Secretary's endorsement, however, "Dr. Brennan, £50, O. A.", renders the attempt useless.

There can be little doubt but that the Dr. John Brennan above named, was the well-known Wrestling Doctor, the editor of the *Milesian Magazine*, who was pensioned for lampooning the Catholic leaders from 1816

* [The Captain Ryan who volunteered his services to arrest Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and who was shot by the latter.—R. R. M.]

to 1825. The fact of Dr. Brennan having a pension of £200 a year from Government, was unknown to any of his friends till a very few days before his death, when, as I have been informed by his nephew, the late P. Clinch, Esq., that in his delirium, he was singing snatches of his own satirical songs, and amongst others, very frequently, one beginning with the words :—

"Barney, Barney, buck or doe,
Who will with the petition go?"

When he used to wind up with a eulogy on this stave: "This is the song which got me my two hundred a year".—R. R. M.

DR. TREVOR.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, ending March 25, 1825.

"EDWARD TREVOR".*

Endorsed, April 16, 1825. Dr. Trevor. £250. O. A.

REV. THOMAS BARRY.

"Mallow, August 5, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your letter enclosing half a fifty-pound note, my half year's annuity, for which I am very thankful, and shortly expect the other section, and remain your faithful and humble servant,

"THOMAS BARRY".

Endorsed, August 2, 1823. Rev. T. Barry. £50. O. A.

The Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow, had a pension of £100, besides he received frequent payments for secret services (see the published accounts).

May, 1801. Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, Roman Catholic priest of Cork, at Mallow, . .	£100	0	0
March 27, 1802. Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, P.P., of Mallow, ...	£100	0	0
June 1, 1803. Rev. R. Woodward, for Mr. Knox, for the Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow, . .	£100	0	0

R. R. M.

* Dr. Edward Trevor died in Dublin in 1837, aged seventy-six. He had held the office of Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland for forty-six years, and in the reign of terror left nothing undone in the discharge of his functions to render his office terribly effective.

JOHN J. DARRAGH, ESQ.

"Dublin, October 17, 1815.

"Mr. Taylor has left with us one hundred pounds, to be remitted to John Johnston Darragh, Esq.

"THOMAS FINLAY AND Co."

Endorsed, October 17, 1815. £100. Mr. T. for J. J. Darragh. S. A.

F. CHAPMAN, ESQ.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., two hundred and six pounds five shillings, and two pence, on account of Robert Allan & Son, Esqrs.

"Dublin, 13th day of October, 1825. For Messrs. Armit, Borough, and Co. "F. CHAPMAN".

Endorsed, October 12, 1825. *Belfast Newsletter*. £200. S. S.

J. BIRD, *alias* SMITH.

"Received from the Government of Ireland, per William Taylor, Esq., one hundred and twenty-five pounds, for the quarter ended the 24th December, 1813. "J. SMITH.

"Dublin, January 7, 1814".

Endorsed, January, 1814. £125. Correspondent, S. S.

John Bird, *alias* "John Smith", an Englishman, appears to have been sent over to Ireland so early as 1795, as Jackson had been, on a special mission. He commenced operations in his official capacity, in the columns of *Giffard's Dublin Journal*. He played fast and loose with the Government and with their enemies; abandoned for a short time the cause of the Constitution and the Church, *alias* the service of Sirr and Giffard, but soon returned to his first love, as his letters to the Major plainly show, and certain original receipts would seem to indicate, for Secret Service payments, bearing the signature, J. S.

H. T.

"Received from T. Taylor, Esq., one hundred and seventy-five pounds.

"January 5, 1820. "H. T."

Endorsed, January 5, 1820. £175. Correspondent, S. S.

ARCHDEACON TRENCH.

"Sunday morning.

"I have not received the second part of Mr. O'Donnel's bank notes.

Send them to me at the Custom House, where I shall be to-morrow evening, please God.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"A. T.

[Initials nearly illegible.]

"Maybe you or Anne or Nancy may have some commission for me at the other side. I intend returning speedily".

Endorsed, April 7, 1825. Archdn. Trench. Rev. E. O'Donnell. £30. O.A.

R. J. SHARKEY, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"Dublin, January 6, 1820.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., twenty-five pounds, a quarter's allowance due to Mrs. Sharkey, the 1st inst.

"R. J. SHARKEY".

Endorsed, January 17, 1820. Mrs. Sharkey. £25. S. S.

THE WIDOW JORDAN.

"Newtown Barry, November 19, 1819.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., by the hands of *Lieut.-Col. Phayre*, the sum of ten pounds sterling, in full for half a year's annuity, due to me the 29th day of September last.

"ELIZABETH JORDAN".

[Query, "The Colonel" Phayre of Mr. Finn's Orange Committee notoriety?—R. R. M.]

"Killoughnin, Enniscorthy, November 10, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to request you will remit me £10, the amount of the Widow Jordan's annuity, due on the 29th of September last, and I shall return you Mrs. Jordan's receipt for it.

"I remain very faithfully yours,

"ROWORTH PHAYRE.

"I beg to trouble you to send the enclosed to my son by the first post.

"R. P."

Endorsed. O. A.

THE BELLANEYS.

"Dublin, December 28, 1812.

"Received from Alexander Marsden, Esq., by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, twenty pounds for Mrs. Sarah Bellaney, and ten pounds for her son.

"MATTHEW CRAVEN".

Endorsed, December 28, 1812. Mr. Craven. £30 for Mrs. Bellaney, £20 for her son. S. S.

S. STREATFIELD.

"Dublin Castle, September 11, 1818.

"Received of Mr. Taylor, fifteen pounds for my journey from London.

"S. STREATFIELD".

Endorsed. S. S.

BRIDGET CONNOR.

"Dublin Castle, October 30, 1819.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., the sum of forty pounds, being the final payment that is to be made me for my services as a witness.

her
"BRIDGET ⋈ CONNOR".
mark.

Endorsed. Final. O. A.

LUKE BRIEN.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., ten guineas, for July and August months, 1826.

"LUKE BRIEN".

Endorsed, August 15, 1826. Luke Brien. £10 10s. O. A.

ELLEN CARROLL.

"Dungarvan, October 6, 1825.

"DEAR SIR,—I received one half of five pound note, on the 4th instant, and I beg you will send me the counterpart as soon as possible.

"I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

"ELLEN CARROLL.

"P.S.—Direct it to Rev. Stephen Dixon, parish minister".

Endorsed. O. A.

MARY ELDON.

"Received from John Gregory, Esq., per T. Taylor, seven pounds ten shillings, one quarter of a year's pension to 23rd December, 1814.

her
"MARY ⋈ ELDON".
mark

Witness, H. Paine.

Endorsed, December 23, 1814. £7 10s. Mary Eldon. S. A.

CATHERINE M'GRATH.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., twelve pounds ten shillings, being one quarter of my pension, due the 1st July, 1824.

"CATHERINE M'GRATH".

Endorsed, July 2, 1824. Mrs. M'Grath. £12 10s. S. S.

JAMES GRAY, OF DUNGANNON.

"Received from Sir Charles Sexton, Bart., by the hands of Mr. William Taylor, twelve pounds ten shillings sterling, being one quarter of my enauty,* ending and drew this twenty-fifth day of September, eighteen hundred and fifteen. Given under my hand at Dungannon, this 25th day of December.

"JAMES GRAY".

Underneath the receipt, on the same piece of paper, is the following remarkable epistle to Secretary Taylor :—

"SIR,—In my last I took the liberty of letting you know the situation of the country; I mean the middling order of the people, who, during the harvest, rented farms at a high rate, when the could get what price the pleased for their cattle and their grain. Now the case is altered, and these articles are come to their original value, which disqualifies them to pay them high rents, and tythes, and county rates, which are very high, which leaves them sully, sulken, and discontented. But there is one thing, the tax by the crown, I mean the hearth-money, the scarcely feel, which gives me a ground to support the mildness of the Government with success amongst them. They feel it in Scotland as well as here, as numbers of their farmers who have failed are flocking to this country, looking for stewardships, so that I find we will have a nation of malcontents, of which I dread the consequence more than anything that has yet happened. If the

* *Sic* in original.—R. R. M.

causes could be removed, it would be more laudable than to punish the effects; for, trust me, that is only to confine error and to awaken vengeance, and while we are great abroad, might create evils at home, that none but God knows what the end of them might be.

"I remain, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"JAMES GRAY.*

"This is wrote by my unfortunate son, by my directions".

Endorsed, December, 1815. £12 10s. James Gray. S. A.

CHARLOTTE EDWARDS.

"May 8, 1827.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., one hundred pounds, being one year's pension due to me the twenty-fifth of March last.

"CHARLOTTE EDWARDS".

Endorsed, May 9, 1827. Mrs. Edwards. £92 6s. 2d. S. S.

RICHARD HARPER.

"Dorset Street, Dublin, December 30, 1815.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings, for one quarter's salary, due and ending the..

his
"RICHARD ⋈ HARPER".
mark

Witness present, James Gaynor.

(Endorsed)

"I acknowledge to have received the amount of the enclosed by the messenger.

his
"RICHARD ⋈ HARPER".
mark.

JAMES GEOGHEGAN.

"Received from William Gregory, Secretary, Esq., by the hands of Thomas Taylor, Esq., the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling, for one quarter's compensation, commencing the 5th day of April, and ending this 5th of July, 1823.

"JAMES GEOGHEGAN".

Endorsed, July 10, 1823. Mr. James Geoghegan. £25. S. S.

* James Gray made his debut on the state trial stage as a witness for the crown at the Londonderry assizes, Dec., 1797, at the trial of a man named William M'Keever, but his evidence against the prisoner was not believed by the jury. The man was acquitted (See *Evening Post*, 23rd December, 1797).

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

"Received from Government, by the hands of William Taylor, Esq., the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling, for half year's salary, ending and due the 29th day of September, 1815.

"EDWARD NICHOLSON".

Endorsed, October, 1815. £25. E. Nicholson. S. A.

MR. SECRETARY COOKE TO MR. TAYLOR, *in re* MR. NICHOLSON.

"November 2, 1800.

"DEAR TAYLOR,—I spoke to you yesterday for £30; pray enclose it, and direct the letter to Mr. Nicholson, and give it to Dawes to deliver to-day, who knows him. I will settle the letter you sent with Lord Castlereagh to-morrow.—Yours, "E. C."

Edward Nicholson's receipt, dated September 29, 1814, for half-year's "salary". £25. Endorsed. S. A.

Nicholson's name figures twice in the official accounts of payments made for secret services.

July 8, 1800.	Mr. Cooke, for Nicholson, . .	£20	0	0
August 31, 1803.	Mr. Dawes, for Nicholson, .	50	0	0

R. R. M.

JAMES M'NAMARA.

"Irish Office, July 27, 1824.

"Received of Sir C. W. Flint, the sum of ten shillings, agreeably to Mr. Goulburn's desire.

"JAMES M'NAMARA".*

JOHN WILLCOCKS, ESQ.

"Cashel, April 25.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant, enclosing half a note for ten pounds for Catherine Morony, witness in the case of three men convicted of breaking into her mother's house.—Yours, dear sir, faithfully,

"JOHN WILLCOCKS.†

"Thomas Taylor, Esq."

O. A.

* One of the Major's men, who appears to have been settled in London in 1824 and 1825, and during that time in receipt of the abovenamed allowance.

† This name deserves attention.

THE DEAN OF RAPHOE.

(*Confidential*).

"Treasury Chambers, May 6, 1825.

"My Dear Goulburn,—I have received your note of this day, enclosing £25, the remainder of the moneys on account of the Dean of Raphoe.—Ever truly yours, "George Harrison.

"The Right Hon. Henry Goulburn".

DRESSING UP A WITNESS FOR A TRIAL RESPECTING THE FRANKS MURDER.

October 24, 1825.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To one quarter's board, etc., for Mary Myers, from June 25, to September 25, 1825, ...	5	0	0

Articles purchased for her previous to her going to Cork.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
A pair of stockings, ...	0	2	2
Four pocket handkerchiefs, ...	0	2	0
Cap and trimmings, ...	0	2	0
White neckhandkerchief, ...	0	0	10
Small shawl, ...	0	3	4
Calico to finish gown, purchased by Mr. Marsden, .	0	1	7
Muslin frill, ...	0	0	10
Rack and fine hair combs, ...	0	0	10
Hand basket, ...	0	1	3
Cleaning bonnet, ...	0	2	6
Shoes mending, ...	0	1	3
	£5	18	7

J. Matthews.

Endorsed. Mary Myers, one of the witnesses respecting the Franks murder, board and clothing three months, £5 18s. 7d. October 25, 1825. Rev. M. Farrell.

THE MAJOR'S MEN.

"September 30, 1800.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., as subsistence for the undernamed men, September 13, 1800:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Mrs. O. Bryne, ...	1	2	9
Edward Hayes, ...	1	2	9
Edward Lennan, ...	1	2	9
Thomas Jackson, ...	1	2	9
John O'Neil, ...	1	2	9
John Haulon, ...	1	2	9

	£	s.	d.
James Kain,	1	2	9
Richard Harper,	1	2	9
John Becket,	1	2	9
John Caughlan,	1	2	9
Daniel Caar,	0	11	4½
Charles M'Gowan,	0	11	4½
Francis Deviling,	0	11	4½
	£14	4	4½

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of fourteen pounds four shillings and four pence half-penny sterling, value received.

"JOHN HANLON.*

"Henry C. Sirr".

AN ACCOUNT OF MEN'S MONEY.

September 24, 1802.

	£	s.	d.
Henry Battersby,	1	2	9
James Kane,	1	2	9
Thomas Jackson,	1	2	9
Patrick Farrell,	1	2	9
Patrick M'Cabe,	1	2	9
John Fleming,	1	2	9
	£6	16	6

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of six pounds sixteen shillings and six pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY".†

	£	s.	d.
Within bill,	6	16	6
Diet do.,	3	8	3
Tower, do.,	7	7	10½
Washing do.,	1	2	9
Six Men,	10	4	9
Two do.,	6	16	6
	£35	16	7½‡

(Signed) H. C. SIRR.

* The keeper of the Tower;—a ruffian of Sirr's band in 1798, who was shot by Henry Howley in 1803.

† Battersby was then keeper of the Tower; he was one of the Major's gang in 1798.

‡ Numerous other receipts of Battersby's are extant, down to 1815, when the Major's men were reduced to half-a-dozen.

Due to Henry Battersby, for washing for the Tower, Dublin Castle, this last fortnight, £1 2s. 9d.

"September 24, 1808.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of one pound two shillings and nine pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY".

THE MAJOR'S MEN.

Saturday, July 18, 1812.

	£	s.	d.
To four men,	6	16	6
One do.,	3	8	3
Ditto,	2	5	6
Man to Kildare,	2	5	6
	£14	15	9

H. C. S.

Due to Henry Battersby, for dieting the following persons this last week, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Winifred Kennedy, seven days, at 6s. 6d.	£2	5	6
Two children,	1	2	9
	£3	8	3

"September 24, 1808.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of three pounds eight shillings and three pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY".

AN ACCOUNT OF MEN'S MONEY.

	£	s.	d.
Henry Battersby,	1	2	9
James Kane,	1	2	9
Patrick Farrell,	1	2	9
Patrick M'Cabe,	1	2	9
Mrs. Halpin,	1	2	9
John Fleming,	1	2	9
	£6	16	6

"May 26, 1810.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of six pounds sixteen shillings and six pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY".

AN ACCOUNT OF MEN'S MONEY.

	£	s.	d.
Henry Battersby,	1	2	9
James Kane	1	2	9
Patt. Farrell,	1	2	9
Patt. M'Cabe,	1	2	9
John Fleming,	1	2	9
Thomas Halpin,*	1	2	9
	£6	16	6

"December 3, 1814.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of six pounds sixteen shillings and six pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY".

* Halpin, originally a gardener in the employment of a Mr. Fawcett of Rathdrum, was an informer of the Major's gang. He was the man who was sent for by an Orange magistrate of Roscrea, to shoot at his own effigy, and for which that functionary prosecuted two Catholic distillers in Roscrea. (See O'Neill Daunt's book, "Ireland and its Agitators", p. 83). Also, "Madden's Connexion of the Kingdom of Ireland with the Crown of England; Correspondence of Magistrates with the Government".) Halpin had joined Dwyer's party in the Wicklow mountains prior to 1803, became a robber, an informer, and being suspected of treachery, was fired at by Dwyer, when the gun burst, and Dwyer lost a finger. He was a gardener's assistant, some years ago, with Major Sirr.

APPENDIX III.

THE GOVERNMENTAL SPY AND INFORMER SYSTEM.

THE history of the Rebellion of 1798, like that of every other civil war, whatever traits of heroism may be discovered in the conduct of individuals, is a record of crimes and sufferings, which it is not for the interests of the people or their rulers, should be buried in oblivion, however appalling its details. The evils that are inseparable from civil war, require only to be regarded by both orders as calamities which extend far beyond the event of success or failure, and involve considerations of higher importance than those which are ordinarily taken into account, either by those parties who rush into revolt, or the powers who resist the just, or even the unreasonable, demands of the people. It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the evils of civil war; but it is possible to overrate the prospective advantages which are calculated on from its success, and to overlook the sufferings which are the inevitable consequences of its failure.

It is not alone in the deadly conflict, in the outrages on humanity committed in the frenzy of popular commotion, or party violence, or lawless power, that these evils are to be met with. The direst of them, the most revolting and humiliating to the feelings of all right-minded men, are to be found in the perfidious wickedness of those wretches who rise in troubled times to the surface of society from the obscurity in which their mischievous propensities had previously lain innoxious. These are the men whom the people in revolt must expect to find the earliest in their ranks, the most prominent in their societies, violent in their councils, conspicuous where there is security, and backward where there is danger, and who, while urging on their associates, skulk behind them, and bide their own time to betray them to their enemies.

These are the men whom the leaders of the people must expect to meet in their secret assemblies, to mingle with in private, to suffer the obtrusive familiarity of, unrebuked,—whose intemperate activity it is ever a task of difficulty to restrain, whose vicious courses they cannot or dare not interfere with, whom they vainly imagine to find steadfast in their cause in the times and troubles which try men's souls, and eventually encounter in courts of justice, or trace to the portals of people of authority, shrinking from observation, and lurking about the offices of the underlings of state.

These are the men whom the agents of government find fit and proper persons, when "the times are out of joint", to defeat the objects of those who are inimical to their principles or their power,—wretches whom it is easy to corrupt, being generally not only infamous and dissolute in their lives, but singularly open and scandalous in their infamy. The employment of such men makes it necessary to treat them with consideration, to take the tutelage of their testimony into charge, to condescend to hold confidential communications with them, to wink at their iniquities, to seem unconscious of their venality, to work upon their vanity, to exaggerate their preposterous opinions of their own importance, and to conceal the viler features of their treachery under the veil of a solicitude for the interests of justice or the welfare of their country. If an alliance with such men involve their confederates in danger, the tutelage of their testimony cannot be otherwise than revolting to the feelings of their employers. It is impossible to come in contact with them without loathing the individuals whose services are called into requisition.

In either case the consequences of the confidence that is betrayed, or the corruption that is practised, and the use that is made of the infamous agency of spies and informers, are such, that it is hard to say whether the danger attendant on the former, or the degradation on the latter, is the evil most to be apprehended or deplored.

By the reports of the Secret Committees of the Lords, in 1793, and of both houses of parliament in 1797, it appears that the government, at a very early period, had a knowledge of the conspiracy carried on by the United Irish Societies in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster, though not of the persons who formed the directory of the former province. A regular system of espionage was adopted so early as 1795, and in 1796 there were few secrets of the United Irishmen which were not in the hands of the government. It seems to be one of the necessary results of efforts to establish secret societies, that the more the secrecy of their proceedings is sought to be secured by tests and oaths, the more danger is incurred of treachery, and the more difficult it is to guard against traitors: the very anxiety for concealment becomes the immediate occasion of detection.

Mr. Cockayne, in 1794, was the first person who informed the government of the communication between France and Ireland. The agent of the French government, the Rev. W. Jackson, broached his mission to Theobald Wolfe Tone and other United Irishmen, at the house of Counsellor Leonard M'Nally, in Dublin. The treasonable communications were carried on with M'Nally's knowledge and concurrence; the government was apprised of the fact by Cockayne; Jackson was tried and convicted, and Tone had to quit the country; but M'Nally was not molested, and being an United Irishman, and being generally employed as the professional advocate of the persons of that society who had been arrested and arraigned on the charge of treason, his means of acquiring information were very considerable, and it was only discovered at his death that government had availed themselves of his knowledge, and had conferred a pension of £300 a year upon him for his private services.

I do not here refer to the ordinary gang of spies and informers domiciled at the Tower, or in the purlieus of the Castle, under Messrs. Sirr,

Swan, Hanlon, or O'Brien. These form "the hacks of the department", of which I shall have to speak hereafter, and "the battalion of testimony" in general. We now only have to do with the embarrassed, needy, unprincipled men of some standing in society, the "half-mounted" and "squireen" class of spies, who appeared in the witness-box in the garb of gentlemen, or whispered yet unsworn informations in the ears of Mr. Cooke, and drew their bills from time to time on demand, and several of whom, after all the enormous sums paid to them during the rebellion, retired from business on their pensions, provided with the means of a respectable subsistence.

Mr. Frederick Dutton, who at an early period was employed in the north as an informer, and had been sent especially to Maidstone to insure the conviction of O'Connor, was a regular informer of this class, a most reckless one in the case of the unfortunate priest Quigley, in whose great-coat pocket, by mistake for Arthur O'Connor's, was placed the treasonable paper on which he was convicted. Mr. M'Gucken, the solicitor of the United Irishmen, was another of the private informers, who was intrusted with the defence of the prisoners charged with treason in Belfast, and at the same period was in the pay of government—was largely paid, and ultimately pensioned; and during these frightful times M'Gucken continued to possess the confidence of the United Irishmen.

For upwards of twelve months before the breaking out of the rebellion several members of the Ulster United Irish Society were likewise in the pay of government. John Edward Newell entered on his duties at the Castle the 13th of April, 1797, and retired from them rather abruptly, the 6th of February, 1798. Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the County of Down, a member of the provincial and county committees, and also described in the report of 1798 as a colonel in their military system, during the whole of 1797, and down to June, 1798, regularly attended the meetings of the County Down United Irish Societies, and communicated to the Earl of Londonderry's chaplain, the Rev. John Cleland, a magistrate of that county, the treasonable proceedings of those societies after each meeting.

Mr. John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, another member of the United Irish Society, was apprehended at Newry, and brought into Belfast the 20th of October, 1797, on a charge of high treason, *and the same evening was liberated on bail.* Mr. Hughes's character and *past* services, it cannot be doubted, obtained for him an indulgence so extraordinary in those times. No date is assigned to the disclosures of Mr. Hughes, which were subsequently published in the secret report of 1798; but there is reason to believe that he was known to General Barber as an informer in the latter part of 1797. On the 7th of June, 1798, this man again went through the formal process of an arrest, and was transmitted to Dublin for special service there. Another member of the United Irish Society, named Bird, *alias* Smith, had from the same period been in the pay of government, had laid informations against Neilson and several of his associates, and in the latter part of 1797, like Newell, abruptly relinquished his employment. Both refused to come forward as witnesses on the trials of Messrs. M'Cracken, Flannagan, Barret, and Burnside. Mr.

Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle, at length supplied whatever evidence was wanting to enable government to complete its "timely measures". The Leinster delegates were apprehended on the 12th of March, 1798, at the house of Oliver Bond, and the strength of the union being sufficiently broken down, there remained no decent pretext for avoiding "the premature explosion of the rebellion".

The arrest of the Leinster provincial committee at Bond's, and the leading members of the union the day following, was the death-blow to the plans of their society. Four members of the directory, on whose talents and resources alone the society could place reasonable reliance in such an emergency, were no longer at the head of its councils—Messrs. Emmet, M'Neven, O'Connor, and Jackson were in the hands of government.

One member only of the Leinster Directory, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was the recognized military leader of the whole confederated societies of United Irishmen, for a short time baffled the vigilance of the government; and when he likewise was lost to the cause by his arrest on the 19th of May, the circumstances of the society were as desperate as they could well be.

On the arrest of the four members of the old directory, the younger Sheares was appointed a member of the new one, and continued to belong to it, concerting with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others the plan of the insurrection which broke out on the 23rd of May, two days previously to which both brothers were arrested. The outline of the plan was the surprisal of Dublin, the taking of the Castle, the camp at Laughlinstown, the artillery station at Chapelizod on the same night, and simultaneous risings in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare.

Had Lord Edward lived to join the insurgents, the government might have had cause to regret the trial of the experiment of their well-timed measures for the explosion of the insurrection.

It is well known that the grand object of the directory of the United Irishmen, was to restrain the impatience of the people, and to prevent a general rising unaided by the French. In the report of the secret committee, it is fully admitted that "until the middle of March, 1798, the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding a general engagement independently of foreign assistance; indeed, the opinion of the most cautious of their body was always adverse to premature exertion". And further on the report states, "that it appears, from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out as soon as it did, had it not been for the well-timed measures adopted by government subsequent to the proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council, bearing date 30th of March, 1798". It is necessary to ascertain what these well-timed measures were. On the examination of the state prisoners before this committee in August, 1798, the lord chancellor put the following question to Mr. Emmet: "Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?" To which Mr. Emmet replied: "The free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow!" Messrs. M'Neven and O'Connor gave similar replies to the same query.

Such were the well-timed measures adopted by the Irish government to cause the insurrection, in Lord Castlereagh's words, "to explode", when the mischievous designs of the United Irishmen Society had been long known to that government, and so fully, that one of its leading members declared in parliament, "that the state prisoners had confessed nothing which had not been known to them before". Why, then, did they not arrest the leaders of the Leinster societies long before, and prevent the insurrection which at length broke out?

This policy of allowing a people to go into rebellion, when the leaders of it might have been previously seized, and their plans consequently obstructed and deranged, is one which, in the recent commotion in Upper Canada, has been stigmatized in the British parliament as a proceeding which could not be defended on any grounds. The policy (worthy of Macchiavelli) had been acted on, however, by Mr. Pitt so early as 1794, in the case of Jackson, the emissary of the French government, who had been denounced to him by his companion, Cockayne. On Jackson's arrival in England, Mr. Pitt was informed of his treasonable designs by Cockayne, and yet he suffered the traitor to proceed to Ireland on his mischievous enterprise, accompanied by the informer, to open his mission to the leaders of the United Irishmen Society in that country, and to inveigle the imprudent and unwary persons with whom he was put in communication, into acts of treason.

The policy which dictated such a proceeding, truly deserves the worst name that can be given to it. The duty of an enlightened minister in these days, would be considered by all parties, to prevent, at the onset, the accomplishment of such designs; and where the violence of political excitement was tending towards sedition, before the heated partizan had precipitated his followers and himself into the guilt of treason, to check his course, instead of accelerating his steps. The process, however, through which the unfortunate country had to pass before a legislative union could be carried, was not to be interrupted. Two years later, Mr. Harvey M. Morres, a gentleman of rank, and a magistrate of the County Tipperary, and then of acknowledged loyalty, wrote to Mr. Secretary Cooke, informing him that the Orange and other factious societies had recently spread into that county, and were productive of mischievous results, which would involve the country in insurrection if they were not suppressed. Mr. Morres expressed his readiness to act in concert with the government in preventing such disorders, and discouraging these societies, which were exasperating the people. Mr. Secretary Cooke addressed a reply to this gentleman, which could leave no doubt on his mind that the Orange societies were under the especial protection of the government, and the result would be putting the people out of the king's peace. Mr. Morres was thanked for "this proof of his zeal and loyalty", but was informed the government saw no reason for acting on his suggestions, or availing itself, in this matter, of his services.

THOMAS REYNOLDS.

The person whose disclosures of the designs of the Leinster societies of United Irishmen Government ultimately availed themselves of, was Mr. Thomas Reynolds, a silk manufacturer in the Liberty, whose business had been carried on at 9 Park Street, the house in which he was born on the 12th of March, 1771. On the anniversary of that day, twenty-seven years subsequently, namely, on the 12th of March, 1798, the striking incident in the drama of his public life took place at the house of his friend, Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, where the latter and fourteen others of his associates, delegates from various societies of United Irishmen, holding a provincial meeting, were arrested on his information. The following* are the names and residences of those persons:—

Bond, Oliver, 13 Bridge Street, Dublin.
Ivers, Peter, Carlow.
Kelly, Lawrence, Queen's County.
Rose, James, Windy Arbour, Dublin.
Cummins, George, Kildare.
Hudson, Edward, 38 Grafton Street, Dublin.
Lynch, John, 31 Mary's Abbey, Dublin.
Griffen, Lawrence, Carlow.
Reynolds, Thomas, Culmuttin, Kilkenny.
M'Cann, John, 159 Church Street, Dublin.
Devine, Patrick, Ballymoney, County of Dublin.
Traynor (or Trenor), Thomas, Poolbeg Street, Dublin.
Byrne, William Michael, Park Hill, Wicklow.
Martin, Christopher, Dunboyne, Meath.
Bannan, Peter, Portarlington.

Bond was a wholesale woollen draper, who had acquired considerable wealth in his business: Arthur O'Connor speaks of him as "a beloved friend, whom he had himself brought into the undertaking", namely, into the society of United Irishmen. His amiable manners, extensive charities, and generous disposition, had endeared him to his fellow-citizens of all parties. He was convicted on Reynolds's evidence, and sentenced to be hanged, but was ultimately reprieved, and died shortly after of an apoplectic seizure, in Newgate.† The other state prisoners, in the interval between his conviction and the time appointed for execution, had entered into negotiations with government, undertaking to make a full disclosure of their plans, reserving the names of the parties engaged in them, in consideration of Bond's life being spared as the immediate condition, and with

* The house of Bond, No. 13 Lower Bridge Street, is now occupied by Messrs. Vance and Beers, wholesale woollen drapers.

† Bond's wife was a daughter of Henry Jackson. After her husband's death, she proceeded with her children to America, and in 1811 was living in opulence at Baltimore.

a hope of a final stop being put to the executions. This document, signed by seventy-two of the state prisoners, is dated the 29th July, 1798.

While these terms were in process of fulfilment on the part of the state prisoners (but only the day before the document was formally signed), William Michael Byrne was executed, on the 28th of July, M'Cann having previously suffered on the 19th of the same month.

An account of the infraction of this compact with respect to the state prisoners themselves, and who had been given to understand their liberation, and permission to go abroad within a specified period, would have immediately followed their performance of that part of the agreement which belonged to them, and who afterwards were detained in prison for upwards of three years, will be found more particularly detailed in the succeeding volume.

In *The Life of Curran*, by his son, an anecdote is told of Reynolds, which gives some idea of his courage and self-possession. The account is contradicted by the son of this man, in his recent work, in a tone intended, no doubt, to persuade the world that truth and fidelity, having been banished from the domain of history, had taken refuge in the bosom of the biographer of Thomas Reynolds. This modest gentleman says, "there is not a word of truth or probability in the story" related by Mr. Curran.

The particulars of the occurrence, however, have been very recently communicated to me by some of the descendents of Thomas Neilson, whose veracity, I presume, will not materially suffer by a comparison with that of Mr. Thomas Reynolds.

The scene of the struggle alluded to in Mr. Curran's account was not, properly speaking, in "the Liberty", but in the neighbourhood of it; and instead of any personal violence having been used by Neilson in the first instance, on his meeting Reynolds in the street, he stepped before him in a determined manner, and informed him that he must accompany him a little farther, to a friend's house, as he had some matters of importance to mention to him.

The friends of Neilson have a vivid recollection of his account of this occurrence, and of his manner, in describing the mode of putting the startling question to Reynolds: "What should I do with a villain who did" so and so? repeating the informer's acts of treachery to his companions; and the latter's cool and deliberate answer: "You should shoot him through the heart". The following is the version of this rencontre given by Mr. Curran: —

"Upon one occasion Reynolds saved himself from the vengeance of those whom he had betrayed, in a way that was more creditable to his presence of mind. Before he had yet publicly declared his infidelity to the cause of the United Irishmen, as one of their leaders, Samuel Neilson, was passing at the hour of midnight through the streets of Dublin, he suddenly encountered Reynolds, standing alone and unarmed. Neilson, who was an athletic man, and armed, rushed upon him, and commanded him, upon pain of instant death, to be silent and to accompany him. Reynolds obeyed, and suffered himself to be dragged along through several dark and narrow lanes, till they arrived at an obscure and retired passage

in the liberties of Dublin. Here Neilson presented a pistol to his prisoner's breast: 'What', said the indignant conspirator, 'should I do to the villain who could insinuate himself into my confidence for the purpose of betraying me?' Reynolds, in a firm tone, replied, 'You should shoot him through the heart'. Neilson was so struck by this reply, that, though his suspicions were not removed, he changed his purpose, and putting up his pistol, allowed the other to retire".

This fact is given as related by an eminent Irish barrister, to whom it was communicated by one of the parties.*

Mr. Reynolds's account of this affair is thus given by his son.

"A short time after the arrests at Bond's, Neilson met my father in the street, and taking his arm, said he had a matter to talk over with him, and began as if to consult about what could be done for those in arrest. They were then near Bond's house, and Neilson said Mrs. Bond was anxious to see my father on the subject, and as he himself was sought after by the police, he could not stop longer in the street. Under this pretence he brought my father into the house, and after a few minutes' conversation, requested him to accompany him into a back room to see Mrs. Bond. My father did so without hesitation, and Neilson led the way through the warehouses on the middle floor. The dwelling-house was in Bridge Street; the warehouses went back for at least two hundred yards, and opened by large crane gates into a mews behind. When they had reached the further wareroom, instead of Mrs. Bond they were met by a stout, ill-looking man, whom my father had never seen before. Neilson walked up to the man, who stood near the crane gate, which was shut, and after whispering to him, the man went out of the wareroom, and shut the door after him. Neilson then spoke of the general plans of the United Irishmen for a few minutes, when the other man returned with a brace of pistols in his hand, and resumed his former position. Some vague suspicions now flashed across my father's mind, and Neilson abruptly said, 'Reynolds, you have not a minute to live! you are the man who betrayed the delegates!' 'And dare you say that?' said my father, darting at him. At the same time he seized him by the collar with both hands, and thrust him back upon the man with the pistols, with such force that the crane-gate, not being fastened, opened outwards to the mews on being pushed against, and the man fell down backwards into the lane, where Neilson would have followed, had not my father held him up. Neilson directly turned, or attempted to turn, the affair into a joke, saying, 'O, my dear fellow, how could you be so violent? I assure you we only wished to try you; I fear you have killed him!' My father replied that he neither understood nor relished such practical jokes, and walked out of the warehouse, leaving Neilson to take such care as he pleased of his companion below. There were several persons in the house who had been dining with Mrs. Bond, but my father passed through the hall without noticing any one. It was then between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, in the month of March".†

* "Curran's Life", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 134.

† "Life of Thomas Reynolds", by his Son, vol. i., p. 201.

The scene of the struggle is, no doubt, correctly stated in the preceding account, and some of the circumstances in the main such as Reynolds describes them. The consummate assurance, and successful assumption of the tone and manner of an innocent man, injured and angered by the suspicion of his fidelity, had the effect of completely astounding Reynolds's assailant, and in his momentary confusion, of affording the man he had suspected to be a villain, an opportunity of effecting his escape. As to the story of rushing on Neilson, whom he acknowledges to have been "a very athletic man", of his doing this in the presence of another with pistols in his hands, not only with impunity, but with such actual violence even to this person as to bring him to the ground; these embellishments to it must be taken, not *cum grano*, but *cum multis granis salis*, and an adequate allowance for the statements of a man like Mr. Reynolds, who was desirous of giving treachery a chivalrous aspect of loyalty triumphing over extraordinary perils, and of having every act of his represented as a movement important to the state, and destined to be written in biographical heroics.

It is a very strange circumstance that, notwithstanding Reynolds, long previously to the arrests, had been shunned by several of the more discreet and wary of the United Irishmen, who had some knowledge of his private character and conduct in pecuniary affairs, he was still trusted by the most influential of their leaders; nay, even after the arrests at Bond's, when they were warned against him, he continued to be received by several of them as a person still faithful to their cause.

Some days subsequently to the arrests at Bond's, there had been a meeting of the provincial committee at the Brazen Head hotel, in a lane off Bridge Street. This meeting was attended, amongst others, by a gentleman residing in New Row, in the entire confidence of the directory; and from my own knowledge of his character, I should say there was no man more entitled to it, on whose authority the facts are stated which will be found in the following account.

One Michael Reynolds, of Naas, who was said to be a distant relative to Mr. T. Reynolds, and who had been particularly active in the society and useful to it, attended the meeting. This young man addressed the meeting at some length; he said that circumstances had lately transpired in the country, and steps, with regard to individuals, had been taken by government, which made it evident that a traitor was in their camp, who must belong to one of the country committees, and one who held a high rank in their society: that traitor, he said, was Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle, and if he were allowed to proceed in his career, they and their friends would soon be the victims of his treachery. In a tone and manner which left an indelible impression on the minds of his hearers, and which the person I allude to was wont to speak of as having produced an extraordinary effect, he asked if the society were to be permitted to be destroyed, or if Reynolds were to be allowed to live; in short, he demanded of the meeting their sanction for his removal, and undertook that it should be promptly effected.

The proposal was unanimously and properly rejected by the meeting. Michael Reynolds was a young man of great muscular strength and ac-

tivity, of a short stature and dark complexion, and somewhat celebrated in the country for his horsemanship.

About the middle of April, Reynolds was visited by a Mr. Kinselah, "who called on him for the purpose of informing him that one of the brothers Sheares (who after the arrests of the 12th of March, had assumed the direction of the conspiracy in Dublin) had arrived at Dr. Esmond's house, near Naas, and having called a private meeting of some of the country delegates, had informed them officially, in the name of the directory, that Reynolds was the man who had caused the arrests of the 12th of March; upon which they resolved that he should be summoned to attend them the next day at Bell's (a public house on the Curragh of Kildare), and there be put to death, unless he proved beyond all doubt that he was innocent of the charge.

On M'Cann's trial Reynolds stated that he had been informed "the accusation against him, on which he was to be tried, had been brought down from Dublin by Michael Reynolds from the provincial committee".

When the message to attend this meeting was brought to him, his cousin, Mr. Dunn, of Leinster Lodge, happened to be with him, and on Reynolds's refusal to attend, the messengers went away sulky and discontented, and he attributed the preservation of his life to the presence of Mr. Dunn on this occasion.*

The next morning, Mr. Matthew Kennaa, a respectable farmer in the neighbourhood, called on Reynolds, and urged him to go over to the meeting. Reynolds again refused, and the consequence was, young Mr. Reynolds states, that orders were issued to Kennaa and one Murphy, a butcher, to shoot his father, and on the 18th of April these two men rode up to the gate. Kennaa alighted and walked up to Reynolds, who was in a field superintending some labourers, leaving Murphy in care of the horses. He observed that Kennaa seemed much confused, and was fumbling in his breast as he approached. Reynolds quickly stepped up to him, and said, "What mischief are you after now, Kennaa?" and putting his hand at the same time on his breast, he felt a pistol. Mr. Reynolds states that on doing this, Kennaa trembled exceedingly, and made no resistance to his father's taking the pistol; that he stammered out some expressions of respect for his father, and acknowledged that he came for the purpose of shooting him; and yet Mr. Reynolds suffered Mr. Kennaa to depart unmolested, though there were twenty work-people in the field at the time this occurrence took place! There is some truth in this account, mixed up with the usual embellishments of Mr. Reynolds's lively imagination; but that it was intended to assassinate him, and that specific orders had been given to this effect, there can be no doubt.

On the 18th of March he attended a meeting of the United Irishmen, at the house of one Reilly, a publican, on the Curragh, at which he produced a letter he had obtained from Lord Edward, recommending the vacancies occasioned by the late arrests to be filled up; but a discussion of a very different kind was immediately introduced, on a proposition "to change all the officers of the county meetings' committees", as it was sup-

* "Reynolds's Life", by his Son, vol. i. p. 221.

posed that none others could have furnished the intelligence on which the government had acted. *Reynolds seconded this proposition*, he being at the time one of the officers proposed to be changed. Dr. John Esmond was then appointed to the place of Reynolds, and Michael Reynolds, of Naas, in the place of Cummins, who had been arrested at Bond's. The other delegate for Kildare, Mr. Daly, of Kilcullen, was retained in office. At this meeting the question of the recent arrests was loudly and angrily discussed, and insinuations were dropped which could not leave Mr. Reynolds particularly at his ease, but not one word on this subject appears in his memoirs. He had spent the night before at Naas, and it appears from the questions put to him on Bond's trial, that, for the purpose of preserving his life, it was necessary for him to take an oath that he was not the person who betrayed the secrets of the society which led to the arrests at Bond's. He was asked about an oath he had taken on that occasion, with reference to his denial of the charges brought against him; he said, "I do not deny it, nor do I say I took it, I was so alarmed —but I would have taken one if desired. When the United Irishmen were designing to kill me, I took an oath before a county member that I had not betrayed the meeting at Bond's".*

On the 3rd of May, Reynolds, on his way to Dublin from Kildare, was met by a Mr. Taylor, and warned if he proceeded on his journey that his life would be taken, as a party at no great distance were waiting for him. Reynolds returned to Naas, and Taylor proceeded to Athy, where, being mistaken for Reynolds, whom he resembled, he was attacked and wounded with a pike in the thigh. Reynolds took refuge in the house of an innkeeper of the name of M'Donnell, where he slept that night. Michael Reynolds discovered his place of concealment, and made a proposition to M'Donnell, who was an United Irishman also, to allow him and some of his followers to enter the house at night and put an end to Reynolds. M'Donnell opposed the project, and gave notice of it to Reynolds, who took all the precautions in his power for his safety, and the following morning he returned to Kilkea Castle.

But there is one circumstance connected with Mr. Reynolds's denial of the charge of betraying the secrets of the provincial committee at Bond's, which was not likely, indeed, to be found in his son's memoirs of his life, nor has it hitherto been noticed in any published account of the affairs of those times. It will be found to afford striking evidence of the baseness of this singularly atrocious miscreant.

Felix Rourke, a very young man, of great zeal in the cause of the United Irishmen, was the secretary of the society for the barony of Upper Cross, in the county of Kildare, and his friend, Bartholomew Mahon, held the same situation for that of Newcastle. They were appointed to meet the baronial committee at Naas, and subsequently the provincial one, as county delegates. About the period of their latter appointment, I am informed by Mahon, a very trustworthy man, who was living in the city of Dublin in 1803, that Mr. Reynolds, in Kildare, being taxed with being an informer, or one at least of the county delegates who must

* See Bond's Trial; Ridgway's Report, p. 202.

have given the information that led to the arrests at Bond's, vehemently denied the charge; and the names of several of the absent members being mentioned in the course of this discussion, Reynolds fixed on the name of Felix Rourke, then almost a boy, and, from his humble station, of little influence with the leaders, and plainly intimated that he was the person who was to be suspected. The result of this intimation was, that poor Rourke, a person who subsequently sealed with his blood his devotion to the cause, was placed on his trial by his society. My informant, Mahon, was present on this occasion. Rourke burst into tears when the charge was repeated: he indignantly repelled it, and was acquitted; but Mahon states that his life was in the greatest peril.

The process by which Reynolds was led from his treason to the state, to his first partial disclosures to Mr. Cope, and ultimate complete communication of all the secrets of his society in his sworn informations, it is not difficult to trace. He had extensive money-dealings with Mr. Cope, and difficulties of an unpleasant nature arose in the adjustment of those claims which that gentleman had upon him.

At his father's death, he owed Mr. Cope £1000; and on his mother's quitting business, there was £4000 due to him. For these amounts, he (Reynolds) gave Mr. Cope a mortgage on a lease of lands held under Sir Duke Gifford, and a bond of his own as a collateral security. Subsequently, he paid £1000 to Mr. Cope, to get up, as he asserted, his bond, and Mr. Cope accepted that amount, agreeing to run the risk of the mortgage on the reversionary lease which had been given him. In the meantime, he continued dealing with Cope, till he (Reynolds) quit business, and had to lay a statement of his affairs before his creditors. He applied to Mr. Cope for the securities in his possession, to show to his friends. At that period, he (Reynolds) owed Cope a balance of £1000. The securities were given to him, and soon after, Cope called on him for a settlement of that balance of £1000, which he (Reynolds) then repudiated, on the grounds that Mr. Cope had received benefit from his mother's and his own dealings with him; and he (Reynolds) "had no right to have his person bound for a debt which he had no share in accumulating".

Mr. Cope protested against this repudiation of the debt, and went away stating he would renew his demand for payment in a week. He did so, and without success; whereupon Mr. Valentine O'Connor, another merchant, wrote to him (Reynolds) that he had done wrong in refusing to acknowledge the debt or give a settlement to Cope; and in consequence of this letter, he (Reynolds) immediately returned to Mr. Cope a voucher for £1000 which he had entrusted to him. So, by Reynolds's own admission, at the time of his disclosing to Cope the secrets of the United Irishmen, he was in Cope's debt to the amount of £1000, and Cope held securities of Reynolds to that amount, on which he could at any moment proceed against him (Reynolds).

This circumstance throws a great deal of light on Mr. Cope's anxiety to turn Reynolds to a profitable account to the interests of Church and State, and to secure Mr. Reynolds's valuable life from the imminent danger which beset it while he continued in the camp and councils of the United Irishmen. Similar shifts and swindling stratagems to get rid of pecuniary

obligations, were brought to light at the other trials in which Reynolds was a witness. It was proved on M'Cann's trial, and partly by Reynolds's own testimony, that he had obtained a sum of money (£175) from a poor old servant woman of his family, for which he gave her his bond and a note of hand; that a wrong date was put to the note, by which it appeared, as the counsel for the prisoner asserted, that security was given by Reynolds while he was under age; and that he (Reynolds), on one occasion, had got the old woman to give him the bond to compare certain dates of payments of interest, and that he had given back *by mistake* an old bond form, which had lain in his desk as a precedent for drawing up such securities. Subsequently, he got that bond from her also, and was threatened by an attorney with proceedings for the debt due to the old woman, and had only settled that debt shortly before the trial.

The differences which had arisen between Cope and his friend and debtor, made it necessary for Reynolds to keep on good terms with his creditor, and to evince an increased desire for standing well in his esteem. Mr. Cope, in the latter part of February, 1798, took occasion to accompany Reynolds to the country seat of Sir Duke Gifford, to get some signatures to the leases which had been mortgaged to him (Cope), and in the course of their journey he contrived to sound his companion on the subject of the troubled state of the country.

He described the man who could be found to give information of the designs of the United Irishmen to government as one who would be called the saviour of his country—who would have the highest honours and rewards conferred upon him—a seat in parliament, and £1,500 or a couple of thousand pounds a year from government.

Reynolds was a man both greedy of gain and ambitious of distinction, and, as his letters and conduct will show, utterly indifferent to the opinion of people of his own humble rank, but exceedingly desirous of being thought well of by the great, and of being privileged to communicate with public men in high stations, or to correspond with official persons. He intimated to Mr. Cope that such a man might be found, but he would not be known as an informer; he would not come forward as a witness against his associates, nor have his name communicated to government; he would accept of no honours or rewards; but, as "he was determined to quit the country for a time, he would require his extraordinary expenses to be paid to him, *or other damages that he might receive*"; and on Mr. Cope's asking him "what sum would cover the extraordinary expenses or losses?" Mr. Reynolds replied he did not think they would exceed £500, for which sum there should be liberty to draw on him. "I agreed to everything", says Cope, "and he, Mr. Reynolds, gave me then such information as he was possessed of".*

I think it most probable that Mr. Reynolds said no more than what he meant on this occasion; and that he really believed he might do a great service to his friend Mr. Cope, at the expense of the general interests of the society to which he belonged himself, without having to swear away the lives of his old friends and associates.

* "Ridgway's Report of Oliver Bond's Trial", p. 187.

At another interview with Mr. Cope, he was induced to go on a step farther than he had done at the last meeting: he was led to make disclosures about particular societies, and eventually about particular members of them; but he still objected to come forward as a witness against them; he would, in fact, only enable the government to lay hold of these persons, and leave the odium of convicting them on the evidence of other informers. He was ready to sacrifice his friends, but not to be known as the betrayer of them: he had no objection to their being taken up on his information, and convicted, and executed, but he was ashamed of being seen in the witness-box against them. This, in all probability, is the customary process through which the minds of the generality of those persons who turn approvers are led, before any one of them stands before the public with the brazen front, the reckless bearing, and hardened breast of a hackneyed informer. "The gentleman" informer has to pass through these gradations before he is able or willing to bear the gaze of the multitude, or the glance of the prisoner, his former friend or acquaintance, in the dock; to stand before the crowded court in the character of an approver—a criminal, pardoned for the purpose of criminating his companions; or before he arrives at the high distinction of interchanging smiles with the superintendents of police, of hanging about the public offices of town-majors and crown-solicitors, of cultivating the acquaintance of clerks and secretaries, of stipulating with men in authority for the pieces of silver, or dropping hints about the place or pension, which are ultimately forced on his reluctant acceptance! These little benefits come, of course, in the progress of events, at the tail of public services—unbargained for, unsolicited, and unsought. The delicacy of Reynolds's sentiments was hurt, when he was informed by Mr. Cope that he might expect to be handsomely rewarded for his information. Reynolds protested he would accept of no reward; but he had no objection to be indemnified for his losses: "I told him", says Mr. Reynolds, "that neither honour nor rewards were looked for, nor would be accepted".

The arrests at Bond's of the delegates were immediately followed up by those of Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. William James M'Neven, and, on the 19th of May following, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Mr. Reynolds, however, had not the merit of having brought his noble friend and benefactor to the scaffold; it was reserved for him, after the death of that friend, in his evidence before parliament, to lay the foundation for an attainder, which was "to visit the cradle of his unprotected offspring with want and misery".

Reynolds's father had married a lady of the name of Fitzgerald, "the eldest daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Kilmead, in the county of Kildare, a descendent of the Earls of Kildare, and consequently a relative of the Leinster family". Young Reynolds was sent abroad and completed his studies at a Jesuit establishment in Flanders. His mother carried on the business in Park Street, or Ash Street, as it is frequently spoken of, after his father's death, and on his return to Ireland he resided with her.

In his life, written by his son, we are informed that, shortly after his return, he had taken his mistress to a masquerade-ball at the Rotundo, and had given her a very valuable diamond ornament, worth £50 or

£60, which his mother had placed in his hat, and a sum, moreover, of £24 or £25, which he happened to have in his pocket. His mother, on his return, missed the diamond ornament. He "assured her it should be returned in a day or two: but nothing would pacify her: she called it robbery, and vowed she would send the constables after the girl, when he remarked that, in fact, the pin was his property, and not hers".* The pin, however, it is admitted, had been given to him for this special occasion by his mother the night before.

On M'Cann's trial, Reynolds said it was true he had been charged with having a skeleton key to open a lock of an iron chest belonging to his mother. He was told his mother had said so, and he had no doubt she believed what she had said. He had been accused, he said, of stealing his mother's trinkets when he was about sixteen years. He was also charged, he said, with stealing a piece of lutestring silk, to give to a girl; and the same charge regarded his mother's jewels, for the same purpose. Counsel for the prisoner said: "Then you committed the theft, and you were charged with stealing?" Reynolds answered: "I tell you the charges were made, and I took the things. But it was not true about the skeleton key of the iron chest".†

It was not only with his mother's ornaments then that Mr. Thomas Reynolds made free; but he was accused, his son informs us, by a Mr. Warren, who had the management of his mother's business, "of having stolen silks from his mother's warehouse"—a charge, he states, which was made at the time of the trials of 1798, for the purpose of injuring his father's credit. "The fact was", continues his biographer, "his mother and Mrs. Warren had continually gowns cut from any silks they fancied for their own use, of which no account was taken. My father had, twice or three times, a gown, in like manner, cut off for this young woman; it was done openly in the wareroom, but Warren and the clerks had particular charge not to tell his mother".‡

In 1794, Mr. Reynolds married Miss Harriet Witherington, whose sister was the wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone. With this lady Mr. Reynolds got a fortune of £1,500, and, on his marriage, was taken into partnership by his mother and her then co-partner, Mr. Warren. In 1797, the whole affairs of the house were in his hands. The property was then incumbered with debts, young Reynolds states, to the amount of £9,000, of which £5,000 *was due to Messrs. Cope and Co.* There appears, however, to have been sufficient property left to Thomas Reynolds to meet these engagements: he, however, had to enter into those arrangements with the Messrs. Cope which have been referred to, and into arrangements of a similar nature with his other largest creditors, Messrs. Jeffrey and Co.

Yet, with all these difficulties and desperate expedients to surmount, the broken silk manufacturer of Ash Street was able to become a country gentleman and proprietor of Kilkea Castle. In the spring of 1797, Mr. Reynolds made an application to the Duke of Leinster for a lease of the lands of

* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", by his Son, vol. i., pp. 65, 67.
† Ridgway's "Report of M'Cann's Trial".
‡ *Ibid.*

Kilkea. Through the interference in his behalf of Lord Edward Fitzgerald with his brother (though this fact is denied in Mr. Reynolds's biography), he was put in possession of Kilkea Castle and about 350 acres of land, "of the first land in the country"—on paying down a fine of £1000, "the reserved rent amounting to no more than £48 2s. a-year"!*—terms so advantageous as could only have been obtained by friendly interference, in some quarter, with the owner of the property.

But at the close of 1797, and only a few months after Mr. Reynolds's transformation into a country gentleman, there was one creditor of his, namely, his own mother, whose claims on that hopeful son were not settled; and in July, 1798, on the trial of W. M. Byrne, it was admitted by Reynolds, it had been rumoured that his mother had been settled by him. Under cross-examination on that trial, being asked by Mr. Bushe: "Were you accused of giving poison to your mother?" Reynolds replied, "I heard that Mr. Witherington had said so". Mr. Witherington was the brother-in-law of this cool villain, who, had he lived in the days of Palmer and Bacon, might have fared very differently to what he did at the hands of his patrons, Lords Camden and Castlereagh.

On the 6th of November, 1797, the mother of Mr. Reynolds died in Dublin, after a short illness: her medical attendant was Dr. M'Neven. Her son was then from home, and did not arrive in town till the morning after her decease. On the retirement of this lady from the business in Park Street, an annuity of £200 a-year had been settled on her by her son.

The day after her decease, her son, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, arrived in Dublin, and visited the remains of his mother. On the trial of William Michael Byrne, he was asked, on his cross-examination, if he recollected going into his mother's room (on his arrival from the country), and seeing a person taking away a bottle of wine, and running with eagerness, and saying he would take it himself, as he had sent it? To which question he replied, he could not recollect it, because it never happened. The person, however, who could have sworn that it did happen, was then in Newgate on a charge of treason: that person was Dr. M'Neven, and its occurrence he plainly spoke of as one of which he was cognizant. That fact I have from Dr. M'Neven's own lips.

The mother-in-law of Mr. Reynolds, Mrs. Witherington, died at Reynolds's house in Ash Street, in April, 1797. On the trial of Oliver Bond, Mr. Reynolds was cross-examined at some length respecting this lady's death. The following are the questions and answers on this subject, as they are given in Ridgway's report of the trial:—

Quest.—She had a complaint in her bowels?
Ans.—She had.
Quest.—You administered medicine?
Ans.—I did; tartar-emetic.
Quest.—She died shortly after?
Ans.—She took it on Friday, and died on Sunday.
Quest.—Did you give her any other potion except that?
Ans.—No, I did not.

* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", vol. i., p. 99.

Quest.—Do you recollect, Mr. Reynolds, being charged, in your family, with anything touching that prescription?

Ans.—Since I have been brought up to Dublin, I have heard that Major Witherington said I poisoned his mother with tartar-emetic.

Quest.—You heard that?

Ans.—And many other ill-natured things too.

Quest.—Very cruel; but the best of men—

Ans.—May err.

Quest.—Did you hear anything about a pitched sheet for the poor old lady?

Ans.—I did; it was one of the charges of the funeral bill, which bill I paid. She was a very large, corpulent woman; she was kept till her son came to town, and she could not be kept without the sheet.

Quest.—Upon what day?

Ans.—The fourth day after her death: she could not be kept otherwise.

On M'Cann's trial, on a similar cross-examination, Mr. Reynolds stated, that he had paid into her hands a sum of £300, about a fortnight or three weeks before her death. This money, it appeared, was intended to be applied by her towards the purchase of a commission for one of her sons, but at her death the money was not to be found. It is proper to state that on this trial Mr. Reynolds, in explanation of the circumstance regarding the medicine he had administered to his mother-in-law, said that "a Mr. Fitzgerald, a relation of his family, who had been an apothecary and had quitted business, left him a box of medicines, containing castor oil, cream of tartar, tartar emetic, and such things. He had been subject to a complaint of the stomach, for which Mr. Fitzgerald gave him a quantity of powders in small papers, which he kept for use, and found great relief from; they had saved his life, and he had asked Mrs. Reynolds for one of these papers to give to Mrs. Witherington, and it was given to her".*

At one or other of the several trials on which Mr. Reynolds gave evidence against the prisoners who had been arrested at Bond's, his testimony was sought to be impeached, and the following persons deposed that they did not believe him to be worthy of credit on his oath:—

Mr. Valentine O'Connor, a merchant of the city of Dublin.
Mrs. Mary Molloy, his cousin, a nun.
Major Edward Witherington, his brother-in-law.
Mr. Henry Witherington, ditto.
Mr. Warren, his mother's former partner in trade.
Mr. Peter Sullivan, a clerk of Mr. Reynolds.

The following witnesses were produced in support of his testimony, and from their knowledge of his character, declared their belief of his being entitled to credit in a court of justice:—

Mr. Cope, a merchant of Dublin.

* "Ridgway's Report of M'Cann's Trial", p. 28.

Mr. Furlong, an attorney of Mr. Reynolds.

The Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, a clergyman, a friend of Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor.

On Bond's trial, Mr. Reynolds gave a detailed account of the several oaths he had taken. He had sworn to secrecy on being made a member of the United Irishmen's Society. He had taken an oath of fidelity to his captains on being appointed colonel. He had taken another, before a county meeting, that he had not betrayed his associates at Bond's. He had likewise taken the oath of allegiance twice, and an oath before the Privy Council once, and thrice in the courts of justice, namely, on the trials of Bond, Byrne, and M'Cann. Without disparaging the services of Mr. Reynolds, it is impossible to look upon him, except as "a kind of man to whom the law resorts with abhorrence and from necessity, in order to set the criminal against the crime, and who is made use of by the law, for the same reasons that the most noxious poisons are resorted to in desperate disorders".*

It would have been unnecessary to have gone into these details, but for the ill-judged efforts of those who have lately undertaken to represent Mr. Reynolds rather in the light of a martyr to the purity and disinterestedness of his patriotic principles, than as a reluctant witness, induced to come forward by the persuasions of an influential friend, and in some degree willing to be convinced of his former errors, and to regard the retrieval of his necessitous condition as one of the casual results of repentant guilt.

His biographer, however, bitterly complains of the treatment his revered parent received from the government. Before it was known in the country that Mr. Reynolds had been converted by Mr. Cope from the evil of his political ways, or had been sufficiently long in the company of Major Sirr, or his domestic chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Gubbins, to become a new man, and wholly separated from the errors of his Popish ancestors, the military took possession of Kilkea Castle, established free quarters there, and spared Mr. Reynolds none of the ravages customary on such occasions. This place of old had been the scene of perfidy and bloodshed.

In 1580, the Earl of Kildare (Gerald, the eleventh earl), custodian under Elizabeth of the northern border of the English pale, and lord of Kilkea Castle, on his return from England, where he had been imprisoned in the tower on suspicion of favouring the Irish, to give his royal mistress a proof of his loyalty, courted the acquaintance of his neighbour, Fergus O'Kelly, of Leix, who had married the daughter of O'Byrne, of Glenmure, in the county of Wicklow (subsequently represented by the Byrnes of Cabinteely), and invited him to Kilkea Castle, where he murdered his guest, and then communicated this treacherous murder to the queen, as a satisfactory evidence of his devotion to her interests, in putting to death an Irish rebel. He obtained the O'Kelly lands as the reward of his fidelity, and demised his ill-gotten possessions to his natural son, Garret Fitzgerald. This Garret left a son named Gerald, long remembered in Kildare for his barbarous cruelties, and finally for his reverse of fortune.†

* Curran's speech against the bill of attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

† See Hardiman's "Bardic Remains", vol. i., p. 187, and the "Anthologia Hibernica".

Previously to the arrests at Bond's on the 12th of March, Mr. Reynolds took up his abode in Kilkea Castle; but the tables were turned on its modern occupant: he who might reasonably consider himself at this period the supreme arbiter of life and death, was himself treated in his own house as "a mere Irishman". His son tells us that "his father's steward, William Byrne, was flogged and tortured to make him discover a supposed depôt of arms. Lieutenant Love, of the 9th Dragoons, being a tall man, tied his silk sash about Byrne's neck, and hung him over his shoulders, while another officer flogged him until he became insensible; and similar acts (he continues) obtained for Mr. Love the soubriquet of the walking gallows".* As this marauding had been duly performed in the king's service, and at the period of its infliction on Kilkea Castle, its owner, unknown to the military, was a whitewashed rebel restored to his allegiance, and high in the favour of Cooke and Castlereagh, he sent in a moderate estimate of the property destroyed on this occasion, "conformably to the terms of the act for indemnifying suffering loyalty", amounting only, as his biographer informs us, to the sum of £12,760—a sum which he declares with becoming gravity "would not have replaced the property lost by one-half".†

Now, if this be true, Mr. Reynolds previously to the rebellion must have been worth £25,000. How did it happen that he was obliged so very recently to pass bills and notes for such paltry sums as £10 and £20 to the old servant, Mrs. Cahill?—that on giving up business he had not been able to pay off the debts of the firm, without coming to the arrangements entered into with Mr. Cope and the house of Jeffrey?—that after he had made his disclosures to government, and previously to the trials taking place, when it was so desirable for him to be then clear of the suspicion of having turned informer for the sake of gain, that he was compelled by his necessities to draw on Mr. Cope for the sum of 300 guineas, and again for another sum of £200?

On Bond's trial, when asked by the counsel for the prisoner when he had drawn for the 300, he replied that it was four or five days before the arrests at Bond's, and the time of drawing for the other 200 was when he was in the county of Kildare, "before he had been injured by the military". "But he had determined to quit the kingdom as soon as Mrs. Reynolds, who was then in her confinement, had recovered, and he wanted to pay some debts before he went away".‡

In the second volume of his work, Mr. Reynolds's biographer states that Kilkea Castle, of which he had a lease for three lives renewable for ever —estimating the 360 acres of land at 26*s.* per acre, at only twenty years' purchase, was worth £8,100. That the property destroyed by the troops, "duly certified", amounted to £12,760; and these two sums, he says, make a total of £19,860 actual *bonâ fide* loss, not to mention other losses which he has shown in the body of his work. "Now", he asks, "what has his father received? A sum of £500, paid to him at the time when he expected to be enabled to quit Ireland till the storm had blown over,

* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", vol. i., p. 231. † *Ibid.*
‡ "Ridgway's Report of Bond's Trial", p. 195.

and an annuity of £1,000 Irish, or £920 English, with reversion to my mother, my brother, and myself".*

The statement of the sacrifice of property to the amount of £19,860, some forty years ago, might have been of some avail, but it would be as difficult a matter now to sustain it, as to turn it to any profitable account. Mr. Moore and Dr. Taylor, the able author of the *History of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, have unhappily fallen under the displeasure of young Mr. Reynolds, for presuming to think that the necessities of his father had no slight share in the proceedings which caused Reynolds to appear to Mr. Cope as "a man who would and ought to be placed higher in his country than any man that ever was in it".

His biographer has put some very serious and important questions on this subject, which deserve to be answered. I have taken no small pains to make myself acquainted with the subject, which Mr. Reynolds has, perhaps indiscreetly, made so prominent a topic—and, *perhaps* a little too triumphantly in his tone, has provoked a reply to.

"Perhaps (says Mr. Reynolds) Mr. Taylor could furnish me with the records from which he discovered that my father was distressed for want of money". He may, perhaps, consider Mr. Moore's *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* as a record, or Mr. Moore himself as a historian of small value; but as I shall notice his work in another place, I shall confine myself for the present to Mr. Taylor. "From what source", he asks, "did Mr. Taylor discover that my father had been an active member of the Union; and, above all, from what record did he receive the foul slander that he had sold the secret to government? Could not the same record have supplied him with the price also; and if so, why did he not name it? From what records did he learn that my father had insured to himself by his conduct even the slightest reward? The whole accusation is false as it is malicious".†

Either Mr. Reynolds believes that his questions are unanswerable, or that those who could answer them are not willing to do so. Time, however, has unravelled greater mysteries than those connected with the name and exploits of Mr. Reynolds. Documents, whose authenticity cannot be called in question, are in existence, and furnish irrefragable proof of Mr. T. Reynolds having received for his disclosures, within a term of six months from the 29th of September, 1798, not £500 only, but the sum of £5,000, in four payments, at the following dates and in the following amounts:—

1798, Sept. 29,	Mr. T. Reynolds received		£1,000
„ Nov. 16,	Ditto	ditto	2,000
1799, Jan. 19,	Ditto	ditto	1,000
„ March 4,	Ditto	ditto	1,000

"—to complete £5,000". And moreover, on the 14th of June, 1799. Mr. Reynolds received his annuity of £1,000, "in full to the 25th of March, 1799"; from which period till his death, the 18th of August, 1836, his pension continued to be paid to him.

The amount of that pension was £1,000 Irish, or £920 British: he received it for a term of thirty-seven years.

* "Reynolds's Life", vol. ii., p. 514.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 103.

The gross amount for the above period, at £920 per annum, is - - - - -	£34,040
Gratuity before the trials of Bond, M'Cann, and Byrne - - - - - -	500
Gratuities between September, 1798, and March 4, 1799 - - - - -	5,000
Post office agency at Lisbon, salary and emoluments, four years, at £1,400 per annum -	5,600
Consulship at Iceland, two years, at £300 per annum - - - - - -	600
	£45,740

In 1810 he was appointed to the post office agency at Lisbon, where he remained nearly four years, the salary and emoluments of which office averaged £1,400 per annum.

In 1817 he was appointed to the consulate at Iceland, where he remained about one year, on a salary of £300 per annum. He returned to England, and in 1819 went back to Copenhagen, where he continued a few months, and then, on leave of absence, repaired to France, leaving his son to act in his stead as vice-consul, in which office he continued till 1822. Another son obtained a lucrative appointment under the stamp office department at Hull.

This enormous sum of £45,740, the "disinterested friend of his country" received; and as the pension on the Irish civil list reverted to his widow and to his two sons, who, at the time of his death, were in the prime of life, it was by no means improbable that one of the parties might survive the person to whom it was originally granted some five-and-twenty or thirty years; and if so, the people of Great Britain would have the further gratification of paying another sum of twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds more for the credit of Lord Castlereagh's government in Ireland (nominally of Lord Camden's), and as a tribute of respect to the memory and worth of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. There are gentlemen in the British parliament, though not forgetful of the services of Mr. Reynolds and others of his class, who might think this subject deserving of their attention, who might imagine that the children of the starving operatives of Leeds and Manchester are entitled to as much consideration as those of the gentlemen who made orphans of so many, and who during their lives were amply rewarded for any service they rendered to their employers.*

* Providence has been pleased, since the appearance of the first edition of this work, in 1842, to remove the widow of Mr. Thomas Reynolds and his two sons from this sinful world. The eldest son's death is thus noticed in the *Hull Herald* of the 24th of July, 1856: "Melton.—Yesterday, in his 62nd year, A. F. Reynolds, Esq., barrister-at-law,and distributor of stamps for Hull and East-Riding". The other son of Mr. Reynolds was connected with a proselytizing establishment in Paris, originally founded by Lord Roden, and supported by voluntary subscriptions of English visitants to the French capital. Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who, like his brother, had been brought up in the religion he adopted after his civil conversion from disaffection to loyalty, became a lay apostle of the New Jerusalem Society of Marbœuf, a collector of funds, and a visitor of all English tourists on their

The interference of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with regard to the lease of Kilkea Castle, in favour of Reynolds, is called, with the usual modesty of his biographer, "a piece of pure invention from beginning to end". "Early in 1797 (this gentleman states) his father took from the Duke of Leinster the valuable lease of the castle and lands of Kilkea"; that "he became a United Irishman in February, 1797; that in November, 1797, Lord Edward called on his father, and asked him to take his place as colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, enrolled in the county Kildare, for a short time". These dates are rather unfortunate for the arduous task of whitewashing the character of Mr. Reynolds's friendship, considering the very advantageous terms on which the lease was granted to him, and the confidential communications between Lord Edward and Mr. Reynolds, admitted by the latter, in November, 1797, the very month of his obtaining the lease from the Duke of Leinster.

In the informations given upon oath by Thomas Reynolds, and afterwards confirmed before the secret committees in 1798, his intimacy with Lord Edward is thus alluded to:—"Deponent further saith, that in November, 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, met deponent upon the steps of the Four Courts, and told him that he wished to speak to him upon very particular business; that deponent informed Lord Edward Fitzgerald he would be found in Park Street if he called on him there; that deponent and Lord Edward knew each other only personally, and that only from a purchase deponent had been about in the county of Kildare from the Duke of Leinster".*

Here Reynolds himself acknowledges, what is positively denied by his son, that in the business relating to the purchase from the Duke of Leinster, Mr. Reynolds had a *personal* knowledge of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

It would appear from young Mr. Reynolds's work, that his father had a sincere regard for Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It is very probable that he had as much regard for his lordship as it was in his nature to feel for any man—that is to say, he had no personal animosity to this young nobleman, and after the arrests at Bond's, perhaps, had nothing to gain (when he knew the secret of his place of concealment) by betraying him; for the reward of £1000 for his apprehension was not published till the 11th of May, and Reynolds was not then in town. But when it was part of the duty required of him by his employers to deprive the widow and children of his dead friend of the means of subsistence, he was restrained by no compunctious visitings of nature from swearing away the property of that friend, as he had sworn away the lives of his associates.

There are three proofs given by Mr. Reynolds, junior, of the friendship of his father for Lord Edward. Two days after the arrests at Bond's, on his information—(Lord Edward having so far fortunately escaped that peril by the accidental circumstance of seeing Major Swan's party enter the

arrival in Paris. Mr. Reynolds, junr., however, fell into difficulties, removed from Paris, and ended his career about two years ago. His aged mother, the widow of the informer, had died a short time previously. So all the parties entitled to receive the reversionary pension of Tom Reynolds have passed away.

* "Report of Secret Committee, 1798"; Appendix, xvi., p. 132.

house, when he, Lord Edward, was on his way there, at the corner of Bridge Street)—Reynolds visited Lord Edward at his place of concealment, at Dr. Kennedy's in Aungier Street, and discussed with his lordship his future plans as to his concealment, etc. Mr. Reynolds discovered "he had no arms of any sort except a small dagger, and he was quite unprovided with cash, which was then scarce, as the banks had stopped all issue of gold. My father called on him again on the evening of the 15th, and brought him fifty guineas in gold, and a case of good mounted pistols, with ammunition, and a mould for casting bullets".* "He took the pistols, threw a cloak over his shoulders, and left the house accompanied by Mr. Lawless. My father never saw him more". Poor Lord Edward little imagined from what source that money had been derived, or that he and his companions had been betrayed by the very man who had been so recently in his company, and who had already drawn on the agent of government for the first portion of that stipulated sum which was the reward of his disclosures, and had placed a part of the price of his friends' blood in his hands, under the semblance of an act of kindness.

The present of the pistols, with the powder and bullet mould, for the protection of a man, whose peril, he well knew, was the consequence of his own treachery to him and his associates, was worthy of Reynolds; villainy less accomplished could hardly have devised so refined an act of specious perfidy. It was a particular feature of Reynolds's infamy, that he seems to have felt a gratification in witnessing the effects of his proceedings on the unfortunate families of his victims. A few days after the arrests at Bond's, he paid a visit of condolence to Mrs. Bond, and even caressed the child she was holding in her arms. He paid a similar visit of simulated friendship to the wife of Lord Edward Fitzgerald on the 16th of March. Mr. Reynolds's son must tell the particulars of this interview. "She (Lady Fitzgerald) also complained of a want of gold; my father told her he had given Lord Edward fifty guineas the preceding night, and would send her fifty more in the course of that day, which promise he performed. Neither of these sums were ever repaid. In the course of their conversation, my father mentioned his intention of leaving Ireland for a time; on which she took a ring from her finger and gave it to him, saying she hoped to hear from him if he should have anything of importance to communicate, and that she would not attend to any letter purporting to come from him, unless it were sealed with that ring, which was a small red cornelian, engraved with the figure of a dancing satyr".†

Mr. Reynolds having deprived himself of his pistols on the 15th of March, the act was considered by him, and at a later period, it would seem, was recognized by government, as one done for *the public service*, for these pistols were replaced by Major Sirr, and the bill for the case purchased on that occasion by the major for his friend, was duly presented to Mr. Cooke, and the subsequent payment of it was not forgotten.

"1798, July 26, Major Sirr, for pistols for Mr. Reynolds . . . . . £9 2 0".

* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", vol. ii., p. 219. † *Ibid.*

So much for the friendship's offerings of Mr. Thomas Reynolds.

The insatiable cupidity of this man at length disgusted the administration in both countries, and when his importunities were disregarded, in the pathetic language of his son, having settled his accounts, "he bade an eternal adieu to his kindred and country, and arrived with his family in London, on the 1st of January, 1800". This melancholy circumstance for the meditation of "his kindred and country", is certainly narrated in very moving terms, but the nature of his faithful attachment to both, could hardly be spoken of in plain and simple terms. "During two years", continues his son, "he did not cease to urge on the English ministers the promises made to him on leaving Ireland, but to no purpose; he received much politeness, but the English ministers referred him to the Irish, these again referred him to those in England, until at length, digusted with both, he dropped the pursuit and applied himself exclusively to the care of his family".*

But though it was impossible to satiate Mr. Reynolds's unquenchable thirst for gain, notwithstanding the prodigal liberality with which the public money was lavished on him, it seems to have been still more difficult to appease his appetite for encomiums on his public conduct, and he was constantly addressing letters to distinguished persons, representing himself as a persecuted patriot, whom love for his country had subjected to the most undeserved animosity. From Lord Limerick he extorted a communication in 1817, in which he states "that it was from the best and most disinterested motives, he had laid open the conspiracy", etc.

Lord Carleton, formerly chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland, the judge who presided on the trial of the Sheares, addressed another letter to Mr. Reynolds on the subject of his conduct in 1798 and at the trials of that period, and his lordship gravely informs Mr. Reynolds, that in the whole of his conduct, "he had behaved with consistency, integrity, honour, ability, and disinterestedness". With this profound legal gentleman's opinion of the qualities he alludes to, we may form some idea of those qualities that were formerly looked for in those who were candidates for elevation to the bench.

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his Memoirs, speaks of Reynolds as a man who so far differed from his brother conspirator, Captain Armstrong, "that the latter had the honour of an officer and the integrity of a man to sustain, and deliberately sacrificed both!!"

So Sir Jonah corresponded with Mr. Reynolds, when the latter was at Lisbon; and in his private letters to him, he addresses him in the most affectionate terms, and begins his epistles with the most endearing expressions. In July, 1812, one of his letters commences with, "My dear Reynolds, I cannot express how obliged I am by your letter". In the same communication, he addresses him "as an old friend".† Considering the person he addressed, Sir Jonah must have entertained notions of the obligation which friendship imposes, different from those of the generality of men, whose principles are fixed, of whatever political shade they may be. Sir Jonah, however, would call a man like Reynolds his dearest

* "Life of Thomas Reynolds", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 193.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 352.

friend to-day, and on the following one would chuckle to hear him described by Curran as a man, like O'Brien, "who measured his value by the coffins of his victims, and in the field of evidence appreciated his fame, as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his victory".

Lord Chichester (the Mr. Pelham of Lord Camden's administration) writes to Mr. Reynolds at the same period, informing him that "he can estimate his services more accurately than any other person"; but in referring to some speeches in Parliament, not complimentary to Mr. Reynolds, he tells him that the speeches, in all probability, were never made in the terms used in the papers, and concludes with advice somewhat equivocal, in these terms:—"I cannot help, therefore, recommending, in the strongest manner, *your silent submission* to this unprovoked and unmerited censure, conscious of enjoying the continuance of the good opinions of those, who are best qualified to judge of your merits and character".

The poor old "Lord Foozle" of 1798, Lord Camden, is dragged forward to the rescue of Reynolds's character: he speaks of his "most disinterested" services, and tells him that "those who best knew his conduct have endeavoured to show their good opinion of him; Lord Chichester, Lord Castlereagh, and himself having each rendered him (Reynolds) services on account of that opinion".

Nothing more flattering could be extorted from Lord Castlereagh than a few vague sentences, in a speech of his on the 11th of July, 1817, in which he stated that "Mr. Reynolds was originally engaged in treason, and by his discovery made the atonement". And further, "that Mr. Reynolds was also a gentleman in *considerable* respectable circumstances, and therefore by no means likely to prostitute his talents for the public service".*

In 1817 the people of England, who had given themselves very little concern about Mr. Reynolds's doings in Ireland, so long as they were confined to that country, took the alarm rather suddenly, when they found the subject of treason in England, and the system of packing the juries for the trial of traitors, connected with the ominous name of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. On bills being found by the grand jury of Middlesex against Dr. Watson and four others, for high treason (the Spa-fields rioters), no sooner was Mr. Reynolds's name discovered on the pannel, than the press of England took the alarm, and the walls of parliament rang with loud denunciations against the Irish informer.

Lord Castlereagh plainly saw the folly of the attempt to resort in England to the old practices which had been adopted with so little trouble in the sister kingdom. He left Mr. Reynolds to his fate; and when he threatened to publish a vindication of his acts, it was plainly intimated to him that it was the pleasure of Lord Castlereagh that he should be silent on these subjects. At length the coolest sarcasm on the troublesomeness of an importunate candidate for public employment that could be indulged in, was had recourse to by Lord Castlereagh in 1818, when he sent that ardent patriot, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, as a consul, to freeze in Iceland. In October, 1818, Reynolds, having sickened of his Iceland

* "T. Reynolds's Life", by his Son, pp. 409, 421.

consulship, abandoned his post and returned to London. On his arrival, Mr. Planta communicated to him "his lordship's extreme surprise and marked displeasure, at his having quitted his public duties for his private affairs, without his lordship's previous sanction".*

On the 6th of December he had an interview with Mr. Cooke on the subject of his quitting his post: and in reference to a letter of Reynolds to Lord Camden on this matter, his son tells us he said to him: "You are a madman; you are an imprudent man: I tell you so to your face; and you were always an imprudent man, and never will be otherwise. I tell you, you are considered as a passionate, imprudent man". "Mr. Cooke", said my father, "if I was not so, perhaps Ireland would not at this day be a part of the British empire: you did not think me passionate or imprudent in 1798". "I tell you again", said Mr. Cooke, "you are mad. Well, what do you intend to do now?" "Really", said my father, "I intend to do nothing at all; I suppose Lord Castlereagh, on his return, will settle my resignation".† Mr. Reynolds went on to state that he had taken the office "on the express condition of living where he pleased; and his affairs being urgent, *and Lord Castlereagh being absent*, he returned, as a matter of course". "True", continued Mr. Cooke; "but Lord Castlereagh knows you to be a very imprudent man, and he would certainly hesitate at allowing you to be in London, where your imprudence would give advantage to your enemies, *to bring you into trouble, and him too.* He does not like you to be in London: I tell you fairly, *that is the feeling*".‡

Mr. Reynolds took his leave, after informing Mr. Cooke that "in case he continued to hold this consulship, he expected to be treated with attention and consideration by the British ambassadors wherever he settled, and that he still held government bound to provide for his two sons". "I tell you again", said Mr. Cooke, "I'll see them on it".

This must have been a scene that Gay would have delighted to have witnessed and to have depicted, for no other hand could have done justice to the little differences of these Peachums and Lockets of the golden days of the good old times of Camden and Company in Ireland.

In 1822, the star had set on the prosperity of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. Mr. Canning had come into power, and had been applied to by him for employment. Young Mr. Reynolds states that Mr. Planta communicated to his father Mr. Canning's final determination, not to employ any member of our family in his department, as he did not consider himself bound by Lord Londonderry's engagements".§

Mr. Reynolds deemed the time was come to retire from the turmoil of public life: he fixed his abode in Paris, rolled about in his green chariot, gormandized and guzzled, edified the godly, who have their little Goshen in Paris separated from the surrounding heathenism of Romanism, by the fervour of his zeal for his new religion, and died in that city the 18th of August, 1836. His remains were brought to England, and were buried in one of the vaults of the village church of Wilton, in Yorkshire. Having

* "Thomas Reynolds's Life", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 429.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 443.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 445.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 497.

spoken much of this man's character, and by no means favourably of it, I freely admit that he did the state some service, and that he was possessed of some qualities, which, had they been under the guidance of sound principles, would have rendered him a man who might be spoken of without repugnance: his courage was indomitable; his presence of mind was remarkable; he was cool and collected on occasions that eminently required calmness and deliberation. His own immediate family appear to have been attached to him; and in his last days it is said, and I presume not to call in question the truth of such statement, that his thoughts were turned to futurity, and his deportment at the close of his career, that of a man who had a lively sense of religion: that nothing, in short, in life became him so much as the manner of his leaving it.

The Parisian life of Mr. Reynolds was made the subject of some very remarkable lines, the original manuscript of which fell into my hands in Paris some years ago. The concluding lines of this singularly terse and vigorous production are unfortunately wanting, but enough remains for an instalment of the debt of Irish justice due to the memory of Thomas Reynolds. The paper on which these lines were written, a half-sheet of foolscap, had been wrapped round some butter, purchased in a grocery shop in Paris by the wife of my cousin, Mr. Edward Byrne, an old resident of Paris (of No. 23 Place Vendome), and was given me by the latter.

"THE SPY INFORMER", TOM REYNOLDS.

Lolling at his vile ease in chariot gay,
His face, nay, even his fearful name unhidden!
Uncloaked abroad, 'neath all the eyes of day,
Which, as he passeth, close, while breath is hush'd,—
Unspat upon, untrampled down, uncrush'd,
I've seen the seven-fold traitor!—wretch, curse-ridden
By a whole nation's curse, and a world's scorn
Heap'd upon that!
And, God! he hath upborne,
For more than thirty years, on the broad back
Of his strong, scoundrel mind, without crack
Or cringe, the Atlas burden!
Look! 'tis he,
Who for the pence which pay his luxury,
Sold all!—friends, honour, country, country's cause,
And that cause freedom!—freedom against laws
Of odious, wanton tyranny! Who sold
Unto the gallows, scourge, or dungeon-hold,
The wise, the noble, high-hearted, bold,
And with them humbler thousands ten times told!
And this of his own choice! not even led
By the detested craven's shivering dread.
No; this of his own free, cool, weighing choice.
His ear still ringing to the trumpet voice
Of Freedom's champions on her council day,
Stealingly, serpently, he slimed his way
Unto the slave-master, and back again
To Freedom's fearless, unsuspecting men;
Till, drop by drop, he marketted away,
At cautious pricing; for "no blood no pay"—

The veins that o'er their gallant hearts had sway,
With all which through a nation's bosom play!
Yea, till from lordly mansion to the cot
Of the unfed peasant, reigned one common lot
Of torture, and of carnage, and of woe!
Yea, till the household blood so fast did flow,
That, help'd by women's and by children's tears,
The household hearth it slaked down for years!
Again look at him! To God's house to-day
(For he dares kneel, and he pretends to pray!)
Now hath he come. O'erfed, on bloated limbs,
Scarce from his chariot steps can he descend;
Though nought—nor age, remorse, nor shame—yet dims
That cool, hyena eye which round him lowered,
Hopeless of fellow glance from fellow friend,
And yet so quiet, cruel to the end,
Might almost chill a brave man into coward.
Say I that in God's house he should not kneel,
And pray, and be forgiven, if he feel
That scarlet red as are his sin and woe,
True sorrow may not "wash them white as snow"?
I've said, I thought it not; but this I say,
That even his master, Judas, flung away
The price of blood, etc. * * *

Cætera desunt.

Reference to the man above described, in the first edition of this work, and to his name and exploits, in "the account of Secret Service Money, applied in Detecting Treasonable Conspiracies", procured for the author the honour of the following complimentary notice of his labours, from the son and biographer of the "Tom Reynolds of 1798":—

LETTER FROM MR. THOMAS REYNOLDS.

"Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris,
"July 16, 1842.

"Sir—My attention has been called to a work lately published by you, in which, not satisfied with repeating the thrice-told and often-refuted calumnies against the character of my late father, you also make a direct attack upon me, at page 215 of your first volume. It is that attack which induces me to address you. I see that, like all your party, you stop at nothing: falsehood or truth appears indifferent to you. As regards your extract from the Secret Service Money, it is an evident and a very stupid forgery; but even if it were not so, it is for you to show, first, that it is authentic, and next, that the Thomas Reynolds therein mentioned was my father; but I have no doubt you could show anything, when you tell your readers that F. H. means John Hughes. I shall, however, soon demonstrate to the public that there happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father, and that, probably, the whole story is a mere invention of your own, if, indeed, you have not imported it from that land of veracity to which the newspaper puffs tell us you wandered thrice in search of your documents. I know not what your *Travels in the East* may have produced; but, I assure you, you might have spared your

journey to the west, where, I suppose, you also discovered that my father had been consul at Lisbon for four years, at £1,400 a-year; whereas, if you had only wandered to the *west end* of the town, and examined any Red Book, from 1810 to 1814, you would have found that he was agent for the packets at Lisbon, with a salary of £200 a-year. But a falsehood more or less to you and your party does not signify, if you can only attain your object, from which, thank Heaven, you are as remote as heretofore. The public will see from this how much reliance can be placed on your authentic documents, as you call them, at page 240.

"Believe me, sir, your malice is all in vain; the man whom you seek to assail, will meet you, ere many years are passed, at the bar of Him who judges righteously. There the secrets of his heart and of yours must be revealed; you cannot injure him now, he is beyond your malice; but, like a fiend, as is shown clearly in page 242, you would, if you could, injure me; but I must have lived very much in vain, if the dull falsehoods of yourself or your accomplices could injure me in the estimation of the numerous persons to whom I am so fortunate as to be known.

"I shall reserve other remarks till I publish them, with many matters and names which I could have wished to leave buried in oblivion.

"I am, sir,

Your humble servant,

"THOMAS REYNOLDS.

"To Dr. Madden, London".

Mr. Reynolds, the son of Bond's Reynolds, of Byrne's Reynolds, of M'Cann's Reynolds, is angry that he has been detected falsifying facts and figures, in his efforts to pass off perfidy for patriotism, and the lust of gold for the love of a gracious sovereign; in short it offends him that his endeavours have been foiled by me, to immortalize his father's disinterestedness in betraying his bosom friends, swearing away their lives, making widows of their wives and orphans of their children.

Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds would come before the public as an injured man, hurt in his filial charater, when he was bending beneath the load of a father's memory. The burden he bore was greater, I admit, than the "pious Æneas" carried on his shoulders from the flames of Troy; the undertaking was more arduous. He would have the sympathy of the public bestowed on him; but in his efforts to obtain it, it is clear he has stopped at no trifles in the prosecution of his bold enterprise. The very boldness of that attempt, however, it is obvious, must have forced the duty on some person of examining his statements, and having the means of detecting their errors, they were disclosed by me.

Amongst the grossest of them, there was one which had been refuted by me very fully, namely, the *mistake* respecting the amount of blood-money which had been received by his father. Young Mr. Reynolds had stated that his father had only received £500 for his services to government in 1798; whereas it was clearly proved, by the publication of the Secret Service Money in the first series of my work, that he had received £5,000, in four payments, between the 29th of September, 1798, and the 4th of March, 1799, duly set down, in black and white, in the handwriting of

Mr. Secretary Cooke. Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds did not dream of that record seeing the light of day when he gave to the world his bold book.

There are but two assertions in his letter which it may be pardonable in me to notice seriously.

In reference to the person whose initials appear in the list of receivers of Secret Service Money, prefixed to the amount "£1,000 for the discovery of Lord E. F.", Mr. Reynolds says: "There happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father". Now Mr. Reynolds knows perfectly well that I never said, nor gave it to be understood, I thought that his father was that traitor whose initials are given in the official document which he deems "a mere invention of my own". I stated, on the contrary, from many concurring circumstances, and from the fact of the first letter of those initials being so indistinctly written *in the original document from which I copied it*, that it was difficult to distinguish whether the letter was a J or an F, although bearing more resemblance to the latter, that Mr. John Hughes might possibly be the person referred to under those initials, and I adduced some reasons that seemed to me to support that opinion. So that Mr. Reynolds has conjured up a calumny of his own imagining, for the pupose of making its demolition tell in favour of his other offorts to refute facts, which he had found it difficult to deal with.

The next assertion I have to notice is, that I had represented his father's salary, at Lisbon, to have been £1,400, whereas it was £200.

In this short statement there is a falsehood and a quibble. In my work I estimated the receipts of his office "for four years, at £1,400 per annum, £5,600". The words that follow admit of no mistake: "The salary and *emoluments* of which office averaged £1,400 per annum". *First Series*, vol. i., p. 241.

Since the receipt of Mr. Reynolds's letter I have verified, on the spot (in Lisbon), the fact stated by me with respect to the amount of his salary and emoluments, which I now re-assert. Mr. Reynolds, however, would fain have it believed that £200 a-year, the bare amount of his father's salary, was all that he derived from his office.

That office was miscalled by me; instead of Consular Office, it should have been termed Packet and Post Office Agency. That is the sole misstatement I have to correct in my notice of the labours of either of the Reynoldses.

Immediately on the receipt of the younger Reynolds's epistle I had written a reply to it which I was only prevented transmitting, by considerations that were urged on me by one of the most distinguished of living Irishmen, the late Mr. O'Connell.

In that letter which I had written to Mr. Reynolds, it was my object to convince my correspondent that he had done too much credit to my ingenuity; doubting, as I did, that it was within the compass of the malice of any individual to do an additional injury to his father's memory; that the insinuation, moreover, of the existence of *another Tom Reynolds*, whose name had been mistaken for his father's, in the list of recipients of secret service money, was a foul calumny on human nature, for whose honour it

was to be hoped, that two men of his father's stamp could not be produced in the same century; and lastly, that the meeting with his parent, with which he menaced me, in the other world, was a thing too fearful to contemplate without a shudder, or to threaten without feelings of malevolence which it ill became a gentleman of his professed piety to entertain.

The late Dr. Samuel O'Sullivan was indiscreet enough, in his zeal for Orangeism and the terrorism of 1798, to endeavour to tarnish the renown of a distinguished Irishman in the French service, to cause him to be suspected of treachery in 1798, similar to that of the most infamous informers of those times. He placed General Corbett in the same category with Reynolds.

Is the disposition of a miscreant of the stamp of Reynolds or O'Brien of that nature which seeks military glory for its own sake, gains it in many well-fought fields, and is ever found ambitious of activity, and eager

"To turn e'en danger to delight"?

Those who think so are evidently unacquainted with the habits of retired traitors—of men who sell their associates for a ready money price, or a place, or a pension. They do not court danger in the field, nor "seek the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth". Military achievements are not to their taste; they fear death, and they have good reason to be afraid of it; they love their ease, and they take it after their own fashion; they pamper their appetites, they live grossly, they are given to gluttony, or debauchery, or avarice; they have sacrificed their sworn friends, their former principles, their future hopes, for gold; and all that gold can give for the gratification of their passions, they get. When they die, there are none to mourn for them. Their names recall acts that all good men hate. Their epitaphs are written in red characters. For inscriptions of this sort, let the following serve for a model:—

"In this desecrated ground lies the body of
Thomas Reynolds.
The claims of his memory on his country are to be counted
by his oaths;
His services to be estimated
by the consequences of his perfidy,
The banishments and executions of his bosom friends;
The merits of his loyalty
"Are to be measured by the coffins of his victims".
He bargained with a menial of the British government, and
sold his cause and associates for money;
A dealer and chapman in broken vows,
He huckstered and higgled with men in authority for the price of blood;
Of the wives and children of those with
whom he lived in amity, he made Widows and Orphans,

without compunction or remorse;
The number of the lives and the patrimonies he
had sworn away, seemed to him so many titles to distinction,
and proofs of heroic virtue;
The obligations he owed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald,
were never forgotten nor forgiven by him.
Having betrayed all his friends, forsaken his country,
possessing nothing more, except his creed, to barter, change, or to desert,
He abandoned his religion, and, in the decline of life,
assumed a sanctimonious demeanour,
And was said to "have put off the old man".
He retained, however, to the last, the wages of the iniquity
of his early life, the pension for which he caused the
blood of so many of his friends to be shed in 1798;
And this produce of perfidy enabled him
to pamper his appetites, and live and die in luxury in a foreign land.
He renounced none of his enjoyments.
The stolid, sense-cloyed, soul-clogged epicurean, in his latter years
was still to be seen lolling in his chariot at his ease,
parading his unwieldy person in all public places.
Far from wincing under the gaze of public scorn, he met it
with all the brazen effrontery of his insolent regard,
And bore "the Atlas burden" of contempt
"on the broad back of his strong scoundrel mind",
as if he courted contumely, or considered
his acts of villainy services of state,
on which the eyes of Europe were fixed with admiration.
Thus lived, and at last, as he had lived, died,
The remorseless renegado, Thomas Reynolds.
Proditor! Delator! et Sicarius Infamis!
Perfidus! Gulosus! Avarus!
Avidissimus auri.

JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG.

The gentleman commonly known as Sheares Armstrong, commenced his public career in 1798 as an informer against two barristers of the name of Sheares, whose hospitality he partook of on a memorable occasion at the house of the elder brother, when the aged mother, the fond wife, the brother and the sister and the children of the host were present, in

the house where that host and his brother were destined to be no more, within a few brief hours of that visit to it of Captain John Warneford Armstrong.

On the 12th of July, 1798, Henry and John Sheares, barristers-at-law, were tried and convicted on a charge of high treason, on the evidence of Captain John W. Armstrong, an officer of the King's County Militia, and on that evidence were hanged the 14th of July, 1798. In the memoir of the Sheares ample details of this trial will be found. Here it is only necessary to give a single episode in the tragedy of the two brothers, and the performance of a gentleman and a military officer bearing the king's commission in a very base part in it, thrust upon him, by his own account to me, by Lord Castlereagh. On Thursday, the 10th of May, 1798, Armstrong was introduced to Henry and John Sheares at Byrne's the bookseller's, in Grafton Street, with the purpose (the result of a settled plan between him, Lord Castlereagh, his colonel, and a brother officer of the name of Clibborn) of betraying their secrets to government. He was introduced to them, he said, by Byrne, as "a true brother, and they might depend upon him".

At that meeting sufficient treason was propounded by the unfortunate dupes of Armstrong for the purpose of the captain and his employers. On the Sunday following, the 13th of May, by appointment, Captain Armstrong went to the house of Henry Sheares in Baggot Street. "He did not remember the number, but it was on the right hand going out of town; his (Henry Sheares) name was on the door".

On that Sunday evening Captain Armstrong was again at the house of Henry Sheares.

On Wednesday, the 16th of May, between five and six o'clock in the evening, the gallant captain was again at the house of Henry Sheares, and closetted with the younger of his deluded victims, John, in the library of his brother. On Thursday, the 17th, the indefatigable captain was again at Henry Sheares' house, Baggot Street, and communicated with both brothers, and also Surgeon Lawless—subsequently General Lawless—a relative of Lord Cloncurry. In the evening of the same Thursday, the 17th of May, Captain Armstrong was again dogging the two doomed brothers at the house of Henry Sheares. *On Sunday, the 20th of May*, Captain Armstrong was again at the house of Henry Sheares, in Baggot Street, in communication with both brothers. John Sheares at that meeting said, "he had called that day at Lawless's (French Street), and he believed Lawless had absconded, for he, Lawless, had been denied to him". On that Sunday, the 20th of May, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, by the instructions, as he states, of Lord Castlereagh, dined with the Sheares at the house of Henry; sat with his two victims in social intercourse, in the company of their old mother and their sister, and the wife and daughter of Henry Sheares; ate their bread and drank their wine; was hospitably entertained by them, and kindly received by the females of that family; and at the very time he was their guest, on that occasion he, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, knew that his host and his brother were to to be arrested the day following on the charge of treason that was grounded on his evidence. On Monday, the 21st May, the two Sheares

were arrested, and were lodged in Newgate. The day previously they had been dispensing hospitality to their betrayer.

On the day they were sentenced to be hanged, namely, on the 12th of July, Captain J. W. Armstrong, on his oath, made a statement respecting Lord Castlereagh's participation in the baseness of that Sunday business in the house of Henry Sheares. Counsel for the crown asked the witness, J. W. Armstrong, "Did you communicate the last conversation (that with the Sheares on Sunday, the 20th of May) to any body?" Answered—"I never had an interview with the Sheares that I had not one with Colonel L'Estrange and Captain Clibborn and my Lord Castlereagh".

Captain John Warneford Armstrong, now in the eighty-sixth year of his age, is a hale old man, in the full enjoyment of his faculties, and his honours, and his rewards—a justice of the peace and a grand juror—a man of substance, having a stake in the soil, and a calm serenity of mind that nothing but the loss of a valuable testimonial to his services in 1798 has ever been known to have perturbed.

CORRESPONDENCE AND DETAILS OF PERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CAPTAIN JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG AND R. R. MADDEN, RESPECTING SOME PASSAGES IN THE WORK OF THE LATTER, IN REFERENCE TO THE EVIDENCE GIVEN ON THE TRIAL OF HENRY AND JOHN SHEARES BY CAPTAIN ARMSTRONG.

No. 1.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland,
"August 15, 1843.

"Sir,—I have lately read your well written, entertaining, and interesting *History of the United Irishmen*. You have made some mistakes, which, if I had an opportunity of seeing you, I could point out. If you ever come to Ireland, and will let me know, I will go to Dublin for the purpose.

"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D."

No. 2.

R. R. Madden to Captain Armstrong.

"6 Salisbury Street, Strand, London.
"September, 1843.

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated 15th August, and to inform you that it only reached me on Saturday last, on my arrival in this city from the continent.

"My absence from London was the cause of its remaining so long unanswered.

"I conclude I am addressing the Captain J. Warneford Armstrong, whose name is connected with the history of some of those ill-fated gentlemen whose lives I have attempted to illustrate. In the performance of my task, it is probable I have fallen into some mistakes, nay, it would have been impossible to have totally avoided error in the treatment of a subject which makes it necessary to recur to records, too frequently found not so much of facts, as of the conflicting impressions of them, and to the reminiscences of men whose faculties have to be carried back to events which happened five-and-forty years ago.

"You are pleased to say if I ever come to Ireland you will come up to Dublin for the purpose of pointing out those errors to me. The freedom with which I have treated of those matters in which your name has been mixed up, makes it imperative on me to accept the profferred information, in order that, if I have in any degree done injustice to you, I may, to the fullest extent, and by the first opportunity afforded me, make reparation for it. But permit me at the same time to say, that, with the information I am at present in possession of, and with the feelings I now entertain on those points to which I have referred in connection with your name, I have nothing to unsay or wish unsaid, except in one passage respecting a Capain Armstrong who visited Lady Louisa Connolly shortly after the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald: there is an ambiguity in that passage which it was my intention to clear up in a second edition of my work.

"I had no idea of going to Ireland just now, but I think it is a duty I owe to truth to avail myself of any information which may enable me to do justice, not only to the dead, but to the living also, in whatever relation the latter may stand to the memory of the former. I will, God willing, be in Dublin on Wednesday or Thursday next, and on my arrival will inform you of my address there.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(*Signed*) "R. R. MADDEN.

"To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,
"Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland".

No. 3.

R. R. Madden to Captain Armstrong.

"15 Rathmines, Dublin,
"28th Sept., 1843.

"SIR,—I beg leave to apprise you of my arrival in Dublin. Should it suit your convenience to meet me on Monday next, the 2nd of October, at No. 15 Rathmines, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, I shall be in readiness to communicate with you respecting those errors in my recent work which you inform me I have fallen into.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"R. R. MADDEN.

"To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,
"etc., etc., etc."

No. 4.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara,
"October 2, 1843.

"Sir,—I have received both your letters: the first arrived here when I was in Dublin, the second came also when I was absent attending the show of an agricultural society, and I did not return until it was too late to write.

"I am obliged to be in Dublin on the 24th instant, and if you stay so long in Dublin, I would call upon you on the 25th; however, if it should not be convenient for you to do so, I will go up on the receipt of your letter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq.,
15 Rathmines, Dublin".

No. 5.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara,
"October 4, 1843.

Sir,—I have this moment received your letter, and shall go to Dublin to-morrow morning, and shall call upon you on Friday; you must perceive that it is impossible to be there sooner.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D.,
"15 Rathmines, Dublin".

Minutes of an interview of R. R. Madden with Captain J. W. Armstrong, the 6th Oct., 1843, at No. 15 Rathmines, Dublin:—

"October 6, 1843.

"Captain John Warneford Armstrong having applied to me by letter for an interview, with reference to some alleged errors in the first series of my work, *The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, I met him by appointment at No. 15 Rathmines, Dublin, Counsellor O'H——, at my request, being present.

"The following notes of the leading topics of Captain Armstrong's communication, were taken by me on the spot, during the conversation in question:—

"At page 65, vol. ii., Captain Armstrong referred to a citation, in my work, from Mr. Moore's *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, respecting the visit of a Captain Armstrong to Lady Sarah Napier, after the arrests at Bond's, and also to an observation of mine in regard to that visit. Captain

Armstrong states that 'he never visited Lady Sarah Napier at any period, and that he was not acquainted even with her name'. I replied to Captain Armstrong that, subsequently to the publication of the first series of my work, I had received a communication from a relative of Lady Sarah Naper (Major-General William Napier), which left no doubt on my mind that the Captain Armstrong referred to on that occasion was a gentleman somewhat acquainted with the Leinster family, whose intentions could not be called in question, and that he, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, was not the person referred to in the above-mentioned passage, and that, as I had informed him in my reply to his first communication, it was my intention to give the information I had received on that point, in the second edition of my work.

"At page 88, vol. ii., first series, Captain Armstrong says, in reference to his first interview with the Sheares, that 'it was not sought by him, it was not sought by the government, it was in fact unknown to them, nor was it sought by the Sheares. It was sought by Byrne, the bookseller, whose shop he frequented. Byrne believed his sentiments to be similar to his own; he said one day to some person in the shop, pointing to the uniform, which he (Captain Armstrong) wore: 'This man wears a uniform, and he is a croppy for all that'. Captain Armstrong believes the wish for the introduction to the Sheares originated with Byrne. Captain Armstrong states that the assertion in Mr. Curran's work, and repeated in mine, that on the occasion of dining with the Sheares, he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares, was utterly unfounded; he had never done so, nor had Mrs. Sheares played on the harp for him; he never recollected having seen the children at all, but there was a young lady of about fifteen there, whom he met at dinner. *The day he dined there (and he dined there only once), he was urged by Lord Castlereagh to do so. It was wrong to do so, and he, Captain Armstrong, was sorry for it; but he was persuaded by Lord Castlereagh to go there to dine, for the purpose of getting further information.*

"In reference to an observation of mine, on his anxiety to join his regiment after having given information about the Sheares, Captain Armstrong said, 'When he acquainted Lord Castlereagh with his desire to join his regiment, which had just gone into the county Kildare against the rebels, Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to dissuade him, not, perhaps, from any anxiety for his personal safety on his own account, but on account of the necessity for his appearance at the approaching trial of the Sheares. His, Captain Armstrong's, reason for wishing to join his regiment was, to prevent giving people a pretext for imputing his absence, at such a period, to cowardice'.

"At page 175, vol. ii., first series, in reference to the evidence of Mr. Drought, respecting Captain Armstrong's account of the circumstances which took place at Blackmore Hill with pikes and green cockades, when one was hanged, another was shot, and the third was flogged, Captain Armstrong stated: 'Drought's evidence was false; it is true, on that occasion one man was shot, one man was hanged, and the other was whipped; but this was not done by his orders, it was done by the orders of some other person'. The commanding officer was Sir James Duff, but

he does not say it was done by his orders. *I asked* was there a court-martial held on the occasion. Captain Armstrong replied there was no court-martial. It was quite sufficient that they were found with pikes and green cockades. *I asked* was he, Captain Armstrong, quite certain that all the men had pikes and green cockades. *He* replied he did not know for a certainty, but believes, and is pretty sure they all had. There was an engagement the same day, after this event, on Blackmore Hill with the rebels.

"At page 177, vol. ii., first series, in reference to the evidence of Mr. Robert Bride, on the trial of the Sheares, respecting some expressions of his as to oaths being words, and words being as wind, or some such terms, which having been used about that time in a pamphlet written by ———, he, Captain Armstrong, might have repeated, but protested that the inference drawn by Mr. Bride from these careless words, about the obligation of an oath, was erroneous, and that he never doubted the solemn obligation of an oath.

"At page 179, vol. ii., first series, Captain Armstrong referred to a statement in my work, respecting the name of Clibborn, which occurs in the account of secret service money, being supposed by me to have been the Captain Clibborn by whose advice he had given the interview to the Sheares. Captain Armstrong stated that this sum of money mentioned in that document was given to Mr. George Clibborn, a very active magistrate in the county Westmeath, the father of his friend Captain John Clibborn, and not, as I had supposed, to the latter, for expenses, etc. He supposed that the money was not given as a reward to him for secret services, but to meet expenses incurred in paying for such services as magistrates are in the habit of receiving.

"Captain Armstrong likewise thinks that I was in error in supposing the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, respecting the conspiracy of the United Irishmen, was drawn up by Lord Castlereagh. It was drawn up by a gentleman *in the service* of Lord Castlereagh, of the name of Knox, commonly called 'Spectacle Knox'. He was not the brother of Lord Northland; he acted as a sort of private secretary to Lord Castlereagh; he was an able, clever man.

"In two or three places in the second volume, first series, Captain Armstrong refers to an error in the spelling of his name, the letter *e* being omitted in the name Warneford. He also corrects the error of calling him, in some places, Lieutenant Armstrong, instead of Captain. In conclusion, Captain Armstrong states that he never was a United Irishman; that he never was an Orangeman; that the original interview he had referred to with Lord Castlereagh, which was his first acquaintance with him, was subsequent to his (Captain Armstrong's) introduction to the Sheares. That when Byrne proposed the interview to him with the Sheares, having followed him out to the door, and said to him in the street, 'Would you have any objection to meet the Sheares?' it instantly flashed across his mind for what object the interview was sought; that he consented to it, and immediately went to his friend Captain Clibborn, and was advised by him to meet the Sheares; that after his interview with them, he was introduced by Colonel L'Estrange to Lord Castlereagh; he had no previous acquaintance with his lordship.

"The above notes were read over to Captain Armstrong by me, in the presence of Counsellor O'H——, and the correctness of them was assented to by him.

(*Signed*) { "R. R. Madden. "Thomas O'H——".

The preceding minutes of my communication with Captain Armstrong, are necessarily confined to the leading topics which were the subject of that communication.

I now proceed to give a memorandum of the conversation, drawn up on the day after its occurrence, the details of which are connected with the preceding notes, and which it was impossible to take down on the spot and during the conversation.

"I stated to Captain Armstrong that it was unnecessary for me to offer him any apology for anything I had written on the subject which our interview had reference to; our views respecting it were altogether different; my only object in communicating with him was to get any statement of facts which he might offer, and to give publicity to it, with the view of promoting the interests of truth and justice.

"Captain Armstrong said his principal object was to enable me to correct some errors into which I had fallen. He was in the habit of reading a great deal, and his disposition led him to notice errors wherever he detected them, and even to take the trouble of pointing them out to the authors of the works in which he found them, though he had been wholly unacquainted with them. He spent a great deal of time in reading, and expended on books, in fact, more money than he could afford; and he repeated, it was a custom of his to notice errors and inaccuracies in books, and to point them out where they could be corrected. With respect to my work, he said, 'It is evident you are a partizan, and, therefore, your proceedings are of a partial kind, and tinctured with prejudice; but I have carefully read your work (the first series), and, I must say, the account of the events of the times you treat of is given with extraordinary correctness; it is a most valuable work, and, perhaps, no one but a partizan would have bestowed the same labour on it.

"'My conduct', Captain Armstrong continued, 'you, and all those who think as you do, speak of in terms of the utmost severity. I do not complain of your doing so: my only desire is to set you right as to facts. But others do not feel as you do with respect to these proceedings; they approve of them, they appreciate my motives, they know the necessity there was for them, and the fortunate results of which they were productive to the country. Their good opinion is sufficient for me. I speak to you with the utmost frankness on this subject. I am ready to answer any question you choose to ask me; you do not know me, and may imagine I would conceal or distort facts. I am a plain, straightforward man, and the people in my neighbourhood know me perfectly well, and would trust me with anything, and confide in my statement'.

"I asked Captain Armstrong if he did not state, in his reply to the approbationary address of the officers of his regiment, in respect to his proceedings in the case of the *Sheares*, that he had not acted in this busi-

ness from any interested motives, and had not thus acted for any reward. Captain Armstrong replied, that he never said he had received no reward; what he said was, that it was not with the expectation of getting a reward that he thus acted. I observed that his name was not in the list of those who had been receivers of the secret service money. Captain Armstrong said his name could not be found in any such list, for the reward he received was a pension, conferred on him by act of parliament, and if it had not thus been conferred on him by act of parliament, the late government would have taken it from him, which he, Captain Armstrong, thought they would not have been justified in doing.

"I asked Captain Armstrong if, during the period of his interviews with the Sheares, he had any communication with the Lord Chancellor Clare in regard to them. He replied that he had not. I asked if Lord Castlereagh appeared to attach any peculiar importance to the apprehension of the Sheares, or seemed more desirous that they should be laid hold of than any other of the known or suspected leaders who were then at large. Captain Armstrong replied that he was not aware of such being the case; he only knew that Lord Castlereagh thought their detection of great importance, and had persuaded him to go to the house; that he would not have gone there if he had not been thus urged to do so. It was wrong, he believed, indeed he felt it was wrong, to have gone there and to have dined with them. It was only that part of the business he had any reason to regret.

"I asked who was present on that occasion. Captain Armstrong replied, there were three ladies present, and a slip of a girl, about fifteen, and the two men. The ladies were, the old lady, the mother, the wife of Henry, and the sister of the brothers. The young girl he did not know who she was; she might be the daughter of Henry; he did not know that she was; in fact he never remembered seeing any of his children. I asked some questions respecting their position at table. Captain Armstrong said, 'The dinner table was a large one, much longer than this (pointing to the one before him). The old lady sat at one side, the wife of Henry sat next her, the sister and the young girl at the other side; Henry sat at one end, and John at the other; I sat next John'.

"In relation to my account of this interview, Captain Armstrong's chief anxiety seemed to be to remove the impression, which he declared to be erroneous, that he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares. He said, 'Indeed I never was fond of children; it was not a custom of mine; I was not in the habit of taking notice of children'.

"Captain Armstrong stated, that when he went down to Kildare to join his regiment, he was escorted down by four hundred men for his protection, and two field pieces. On his arrival at Kilcullen there were no tidings there of his regiment, so he joined another regiment, then on active duty in that neighbourhood.

"With respect to Byrne, the bookseller, Mr. Armstrong states he was quite sure that Byrne was true to his party, and believed him (Captain Armstrong) to be favourable to its views. He (Byrne) formed this opinion from his conversation, he supposed, in regard to some measures of the government which he disapproved of, especially to the enforcement of

claims for certain taxes the year after the objects taxed had been given up by the parties; and also for assessed taxes, three years of which were required to be paid within one year, and nine years within three years. In reply to a question of Mr. O'H——n, Captain Armstrong said, Byrne was not prosecuted; he was permitted to go to America. Captain Armstrong stated, in speaking of military executions, that in those times the orders for them were not always given by officers in command, from whom they should emanate, but the subordinates took upon themselves often to act on such occasions.

"He requested me to read an address, presented to him by the colonel and other officers of his regiment in 1798, in approbation of his conduct in the case of the Sheares, and his reply to it. Having read aloud these documents, published in the *Dublin Journal*, I asked Captain Armstrong if he wished to have them inserted, with the statement, in a new edition of my work. He replied that he had no anxiety for their publication; it was not necessary for him or his justification. His friends, who knew his conduct, the motives of it, and its results, required no further justification of it from him.

"Counsellor O'H——n said he considered these documents historically important, and they ought to be published in justice to Captain Armstrong, as well as for enabling persons to comprehend the state of public feelings at that time. Captain Armstrong assented to this view, and communicated the published copies of these documents to me, which are appended to this statement.

(Signed) "R. R. Madden".

As the documents referred to are rather extensive, I take the following notice of them, and the transaction which brought them to light, from the *Nation* of September 23, 1843:

"The man who betrayed the gifted and gallant John Sheares (after Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet, the ablest of the United Irishmen) and his unfortunate brother Henry—who stole into their confidence to betray it—the man who was one hour smiling in the midst of their happy family, and the next in Castlereagh's office, retailing their conversation to the law officers of the crown, has not yet left the public stage. We perceive, by the *Mercantile Advertiser* of last night, that he is not ashamed to come before the public in his own name, and talk boastingly of the spoils of his infamous career.

"Head Police Office, Friday.—Considerable interest was created in the Head Office this day, by the appearance of the once celebrated John Warneford Armstrong, who attended to prosecute a man named Egan for robbery of several articles of bijouterie and wearing apparel; and also Anthony Willis, of Lower Ormond Quay, for purchasing some of the property, knowing it to be stolen.

"It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Armstrong, that on the night of the 20th of March, Ballycomber House, his residence in the King's County, was broken open, and property to a considerable amount, consisting of watches, rings, *a gold medal* (presented to him by the Orangemen of the King's County for his *services* in prosecuting to conviction John and

Henry Sheares), were stolen therefrom. The venerable magistrate, as he is, identified several articles, among which was the red case which formerly contained that dear relic—that valuable certificate of his *sincerity* to his friends and his loyalty to his king.

"Barnes, of the detective police, proved the discovery of the watches and rings at several pawnbrokers where they had been pledged by Anthony Willis, and also the seizure of several articles of wearing apparel, etc., on Egan. This man, it appears, was a servant to Mr. Armstrong.

"After a long examination, Sir Nicholas Fitzimon agreed to take two securities, in £25 each, for the appearance of Willis at the next commission, and sent Egan for trial at the next King's County assizes.

"The readers of the unfortunate events of 1798 may wish to know how looks and feels one of the most remarkable actors in the tragic portion of the scenes then represented.

"He is now in his seventy-fourth year, and appears to be a hale, strong old man. He has a mark on the right side of his face, which extends from the forehead to the side of the mouth; it was made (he says) by a blow from a dirk, which he received from the hand of a *rebel*, as he was about to proceed to Jersey to join his regiment. He is in great trouble about the medal, which, no doubt, he intended as an heir-loom, to pass from sire to son, as an honourable proof of the *loyalty* of the house of Ballycomber".

"TO CAPTAIN JOHN W. ARMSTRONG, KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

"Dublin, December 23, 1798.

"SIR,—I am directed by the officers of the King's County Regiment to convey to you the enclosed, which, be assured, gives me much satisfaction.

"WM. W. WESTENRA,
"Lieut.-Colonel, King's County Regiment".

"Malahide, December 21, 1798.

"The officers of the King's County Regiment, assembled at Malahide, came to a resolution to convey to Captain John Warneford Armstrong, of the aforesaid regiment, the following, engraved on a medal:—

"SIR,—Having heard of late that your conduct respecting Messrs. Sheares has been in some instances, thoughtlessly as injuriously, reflected upon, we think we are bound, in justice to you, to the community, and to ourselves as a body, to convey to you, sir, our sentiments on that occasion, and to assure you of our general and most decided approbation. Had we imagined that so false a construction could have been put upon the motives that influenced your conduct, we should ere now (though separated as our regiment has been during the late rebellion) have declared the sense we entertained of the important service you have rendered your country. Great, indeed, was the value of your information; and we, who are acquainted with all the circumstances, know that your conduct was

disinterested, that you came forward without the expectation of reward, and, highly sensible of the danger you would incur, you despised it for the public good. We cannot conclude without observing that you acted with the private approbation of your friends in the regiment; that it was not a busines of your own seeking: it was forced upon you by the infatuated men, whose conduct Providence seemed to direct, in making an attack upon you, so insulting to your feelings as an officer and as a man.

"THE OFFICERS OF THE KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT".

"TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WESTENRA, KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT.

"Malahide, December 24, 1798.

"SIR,—I have just received the address of the King's County Regiment, declaring their approbation of my conduct; and if anything could increase the pleasure I felt, it would be their having appointed you, sir, to deliver it to me—a person for whom I entertain so high a respect, and of such general estimation in the regiment. I beg you will convey to them my answer, which I enclose.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN W. ARMSTRONG,

"Captain, King's Co. Regiment".

"Malahide, December, 24, 1798.

"TO THE OFFICERS OF THE KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT.

"GENTLEMEN,—So flattering and honourable a testimony of your approbation of my conduct as you have been pleased to express, and the very handsome manner in which you have had it conveyed to me, calls forth the gratitude and thanks of my heart. To preserve your good opinion shall be my unalterable and uniform endeavour; and to persevere in such conduct is the best return I can make. Dull, indeed, must have been my feelings, if your bright and distinguished example of affectionate loyalty to our beloved sovereign had not called forth every particle of vigour which I possessed. It is indisputably true that I was not actuated by any hope of reward, nor by the fear of punishment, in my conduct with regard to those unfortunate men whom I was obliged to prosecute. I acted from a purely disinterested principle, to serve my country, and I feel perfectly satisfied in the consciousness of having done so. Some people are of opinion that they were acquaintances of mine: the fact was otherwise.

"I never uttered a single syllable to either of them until I was introduced to them on Thursday, the 10th of May, and they were taken up on the 21st. Others say, and indeed it is the only thing like argument offered on the occasion, by those who have endeavoured to calumniate me, that it was improbable that they should put their lives into the hands of a stranger. To this point the answer is obvious: the insurrection was on the eve of breaking out—the time was pressing—they thought I might have been of critical service to them—it was worth running some risk

for; and, surely, in the course of their proceedings they must have frequently put themselves in the power of as great strangers. The evidence of Kearney shows this pretty clearly.

"The only question that can admit of any doubt is, whether, under the circumstances, it was becoming a man of honour to act as I have done. I must observe, that I put myself under the direction of my colonel and my friend; I acted by their advice, and, if I have done anything wrong, they are more culpable than I; but when I consider the dreadful conspiracy which had so long existed in the kingdom, whose malignant and desperate purpose had for many years been at work, the savage barbarity which had marked its progress, and had at length burst forth with all the horrors of rebellious outrage, to overthrow the government, and to subvert the monarchy, how many lives might probably be saved by a timely discovery of the principal and deep concern which these men were supposed to have in the business. When I consider all these points, and many more which occur to me, I have great doubt whether a man of strict honour would not be justifiable in seeking the confidence of these men for the purpose of detection. But mine is a much clearer case. These men made a most hostile attack upon me—as an officer, they offered me the highest insult, and, as an Irish subject, they sought (in order to forward their own views) to involve me in a transaction which would, probably, have led to infamy and ruin. I am confident that many people have endeavoured by indirect means to depreciate me in the general esteem; some have succeeded, but I was well aware that such would be the endeavour of the disaffected. So certain was I of it, that nothing but the zeal I was actuated by for my country's welfare, could have tempted me to expose myself to the public view, and to have rendered myself so very unpopular as I have done by thus discharging my duty; a duty the more imperious, from the impossibility of any other person being able to frustrate their plans of treason.

"I believe I have been much traduced; but it matters me little what the disaffected, the disloyal, or those ignorant of the circumstances under which I acted, may think of my conduct; it was not to gain their good wishes that I risked my person and my reputation. *I am rewarded** when approved of by men possessing as much honour, principle, and spirit, as any I am acquainted with. I shall always consider as the most fortunate event of my life, that one which has enabled me to save from massacre a multitude of my fellow-subjects, and probably all my brother officers.

"I remain, with every sentiment of gratitude and regard,

"Gentlemen, most sincerely yours,

(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong".

JOHN HUGHES.

John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, an United Irishman, was arrested in October, 1797, and, nominally at least, liberated, but taken to Dublin

* No doubt of it, honourable Captain W. Armstrong!

and kept under the surveillance of Major Sirr in the Castle for nearly two years. Terror probably first made this man the betrayer of his party. From the time of his liberation it appears he was in constant communication with the government authorities. He was employed to entrap Grattan, and swore that the latter was cognizant of the conspiracy of the United Irishmen. He went to America, and with the wages of his iniquity bought slave property in the southern states, and died there a few years ago.

On the 30th of April, the month preceding the arrests, Mr. John Hughes, accompanied by Samuel Neilson, visited Lord Edward Fitzgerald at Cormick's in Thomas Street, where he was then in concealment. In the report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Lords, 1798, on the examination of John Hughes, of Belfast, it is stated by the latter that he went to Dublin on the 20th of April, and remained there about nine days. He called on Samuel Neilson, and went to Cormick's, where he found Lord Edward playing billiards with Lawless, and dined there with them.

About the 28th of April he breakfasted with Neilson at the house of Mr. Sweetman, who was then in prison. The former then lived at his house. Neilson and he (the same day) went in Mr. Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnehinch. He states that Neilson and Grattan had some private conversation, and after some general conversation about the strength of the United Irishmen in the north, they left Mr. Grattan's, and on their way back, Neilson informed him he had sworn Mr. Grattan. On the 14th or 15th of May, Neilson and Lord Edward rode out to reconnoitre the approaches to Dublin on the Kildare side: they were stopped and questioned by the patrol at Palmerstown, and finally allowed to proceed.

Four days after Lord Edward's arrest, Neilson was arrested by Gregg, the jailor, in front of Newgate, where he had been reconnoitering the prison, with a view to the liberation of Lord Edward and the other state prisoners; a large number of men being in readiness to attack the gaol, and waiting for Neilson's return at a place called the Barley Fields.

It is then evident that Hughes was in the full confidence of Neilson on the 28th of April: there is no reason to believe that he ceased to be so previously to the 19th of May: and yet during this period, and long before it, there is very little doubt that Hughes was an informer.

Neilson's frank, open, unsuspecting nature was well known to the agents of government, and even to Lord Castlereagh, who was personally acquainted with Neilson, and on one occasion had visited him in prison.

Hughes, it is probable, was set upon him with a view to ascertain his haunts, and to enter into communication with his friends, for the special purpose of implicating Grattan and of discovering Lord Edward. That his perfidy never was suspected by Neilson during their intimacy, there are many proofs; and still more that Neilson's fidelity to the cause he had embarked in and the friends he was associated with, was never called in question by his companions and fellow prisoners, by Emmet, M'Neven, O'Connor, etc.; or if a doubt unfavourable to his honesty was expressed by John Sheares in his letter to Neilson, wherein he endeavours to dissuade him from attacking the jails, it must be considered rather in the light of an angry expostulation, than of an opinion seriously entertained and deliberately expressed.

This man, John Hughes, previously to the rebellion, was in comfortable circumstances, and bore a good character in Belfast. He kept a large bookseller's and stationer's shop in that town.*

In his evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1798, he gives the following account of his career as a United Irishman. He became a member of the first Society of United Irishmen, in Belfast, 1793. About July, 1796, he joined the new organization, and was sworn in by Robert Orr, a chandler. There was no oath administered in the former society. He formed a society of United Irishmen himself in Belfast shortly after his admission, and that society consisted of Mr. Robert Hunter, broker; John Tisdall, notary; J. M'Clean, watchmaker; S. M'Clean, merchant; Thomas M'Donnell, grocer; J. Luke, linen factor; Hugh Crawford, linen merchant; A. M'Clean, woollen merchant; W. Crawford, ironmonger; H. Dunlap, builder; and W. Hogg, linen factor. He was secretary to the society; he swore in the members on the prayer-book,† furnished each with a "constitution", containing the test, which was repeated at the table.

In November, 1796, Bartholomew Teeling, of Dundalk, a linen merchant, prevailed on him to go to Dublin to extend the societies there. In Dublin he communicated with Edward John Lewins, of Beresford Street. He returned to Belfast in December, 1796. From motives of caution he did not attend the societies, but in the day time, either in the street or at his own house, exerted himself amongst the young men of his acquaintance. Shortly before the Lent assizes in 1797, Mr. M'Gucken, the attorney, requested him to go to Dublin to arrange for Mr. Curran's engagement for the prisoners in the several jails on the north-east circuit, who were United Irishmen. A hundred guineas for each and every town he would have to attend, was agreed on.

The treasurer of the United Irishmen for the county Antrim, was Mr. Francis Jordan, of Belfast, and he collected the money for this purpose. Among the subscribers were Mr. Cunningham Gregg, twenty guineas; Charles Rankin, twenty guineas; Robert Thompson, twenty guineas. The subscriptions for the county Antrim amounted to £700 and upwards, and the county Down, £900. Mr. Alexander Lowry was the treasurer for Down. In the beginning of June, 1797, he was sent for to Dublin, but before going, had an oath administered to him by Magennis, that he would not communicate the names of any persons he should be introduced to there. In Dublin he was informed by Lowry and Teeling, that a national

* The house where Hughes lived in Belfast, was lately pointed out to me, No. 20 Bridge Street, within a few paces of a small, old-fashioned house, where Thomas M'Cabe, who designated himself, on his sign-board, "The Irish Slave", resided, at No. 6 North Street, within two doors of which lived Robert Orr, a gentleman not very celebrated for his loyalty; while on the opposite side, the site of the house of the chief founder of the United Irish Society, Samuel Neilson, is pointed out, at the bottom of Donegall Street, on which now stands the Commercial Hall. This neighbourhood, in fact, seems to have been a little focus of republicanism.

† It is worthy of notice that the oath of the United Irishmen commonly was administered either on a prayer book or the Scriptures, and it mattered not what prayer book was used, the same book serving often for persons of different religions.

meeting was about being held of delegates from the different provinces, in order to get a general return of the strength of the United Irishmen, to determine whether an insurrection would then be practicable, and he was to report on the strength and readiness of Down and Antrim. He expressed his opinion, that in consequence of the disarming, the generality of the people would not rise. He was afterwards told that this meeting had taken place at Jackson's in Church Street. Teeling showed him a map of Ireland, at his lodgings in Aungier Street, on which the plan of the insurrection was marked, as he was told, by some Irish officers who had been in the Austrian service, and who had expressed their opinion that the people were not in a state of preparation to succeed, being deficient in arms and ammunition.

The delegates left Dublin to organize their respective counties. They assembled the colonels in each county, to issue their directions for getting their regiments into readinesss. The colonels of the county Antrim refused to come forward. Those of the county Down agreed to rise. The other counties of Ulster were disinclined to move, and therefore the intended rising did not take place.

In June, 1797, Hughes breakfasted with Teeling in Dublin, and met Magennis, of Balcaly, Tony M'Cann, of Dundalk,* Mr. Samuel Turner, Messrs. John and Patrick Byrne, of Dundalk, Colonel James Plunkett, A. Lowry, Mr. Cumming, of Galway, and Dr. M'Neven. The subject of their conference was the fitness of the country for an immediate rising. Teeling, Lowry, and M'Cann were in favour of an immediate effort; the others were afraid that the people were not sufficiently prepared for it.

He left Dublin about the 14th of June, 1797, and shortly after attended a meeting at Randalstown, where there was much difference of opinion—one party being adverse to action without foreign aid, and another party, with whom was the Rev. A. M'Mahon, of Hollywood, in favour of rising on their own resources. The meeting broke up in consequence of the division among the Antrim colonels. M'Mahon was a member of the Ulster provincial committee; he told the meeting he was one of the seven colonels of the county Down who had been appointed leaders, and that he also was a member of the National Executive. Immediately after this meeting, M'Mahon, Rollo Reid, and John Magennis (a brother-in-law of Teeling), fled to Scotland, and M'Mahon went from thence to France. In the latter part of 1797, his (Hughes's) affairs were embarrassed, and he became a bankrupt. "He did not attend any civil or military meeting of United Irishmen from June, 1797, *till the month of March*, 1798, when he surrendered himself under the commission in Dublin".

The remainder of this man's evidence is of such a nature, as requires that it should be given without abridgment, as it appears in the report:—

"He went to Dublin on the 20th of April, and remained there about nine days. He called on Samuel Neilson, walked with him to Mr. Cormick's, a feather merchant in Thomas Street. He was introduced by Neilson to

* Subsequently a refugee, living in Hamburgh, where Campbell saw him, and on becoming acquainted with his story, wrote that beautiful ballad, "The Exile of Erin".

Cormick, in the office. Cormick asked them to go up stairs; he and Neilson went up stairs, and found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawless, the surgeon, playing billiards. He had been introduced to Lord Edward about a year before by Teeling; he was a stranger to Lawless; so he staid about an hour; no particular conversations; was invited to dine there that day, and did so; the company were Lord Edward, Lawless, Neilson, Cormick, and his wife. The conversation turned upon the state of the country, and the violent measures of government in letting the army loose. The company were all of opinion that there was then no chance of the people resisting by force with any success. He was also introduced by Gordon, who had been in Newgate, and Robert Orr, of Belfast, chandler, to Mr. Rattigan, the timber merchant at the corner of Thomas Street. Rattigan talked to him on the state of the country and of the city of Dublin, and told him that they would begin the insurrection in Dublin by liberating the prisoners in Kilmainham. Rattigan showed him a plan of the intended attack upon Kilmainham. Whilst he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilson at the Brazen Head. Next day, Neilson called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's, to breakfast; Sweetman was then in prison, but Neilson lived in his house. Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him. When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had something to say to Mr. Grattan in private, and desired him to take a walk in the demesne. Neilson, however, introduced him to Mr. Grattan first, and Mr. Grattan ordered a servant to attend him to show him the grounds. He returned in about half an hour. Went into Mr. Grattan's library; Neilson and Grattan were there together. Grattan asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the north: how many families had been driven out, and how many houses burned by the government or the Orangemen. Grattan said he supposed he was an United Irishman. He said he was. Grattan asked him how many United Irishmen were in the province. He said he reckoned 126,000. Grattan asked him how many Orangemen there were. He said about 12,000. Grattan made no particular answer. Neilson and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage, which was at Enniskerry; he asked Neilson what had passed between Grattan and him. Neilson evaded the question, but said generally that he had gone down to Grattan to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had sworn him. That Grattan promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday. He left Dublin that evening, and returned to Belfast. He has known the Rev. Steele Dickson, of Portaferry, for two years intimately.

"On Friday, the 1st of June, Dickson told him that he was one of the adjutant-generals of the United Irishmen's forces in the county of Down, and that he (Dickson) would go to Ballynahinch, and remain there till Wednesday, as it was a central place, from which he could issue his orders to his officers.

"In February last, when the prisoners were trying at the commission, Priest Quigley introduced him to Citizen Baily, who was an officer in the East India Company's service, and lived near Canterbury, and also to the younger Binns from England; thinks his name is Benjamin.

"Binns told him he had distributed most of the printed addresses, entitled, 'United Britons to the United Irishmen', and gave him a copy, and directed him to print an edition of them, etc.

"He heard a Mr. Bonham came with Baily and Binns from London, and was the delegate from England to Ireland mentioned in the paper. He never saw Mr. Bonham; either Binns or Baily told him that the address was written by a Mr. Cosgrave of London, etc.

"*Quest.*—You have said that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson, at his house in Tinnehinch, in April last: recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact?

"*Ans.*—I certainly can. About the 28th of April last I went to Mr. Grattan's, at Tinnehinch, with Samuel Neilson; on going into the house, we were showed into the library. Neilson introduced me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and left them alone for full half an hour. I saw a printed constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

"*Quest.*—Can you say whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the constitution of United Irishmen?

"*Ans.*—I can, for he asked me some questions about it. He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the north. When we were going away, I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson that he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following; and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison, and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan".

With respect to Hughes's evidence in reference to Mr. Grattan.—Neilson, on his examinatian before the Lords Committee, being informed that "it had been stated to the committee that he had said he swore Mr. Grattan", replied: "I never did swear Mr. Grattan, nor have I ever said that I swore him". Being asked "if he had any interviews with Mr. Grattan since his liberation from confinement", he answered: "I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April, 1797. I either showed Mr. Grattan the last constitution of the Society of United Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward. I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond. But I do not believe Mr. Grattan was ever an United Irishman".

It seems as if, up to this period, the date of his examination, 9th of August, 1798, Neilson had been still in ignorance of Hughes having made disclosures, and especially of having given information of their visit, about the 28th of April, to Mr. Grattan; otherwise Neilson would hardly have omitted any mention of that interview.

But after his examination he addressed a letter to the lord-chancellor, expressing a wish to correct his evidence, "by stating that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan in company with Mr. John Hughes".*

The evidence of Hughes is the most specious account of the proceedings of the Ulster leaders that is to be found among the statements of any of

* Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Memoirs of the Union", says, when Grattan was denounced in the Privy Council, in 1798, by Lord Clare, "Sir John Blaquiere and Dennis Brown, though adversaries, resisted the obviously vindictive attempt".

the informers given in the secret reports, with the exception, perhaps, of that of Maguan of Saintfield.

Even those of the Antrim United Irishmen whose lives were jeopardized by the disclosures of Hughes, who are still surviving in Belfast, admit that his disclosures in many points were truthful, free from personal malignity; and, notwithstanding the importance of the information he possessed and gave before the committee, *he never appeared as a witness at the trials of any of those persons he implicated by his disclosures.* They therefore speak of him in very different terms from those in which they are accustomed to discuss the exploits of other informers.

This circumstance on more than one occasion surprised me a good deal; but the cause of Mr. Hughes being kept back at a crisis when evidence like his would have insured the conviction of the Belfast leaders, with few, if indeed with any, exceptions, became at once intelligible enough to leave little doubt that he was reserved for higher functions than the Reynoldses and O'Briens, and more important objects were to be effected by him than he could achieve in the witness-box.

This man has carefully suppressed the fact in his evidence, that in the year 1797 he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and immediately after being brought into Belfast, was liberated on bail. In the *History of Belfast* the fact is stated in these terms: "October 20th.—John Hughes, bookseller and stationer in this town, having been apprehended at Newry on a charge of high treason, was this forenoon brought in here in a post-chaise, escorted by a party of light dragoons, and lodged in the Artillery Barracks. In the same evening he was liberated on bail".*

Immediately after his liberation, a man who possessed the confidence of Neilson, Russell, and Robert Emmet, one of the most intelligent, active, and trusty agents of these persons, both in 1798 and 1803—the well known James Hope—had an interview with Hughes at his house in Church Street. The particulars of that interview were communicated to me by Hope, with a great deal of other valuable information, from his own written documents.

After some discourse with Hope respecting Hughes's recent liberation, Hughes began inveighing against the inefficiency of the person who was then in the chief command of the Antrim United Irish force, Mr. Sims: he attributed all the misfortunes which had fallen on individuals of their body, to the unfitness of this man for the post assigned to him, and even insinuated that this person and another were playing fast and loose with the cause, and were only biding their time to abandon or betray it. He plainly said, should he be again arrested, if the authorities threatened him with punishment to extort confession, he would inform them of all he knew of the parties referred to. After some further conversation, he proposed to Hope to get rid of those persons, who were represented by him (perhaps not altogether erroneously either) as of doubtful zeal and earnestness in the cause, by at once giving informations against them. Hope replied by pulling a pistol from his breast, and telling him, if ever he repeated such a proposition, he would shoot him.

* "History of Belfast", p. 478.

The use which was made of Hughes, after Lord Edward's arrest, and at the period too when he had his head-quarters at the Castle in Dublin, is very clearly shown in the narrative of the confinement and exile of the Rev. William Steele Dickson, Presbyterian minister of Portaferry, in the County Down.

Dr. Dickson was arrested on the 4th June, 1798, in consequence of the disclosures made by Maguan and Hughes.

During his confinement in the house called the Donegal Arms, then the provost-prison of Belfast, the plan was carried into effect, which had been very generally adopted at this frightful period in other parts of the country, of apprehending some of the least suspected informers, and having it rumoured abroad that such persons had been arrested as ringleaders of the rebels, who were sure to be convicted, and then placing these persons among the unfortunate prisoners, for the purpose of making the latter furnish evidence against themselves and their companions. This proceeding, which would hardly be had recourse to in any civilized country in these times, is thus described by Dr. Dickson, from his own sad experience of it:—

"The first of these persons, of whom I had any knowledge, or by whom I was beset, was the notorious John Hughes, a man some years before of considerable respectability, but with whom I never had any particular connection, or even intimate acquaintance. However, he was fixed on as most likely to succeed in entrapping me and a few others. With a view to this, opportunity was taken to excite our compassion, either on the day of, or after, his arrest. We were entertained with a fable truly affecting, 'that there was no hope of saving his life; that his mind was deranged; that he was treated with great cruelty; and that he was placed among a crowd of poor wretches, with whom he could neither have conversation nor comfort'. This pathetic fiction was immediately followed with an observation, that 'if we could possibly make room for him, taking him to us would be an act of the greatest charity'. Completely imposed on by the tale, we instantly yielded to the application, and smothering, though we were, received him into our *stove*. On his entrance, his looks and manner were wild, unsettled, and strongly marked with melancholy. Afterwards, he talked in a desponding tone of the certainty of his conviction, and sometimes of a secret conspiracy against him, in which, as it appeared, he considered some of us as concerned. At other times he would start with seeming horror, and exclaim that the sentinel was about to shoot him. On the whole, though he sometimes talked soberly, and generally *listened attentively to our conversation*, he acted his part so well at intervals, that during two nights and the intermediate day, I was as fully convinced of his derangement as I was of my own existence, and under this impression, not only prayed with him and for him in his seemingly composed moments, but was quite delighted with the *wonderful* comfort which *devotional exercises* seemed to give him. Some of our party, however, suspected him of imposture from the first; and their suspicion was soon confirmed by his being removed for some time every day to a distant apartment, and detained in secret conference. His total removal from us a few days afterwards, and his *symptoms of insanity* suddenly disappearing, certainty suc-

ceeded suspicion, and his name was consigned to infamy, together with those of his employers.

"Besides Hughes, other informers were placed among us about the same time, one of whom was the Mr. Maguan mentioned by him in his deposition, which will appear afterwards. He, like the other, was committed under the most dreadful denunciations of vengeance, and, as the other had done, expressed the most lively apprehensions of his impending fate, even with lamentations and tears. He made his way to me frequently and under various pretexts; sometimes to complain of his melancholy situation, sometimes to borrow trifles, and at others to affect confidential conversation or ask advice."*

With respect to Mr. Hughes, the circumstances which require consideration, are the following:—

In October, 1797, he is arrested and charged with high treason, brought into Belfast, and liberated the same day on bail. He becomes a bankrupt the same year, and in March, 1798, he surrenders himself under the commission in Dublin.

In April, between the 20th and 29th of that month, he visited Lord Edward with Neilson; about the 28th of the same month, accompanied by Neilson, he also visited Mr. Grattan. On the 19th of May, Lord Edward was arrested. Hughes's services are found employed in the north in the beginning of the next month, worming himself into the confidence of Dr. Steele Dickson, supposed to be the adjutant-general of the county Down, a man, of all others of the Ulster leaders, against whom evidence was most desired. For this purpose, we find him apprehended on the 7th of June, at Belfast,† and the immediate object of this colourable arrest, to place him in confinement with the prisoners recently taken up in Belfast, in order to obtain further and still fuller evidence of their guilt from some of them. Of this arrest, as well as of the former, Mr. Hughes thought it desirable to make no mention in his evidence.

Quarters in the Castle were assigned to Mr. Hughes shortly after Lord Edward's arrest. The following data will afford some clue to the period of his residence there:—

"Dec. 9, 1801.—Campbell, for the use of his rooms in the Castle for Conlan and Hughes, since June, 1798, £22 15*s*."

Again:—

"March 20, 1802.—Campbell, for lodging of Hughes and Conlan, £22 15*s*."

It would seem that no expenses of these gentlemen were left undefrayed; even their washing-bills were paid for them.

"February 12, 1801.—Manders, washing for Hughes and Conlan, £11 7*s*. 6*d*."

* Dr. Dickson's "Narrative", p. 63.
† "Belfast History", p. 484.

So that from June, 1798, to the latter end of March, 1802, we find the head-quarters of Mr. Hughes were at the Castle.

The reward for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was offered on the 11th of May, earned on the 19th, and paid on the 20th of the month following, to F. H. The reader has been furnished with sufficient data to enable him to determine whether those initials were intended to designate this man or some other individual; whether the similarity of the capital letters I and F in the handwriting in question, may admit, or not, of one letter being mistaken for another; and lastly, whether the same error (intentional, or only apparently so) had occurred, which caused the name of the Saintfield informer, in the parliamentary report of his evidence, to be set down Nicholas Maguan, and in the written account of the remuneration of his services (and those of his colleagues) to be given as J. Magin. Of the latter person it may not be foreign to the subject to say a few words.

This Magin (or Maguan), of Saintfield, in the county of Down, was a poor man, holding a few acres of ground in the neighbourhood of Saintfield. In the Commons' report of the secret committee, he is made to figure, in the notice of his evidence, as a person of high rank and standing in his society. The Rev. John Cleland, who had been private tutor to Lord Castlereagh, and then was chaplain and agent, both private and political, of the Earl of Londonderry, in the course of his magisterial duties, which chiefly consisted in hunting after informers for his patron, and arranging with the sheriff for the packing of the juries, who were to try the persons who were informed against by his agents, had succeeded in gaining over an active and intelligent member of the Saintfield society of United Irishmen of the name of Magin. This man reported to him, after each meeting he attended, what had transpired; and the first meeting he made a disclosure of the proceedings of was that of the provincial meeting of Ulster, held on the 14th of April, 1797; and he regularly communicated to Cleland the proceedings of each meeting, up to the 31st of May, 1798, which was the last he appears to have attended.

Who can possibly deny that government had been in full possession of the plans of the United Irishmen from the month of April, 1797, through this source at least, not to mention the earlier disclosures made to them by other informers?

If the services rendered by this man are to be estimated by the amount of their reward, they must have been considerable. The following items, at least, will give some idea of the estimation in which they were held:—

"Aug. 16, 1798—J. Magin	. . .	£700	0 0
„ 17, „ do.	. . .	56	17 6"

Notwithstanding the immense sum of money lavished on him, from being an industrious, honest man previously to his new pursuits as an informer, he became an improvident, indolent, dissipated person, addicted to gambling, and in the course of a few years his easily-gotten wealth was gone, and he had to earn his bread in the neighbourhood of Belfast as a common working gardener, and in this employment he died there, a few years ago.

Mr. Macaulay, parish priest of Downpatrick, speaking of Maginn the informer, states that an exposure was made by him of the government party, in certain letters published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, some time in 1814, or thereabouts, in which Maginn charged Lord Castlereagh with breaking faith with him. Mr. Macaulay says he knows he withstood most tempting offers made to him by government, to induce him to give, in open court, the evidence he furnished in private. On one occasion, one thousand guineas were offered to be paid down on the spot as his reward, if he convicted a particular individual; but in vain. Is not this a singular trait of character?

The late Dr. M'Donnell, of Belfast, informed the author, that, wishing about that time (1797), to improve himself in practical anatomy, he formed an acquaintance with Maguan's brother, a surgeon in the navy; they used to meet for dissection. On one occasion, Dr. M'Donnell called at his lodgings to see Surgeon Maguan, by appointment; after waiting some time, the informer come in, introduced himself, spoke of the unsettled state of the country, of his respect for Dr. M'Donnell, told him he had been arranging with the parties in authority the names of the persons to be tried next; said perhaps he would like to see the list of names; laid it before him, and left the room. Dr. M'Donnell read over the list, not feeling very comfortable, it may be imagined; and Maguan, having given him ample time, returned to say he could not see his brother, the surgeon, that day.

Dr. M'Donnell, not knowing how to act, at length determined to see Dr. White, to whom he gave the names of their mutual friends, who were marked out for ruin.

Of Mr. Hughes, from the month of March, 1802, when his last expenses at the Castle were defrayed, in the preceding month, we find the only payment which appears made to him, in which his name is given at full length:—

"Feb. 6, 1802—John Hughes, of ———, in full of all claims, ... £200 0 0"

This being the only item bearing his name, when the enormous sum of money received by Maguan is taken into account, and it is remembered that the evidence of Hughes was of such great importance, it cannot be believed that he received no other recompense.

In fact, the wording of the entry of the 6th of February, "in full of all demands", shows that former sums had been paid, if any judgment may be formed from similar terms in reference to a multitude of other cases of a like description, when the persons at this period were finally paid off, after previous payments. No such items in connection with the name of Hughes are amongst them.

Yet his services were of an earlier date, and of more importance, than most of them.

In 1797, M'Gucken had to communicate with the officers of that department of the government, with whom lay the duty of granting licenses to king's counsel to defend prisoners in cases of criminal prosecutions. M'Gucken was then the law-agent of the prisoners of most of the Antrim societies of United Irishmen. The person fixed on for going to Dublin to

procure the services of counsel for the unfortunate clients of this gentleman was Mr. Hughes. Treason upon treason meets our eyes at every step of the agents, actors, and adversaries too, of this conspiracy. It is painful to trace the revolting progress of such perfidy, but it is needful to unmask and to expose its hideousness, in order to prevent a recurrence to the use or practice of its wickedness.

It will be seen that M'Gucken's "services" did not go without their reward in this world.

"March 5, 1799. J. Pollock for M'Gucken, sent to him by post to Belfast . . .	£60	0	0
"October 1, 1799. M'Gucken, Belfast, per post, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	50	0	0
"January 2, 1800. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken	100	0	0
"April 1, 1800. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's order	50	0	0
"June 11, 1800. M'Gucken, per ditto . .	50	0	0
,, 21, 1800. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken .	100	0	0
"January 1, 1801. M'Gucken, per post to Belfast	100	0	0
"February 20, 1802. J. M'Gucken, to replace £100 advanced to him, May 16, 1801, but afterwards stopped out of his pension .	100	0	0
"February 12, 1803. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken, an extra allowance	50	0	0
"June 25, 1803. Mr. Pollock for J. M'Gucken,	£100	0	0
"September 19, 1803. Mr. Marsden to send to M'Gucken	100	0	0
"December 5, 1803. J. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's note	100	0	0
"February 7, 1804. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken	500	0	0"

It may be presumed, from these large sums, and his pension moreover, that Mr. M'Gucken rendered many and important services.

Though the first item which bears his initials is dated the 5th of March, 1799, several other sums of a previous date are set down, with the name of the person only through whom the succeeding payments were chiefly made, and one to the amount of £300.

The earliest proof of Mr. M'Gucken's services that has transpired, was given on the occasion of the disappearance of six brass field-pieces of the Belfast Volunteer Corps, the property of the town of Belfast, which General Nugent issued a proclamation to be given up to him, the 28th May, 1798. Four of the pieces were given up on the 30th, the two others Mr. Robert Getty was held responsible for, as the officer of that corps, in whose charge they had been originally placed. The pieces having been carried away clandestinely long before, without the knowledge of Mr. Getty, it was not in his power to produce them: this gentleman was arrested and sent to the provost. This measure excited much surprise in Belfast, even at a period when any outrage on one of the old volunteers of independent principles, excited little. Mr. Getty was a man of undoubted loyalty; he had been,

however, one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, but on every political subject was of very moderate opinions. In those times, few considerations weighed against the secret charges of a recognized informer.

Mr. Getty's life was in imminent peril, and, probably, if the crown-solicitor, Mr. Pollock, had not visited him in the provost, he would have been hanged. It turned out that some charges, but utterly unfounded ones, had been laid against him. Getty's influence, however, and high character, triumphed over the malignity of the informer, and he was released.

It was only in the year 1809 or 1810, that Mr. Pollock told Getty, that the informer against him was Mr. James M'Gucken, the attorney. He showed Mr. Getty the informations, and I have good authority for saying there was no truth in them. Mr. Getty never could account for this proceeding; he had never given any offence to this man, and from his early advocacy of emancipation, to the last day of his life, was a favourite with his Roman Catholic townsmen, to which body M'Gucken belonged. The late General Coulson, an aide-de-camp at that time to General Barber, subsequently informed a member of his family, that one of M'Gucken's relations had been arrested by him in 1798, of whose guilt there was not the slightest doubt; he was allowed, however, to escape, but why, he did not know.

In the year 1802, there being no longer a field for the services of Mr. Hughes, he was "paid off", and permitted, like Mr. Reynolds, to "bid an eternal farewell to his friends and country". His loss, like that of Mr. Reynolds, no doubt, was borne with Christian fortitude.

His acquaintances in Belfast heard no more of him—where he went to, or what became of him, none of his former friends knew. It was only very recently I obtained any information that could be relied on about him. It seems, on quitting this country in 1802, he proceeded to Charlestown, and there embarked in business. About ten years subsequently, he came over from America to Liverpool with a cargo of merchandize. He called on a merchant of that place, Mr. Francis Jordan, formerly of Belfast, and stated that he wished to consign the cargo he had then for sale to him. He said he had always a kindly feeling towards his old friends and townsmen, and added, "I know you do not think well of me; but ill as you may think of me, I never appeared against any individual. The information I gave was to save myself, but it injured no one".

After disposing of his cargo, he returned to America and his slaves, and has not since been heard of in this country. In concluding the account of this man, I feel bound to say, that, having carefully examined his information, and compared it with that which I myself received in Belfast from various persons, and even from some of those persons seriously implicated by his disclosures, that the statements he has given respecting the proceedings of the United Irishmen in the north, are generally to be relied on, and none of his associates speak of him as having been actuated by any malicious or vindictive motives in making those disclosures.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING JOHN HUGHES.

Communication from Mr. Francis Jordan, of Liverpool, respecting John Hughes.

"Park Cottage, Liverpool,
Feb. 10, 1843.

"With respect to the reference to my name in the evidence of Hughes, when I state that I am in my eighty-fourth year, you will not be surprised that I had totally forgotten the report of the Lords' committee. That part of it which relates to me is a fabrication *in toto*. I enclose a copy of a letter I received in reply to one of mine at the time, from my friend, Cunningham Gregg, of Belfast, and also a copy of the advertisement which I requested him to insert in the *Belfast Newsletter*, the Tory paper of the day. I now join in the regret he expressed at his not having inserted it.

"In the year 1804, the informer Hughes came to Liverpool from America, where he had been sent, or agreed to emigrate to, by government. He passed himself off here as John H. Henry, merchant. Being informed of his arrival, I had an interview with him, at which he agreed, and did before the then mayor, make oath, that the part of the depositions in the Lords' committee respecting me, was not his, but the fabrication of Mr. John Pollock, who pressed him to swear to it, but which he solemnly refused to do.

"I submit these simple facts to the author of the work I have referred to. I have done with all public matters. I have served seven years as a member of the corporation for the ward I live in, and the office of a county magistrate.

(*Signed*) "Francis Jordan".

"Belfast, November 12, 1803.

"Dear J.,—I am sorry I cannot find the paper you sent in 1798. I examined all my papers to no purpose. I remember it well, as I had a meeting of all your friends in consequence; indeed we had a great deal of conversation on it, and we determined not to put it into the *Belfast Newsletter*, considering the information of Hughes false, and made for him to calumniate you. Finding no grounds to satisfy the malice of a *few*, who were well known, and as we found no honest man here considered the information true, we thought publishing it would please *them*, and could do you no good amongst your numerous friends in this quarter. I regret now I did not conform to your orders; excuse me. Enclosed you have, as near as I can remember, the copy of the document. The original, I hope, will turn up, as I shall continue my endeavours to find it; I am sure it must be amongst my papers.

"Yours sincerely,
(*Signed*) "Cunn. Gregg".

"Observing in the reports stated to be given before the committee of parliament, by an informer named Hughes, who therein asserts that I was treasurer of the county Antrim, I take the earliest opportunity of declaring that the said assertion is false; as far as regards me, is an infamous falsehood.

(*Signed*) "FRANCIS JORDAN.

"Liverpool, 1798".

"I cannot say the exact date; it was in the summer of the year.

(*Signed*) "C. G."

SUBSTANCE OF A DEPOSITION, SWORN BEFORE THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL, BY JOHN HUGHES, IN 1804.

"I, John Hughes, formerly of Belfast, stationer, but now residing in the United States, having read the report of the House of Lords' committee of Ireland, in which it is stated that I said Mr. Francis Jordan, of Belfast, was treasurer of the United Irishmen of the county Antrim, do swear that I made no such declaration; that the same is, in my opinion, falsificated by the crown-solicitor, who urged me to swear to the deposition, but which I refused, stating it contained a number of falsehoods".

HOPE'S PAPERS.

"Mr. Samuel Neilson's aunt was married to Matthew Hughes. Matthew Hughes had a sister married to James Hughes, and John Hughes was their son. Mr. Neilson's mother's maiden name was Carson; she had a brother married in the Hughes family. There were different families of the Hugheses, all respectable farmers. For some misconduct of James Hughes, he was not associated with by his relatives; his wife left him, and came to Belfast, where she set up a public-house for the sale of spirits; had her son John educated, and bound apprentice to the editor and proprietor of the *Belfast Newsletter*. John Hughes, having completed his apprenticeship in the office of the *Newsletter*, he set up as a stationer; he also embarked in other business of a manufacturing kind, and became a bankrupt in the year 1797. From his mother's good conduct and his own plausibility, his father's faults were forgotten, and he was never suspected of treachery until it was too late. He was Lord Edward's confidential friend until the very day of his arrest".

APPENDIX IV.

MAJOR SIRR AND "HIS PEOPLE".

The father of Henry Sirr served in the army, and retired from it with the rank of major. His daughter married a Mr. Minchin, of Grange, in the vicinity of Dublin. Sir Richard Musgrave gives an account of an attack made on the house of Mr. Minchin, and of Major Sirr the elder being in the house at the time it was plundered, in the month of May, 1798. The design of the assailants, he states, was to murder Minchin, who fortunately happened to be from home when the attack was made. The son of the old major, about 1794 or 1795, set up in Dublin in the business of a wine merchant. In 1797, the name of Henry Charles Sirr, wine merchant, 35 French Street, appears in the *Dublin Directory*. In 1798 he is likewise styled a wine merchant, and then living at 77 Dame Street. His relative, Mr. Humphrey Minchin, was a member of the corporation, and of considerable influence in that body in 1797: his father was in the commission of the peace: and by their interest and the patronage of his friend Major Sandys, brigade-major of the garrison, he obtained the office of deputy-town-major in 1796.

One of the earliest official exploits of the major (disclosed on the trial of Finnerty), in which he manifested his gallantry, was the arrest of the editor of the *Press* newspaper in 1797, and the seizure of the printed paper and books of that establishment, for which latter act he had not authority. On the trial of Finnerty the major was examined, and being asked by Mr. Sampson if he had seized these papers, the major's prudent reply was, "I will not answer". From this time, his services chiefly consisted in organizing and maintaining a band of wretches, who were employed at the assizes throughout the country, but especially in the vicinity of Dublin, as informers. They were known to the people by the name of the "Battalion of Testimony".

It is said, on high authority, that the employment of spies and informers tends rather to the increase than the suppression of crime, and that a good government has no need of their infamous services. One thing is certain, that their services were thought useful to a bad government; and the same circumstance that rendered their services necessary, made their infamy a

JAMES O'BRIEN.

Daguerreotyped by Claudet from a cast in Plaster taken after death by Petrie.

Dublin: James Duffy, Wellington Quay.

matter of little moment to their employers. From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what was called the "Major's People". A number of these people were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them contiguous to the viceroy's palace; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham jail, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House"; and for one batch of them, who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison, with the surrounding cells, assigned to them, which is still called the "Stag Yard". These persons were considered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons.

When the country was broken down sufficiently in strength and spirit to effect the Union, these men were turned adrift on society. A great many of them took to desperate courses, and acting under the dominion of violent passions, they came to violent ends. The common people ascribed, and to this day, continue to ascribe, their sudden and unprovided deaths to the divine retribution. The common expression is, "The judgment of God fell on them". Perhaps it would be more consonant to a widely extended knowledge of the action of those general laws of nature which govern humanity, to regard the deaths of unjust and cruel men, as the natural consequence of violent courses, and the aggregate of such awful examples as an evidence of that law of nature, in its extended application, which visits, even in this world, signal violations of humanity with a general rather than a particular retribution. Some of the men I speak of, expiated their subsequent crimes on the gallows; others were transported; several committed suicide: many of them, however, whose guilt was of as deep a die as that of Crawley or O'Brien, were men who could not say, like these unfortunate persons, when the times of public commotion were at an end, they had not the means to live; but their superiors in rank, fortune, and education, their employers and accomplices, who superintended their performances in the witness-box and at the triangles, who witnessed and directed their infliction of the tortures of the pitch-cap and the taws, still lived without reproach, but it could not be without remorse. And charity would hope that the time that was given them, was afforded for repentance!

The following document, obtained from the celebrated informer Newell, by a female correspondent of the *Press*, was published in that paper in 1798:—

MUSTER ROLL AND WEEKLY SUBSISTENCE.

	£	s.	d.
Newell, ...	5	13	9
Dutton, ...	5	13	9
O'Brien, ...	4	11	0
Clark, ...	4	11	0
M'Dermot, ...	4	11	0

	£	s.	d.
Murphy,	4	11	0
Hill,	4	11	0
Davison,	4	11	0
Rogers,	4	11	0
Mulvany,	4	11	0
Ellison,	4	11	0
Darby,	4	11	0
Murdock,	4	11	0
Forty-eight underworkers, at two guineas each per week,	109	4	0
	£170	12	6

It appears by the statement of this correspondent, that the members of this battalion of testimony were regularly drilled by Major Sirr and an officer of the name of Fox, and instructed in the art of swearing, deposing, and their other business of informers and fabricators of information.

The deeds of these men, even while they were under his direction and that of Major Sandys, domiciled in their quarters in the Castle, were of the most lawless and violent description. Newell fired a pistol at a sentinel on guard at the principal entrance of the Castle, because the soldier dared to prevent his entering at an unseasonable hour of the night. For this slight offence Newell was confined to his room in the Castle for a few days. Murdock attempted to murder Newell in the Castle; he fired at this man in his own room; and Murdock being a person of less importance to his employers than Newell, was sent to Newgate. Mr. James Bird, *alias* Smith, a native of England, on whose information Neilson and several northerns were arrested, subsequently retracted what he had sworn. He fled from the Castle, and wrote a letter to Mr. Cooke,* threatening disclosures of the means that had been taken to procure his testimony, and was apprehended in Louth in the latter part of 1798. During his confinement in Newgate, he wrote a letter to Mr. Grattan,† acknowledging that he had been tampered with by one of his enemies, to give evidence against him. He addressed a similar letter to Neilson; another letter to Mr. John Giffard, in which he reminds him of his literary labours in the *Dublin Journal*.‡ Bird's example was followed by John Edward Newell. He likewise abandoned the battalion of the major, fled from the Castle, made a written statement of his perjuries, and subsequently wrote a pamphlet, in which he detailed the iniquities of his career as an informer. His letter to Mr. Cooke was published in the *Press*, No. 56; and his pamphlet (one of the most singular records of infamy probably in existence) was printed in Belfast, where he fled on his abandonment of his calling. There he revenged himself of Murdock for his attack on his life, by robbing that

* "Press" Newspaper, March 1, 1798. M'Donnell's "Dublin Weekly Journal", February 24, 1798.

† "Grattan's Life", by his Son, vol. iv., p. 427.

‡ "Press" Newspaper, February 6, 1798.

person of his wife; and when on the point of embarking at a place called Doagh, in the neighbourhood of Belfast (the scene of his former services, when he went about in a mask, escorted by General Barber and a party of soldiers, and pointed out such persons as he thought proper to swear against), he suddenly disappeared, and there is but too much reason to believe he was murdered by the very persons who harboured him at that place, and had kept him previously concealed in Belfast.

These are frightful statements; but those who think they should be buried in oblivion, either have more consideration for the dead than the living, or have more regard for their own sensations than for the security of society from the machinations of such miscreants. Who can become acquainted with such statements, and reflect on the results of public commotions—the disengagement of wickedness that then takes place in the conflict of all the antagonist elements of society—without feeling that the greatest of all human evils is civil war, and the conduct that leads to it the highest of all crimes?

The career of one of the subordinate agents of that system, of which Major Sirr was the chief functionary, remains to be noticed.

The favourite follower and emissary of Major Sirr was a man of the name of O'Brien. The infamy of this man's character is without a parallel in our history. In France his depravity may have been equalled, but it could hardly have been surpassed.

A detailed and authentic account of O'Brien's career has been given in a recent periodical, which fully agrees with all the information I have received respecting this man's exploits and character:—

"O'Brien was a native of Stradbally, in the Queen's County; and having early in life lost his character amongst his rustic neighbours, and committed atrocious crimes, he had to fly from his native place.* He came to Dublin, and for a few years found employment in the gardens of Mr. La Touche, at Marley. Being of an idle and vicious nature, he afterwards enlisted in the service of some excise officer, and first commenced his career as an informer and impostor, by prying into the conduct of the publicans in the neighbourhood of Dublin, for breaches of the revenue regulations; and between the rewards he received from his employers, and the bribes he extorted from the publicans whom he intimi-

* O'Brien began his career of blood, it is stated, about three years before the rebellion, by the robbery and murder of a county Meath gentleman of high respectability, Mr. Adare, who resided near Dunboyne. There were three or four persons concerned in this crime, but the actual murder was committed by O'Brien. The stolen plate was offered for sale by O'Brien and one of his accomplices, to the late Alderman West and his brother, silversmiths of Dublin. The plate was broken up, but it had been sold to Mr. Adare by the Wests, and was recognized by them. One of the brothers, noticing a portion of Adare's crest, quietly walked into a back room off the shop, got into the street by the hall-hoor, and immediately closed the shop-door. O'Brien, however, was then alone inside, his companion had slunk off. He was secured and sent to jail, where he offered to turn approver. On his information, all his accomplices were taken up, and on his evidence were condemned and executed. His success in this affair, and the peculiar coolness of his villainy, recommended him to Major Sirr; he was taken up by him, and employed in state stagging. He lived by blood, and he died for the shedding of it.—R. R. M.

dated, he contrived to supply his pockets with money for some time. The political organization which was in progress amongst the people of Dublin in the early part of the year 1797 afforded, however, a more lucrative employment for the spy and informer than the pursuits in which he had been heretofore engaged. In the month of April, 1797, O'Brien informed a magistrate of the Queen's County, named Higgins, who was then in Dublin, that he knew all the circumstances connected with the organization of the union then going on amongst the people, and that he had been forced to take the oath of the society contrary to his inclination.* Higgins immediately communicated the intelligence to Lord Portarlington, who afterwards introduced O'Brien to Mr. Secretary Cooke and some members of the government, in the chamber of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Having heard the story from O'Brien, it was finally arranged between him and his new friends, in order to insure the fulfilment of their projects, that O'Brien should enlist in one of the dragoon regiments then quartered in Dublin, and still continue to attend the meetings of the society, for the acquisition of further intelligence. Mr. O'Brien having been engaged as a spy and informer amongst the people in Dublin, the advisers of the government thought they might likewise avail themselves of his services within the walls of the barracks, where it was suspected that sedition was also making its way amongst the military bands. The attorney-general openly avowed the arrangement thus agreed upon during the course of the trials that subsequently occurred. O'Brien, acting under the guidance of his employers, continued to communicate with them, and according to his own testimony, was actually appointed secretary to a branch of the confederacy during this period; and in the month of May, 1797, a considerable number of men assembled in a public-house in Meath Street, were apprehended by Major Sirr and a military party, and upon O'Brien's information, were subsequently indicted for high treason. The trial of the persons thus apprehended did not take place until the month of January, 1798, and during that interval O'Brien continued on active service for the state; but his first appearance in a court of justice, as a witness, put an end to his utility in that character, by the exposure of his infamous life, and the enormity of the perjuries he dared to practise on the occasion.

"The first victim selected for his testimony was a person named Patrick Finney. The informer's tale was well connected and artfully told: being uncontradicted, a conviction upon an indictment for high treason must have followed: but the accused was ably defended, and by the united effect of a masterly cross-examination of the informer himself, and the testimony of several respectable witnesses, O'Brien's evidence was discredited, and Finney was acquitted. The lives of a crowd of men depended upon the result of this first trial; and the crown prosecutors, finding their

* Jemmy O'Brien, by his own testimony, became a United Irishman on the 25th of April, 1797, and if the statement of one of his associates, Patrick Maguire, of Phibsborough, may be relied on, "Jemmy" was seen by him, while transacting some business in the Castle connected with the transmission of ordnance stores, coming out of the Secretary's office in the Castle, on the 2nd of May, about a week after he (Maguire) had seen him sworn as a United Irishman.—R. R. M.

chief evidence thus branded with perjury in the outset, were obliged to abandon the prosecution of all the other persons who had been apprehended upon his information, and they were consequently discharged upon the motion of the attorney-general at the termination of the commission.

"The stop thus put to O'Brien's murderous career, was chiefly owing to the skill and advocacy of Curran, who defended Finney. His address to the court contains some of the finest specimens of eloquence that even *he* ever delivered. The witness having stated that he knew of ten thousand men being leagued in treasonable conspiracy within the city of Dublin, Mr. Curran, in commentiug on that allegation, said: 'Are you prepared, when O'Brien shall come forward against ten thousand of your fellow-citizens, to assist him in digging the graves which he has destined to receive them, one by one? No! could your hearts yield for a moment to the suggestion, your own reflections would vindicate the justice of God and the insulted character of man; you would fly from the secrets of your chamber, and take refuge in the multitude from these "compunctious visitings", which meaner men would not look on without horror. Do not think I am speaking disrespectfully of you when I say, that while an O'Brien may be found, it may be the lot of the proudest among you to be in the dock instead of the jury-box. How then, on such an occasion, would any of you feel, if such evidence as has been heard this day were adduced against you? The application affects you—you shrink from the imaginary situation; remember, then, the great mandate of your religion—"Do unto all men as you would that they should do unto you". Why do you condescend to listen to me with such attention? Why are you so anxious, if even from me anything should fall tending to enlighten you on the present awful occasion? Is it because, bound by the sacred obligations of an oath, your hearts will not allow you to forfeit it? Have you any doubt that it is the object of O'Brien to take down the prisoner for the reward that follows? Have you not seen with what more than instinctive keenness this bloodhound has pursued his victim? How he has kept him in view from place to place, until he hunts him through the avenues of the court to where the unhappy man stands now, hopeless of all succour but that which your verdict shall afford. I have heard of assassinations by sword, by pistol, and by dagger; but here is a wretch who would dip the Evangelists in blood! If he thinks he has not sworn his victim to death, he is ready to swear without mercy and without end. But oh! do not, I conjure you, suffer him to take an oath: the hand of the murderer should not pollute the purity of the gospel; or, if he will swear, let it be by the knife, the proper symbol of his profession'.

"No longer daring to use him as a witness in the courts of justice, O'Brien was still retained by the authorities, and kept on duty within the corridors of the Castle, where, under the guidance and protection of Majors Sandys and Sirr, he rendered such services as his peculiar character and abilities afforded. Many persons are still living, who have seen Major Sirr, accompanied by O'Brien and a band of his confederates, passing through the public thoroughfares in quest of victims; and their descriptions still vividly depict the horror and apprehension with which he and they were regarded, and unfold many acts of the brutal and audacious spirit

in which their missions were performed. A gentleman of distinction in our city, lately described to the writer a scene which he beheld in the open day, during the period to which we are now alluding. He said, that, he remembered upon one particular occasion, having seen Major Sirr come out of the Lower Castle Gate, accompanied by O'Brien and a few others, and then proceed along Dame Street. A gentleman of a distinguished mien, and evidently a stranger, attracted by the singular appearance of the party, stopped, and with an indication of surprise regarded them as they went by him. The manner of the stranger attracted the notice of O'Brien, who, darting from his place in the group, prostrated the gentleman upon the pavement with a well-directed blow. Major Sirr, hearing the noise, turned round, and seizing O'Brien, thrust him back to his place again, and then proceeded onward without further noticing the audacity of his subordinate. The crowd gathered about the indignant gentleman, and raised him from the ground: he spoke of the laws, and said something of redress, but his silent auditors only shook their heads and passed away.

"While Sandys and Sirr were thus employed against the political adversaries of the government, under its authority and for its rewards, they were not neglectful of the opportunities which their avocations afforded for the acquisition of property, by the plunder of those whose homes were open to their scrutiny. Under the authority with which they were invested, they ransacked the houses of the most respectable citizens in search of men; but plate, jewels, pictures, and other portable property, were openly appropriated by these functionaries to their own use and advantage. . . . .

"The year 1798 passed away with its horrors; the insurrection had subsided, and the silence of a subdued nation was hailed as the restoration of tranquillity. The valuable services of O'Brien were no longer needed, and he became a troublesome incumbrance to his former protectors. Could he, like his brother professor Reynolds, have referred to his services, and enumerated his claims upon the state, by the number of 'the coffins he had filled', he would have been loaded with wealth, and enabled, like that individual, to leave a country where his life was both hateful and insecure; but Providence decided otherwise, and, by a just retribution, that government which had once endeavoured to make O'Brien the intermediate instrument in the destruction of others, in a short time after became his own accuser. In the month of May, in the memorable year 1800, the vigilance of the authorities was aroused by the circumstance of a number of persons assembling in a field in the vicinity of Kilmainham, for the purpose of playing foot-ball. This event, unimportant as it was, however, had its effect upon the troubled conscience of the state; and apprehending that sedition lurked in the ranks of the ball-players, Major Sirr was directed to interrupt the game, and capture any suspected characters that his loyal instinct might detect amongst the crowd. Having arrived at the field, which was enclosed by a high wall, he stationed O'Brien and some soldiers at one side, with directions to prevent the egress of the people, while Sirr, accompanied by another military party, proceeded to enter the field by the common entrance. O'Brien, however, was not satisfied to remain on the outside, and proceeded to climb over the wall into the field. Some persons seeing him thus scaling the

wall with soldiers, and fearing that an attack was about to be made upon them, cried out, 'O'Brien the informer!' upon which the game was suspended, and the people began to move away from that quarter of the field. Infuriated by the manner in which his appearance was announced, O'Brien leaped from the wall, and rushing upon a decrepid invalid, named John Hoey, who was standing by observing the scene, with a dagger stabbed him to the heart! This murder, although done in their service, still was too foul even for his powerful patrons to protect O'Brien against its consequences; and a prosecution having been instituted by the relatives of the victim, the government gave up its indiscreet servant to be dealt with by the very laws which its own conduct had previously taught him to disregard. On O'Brien's trial, Major Sirr appeared as a witness for the defence, and endeavoured to induce the court to believe that the prisoner was subject to mental derangement; but the jury, without hesitation, pronounced him guilty, and the presiding judge (Day) sentenced him to death. 'If murder admitted of aggravation', said that learned judge upon the occasion, 'the felon's crime, which had been clearly established in evidence to the full satisfaction of the court and jury, was aggravated by the most unprovoked, wanton, and savage cruelty; he murdered an innocent, infirm, and defenceless man; a man with whom it was probable he had no previous intercourse, and in consequence against whom he could harbour no particular malice; but it was therefore substantiated that he cherished malice prepense against mankind in general, whence he became a member unfit for society, for whose sake and example he should be made an ignominious and disgraceful sacrifice'. On the gibbet, O'Brien expressed his disappointment at the ingratitude of the state, for abandoning him in his hour of need, and died warning the concourse by which he was surrounded never to put any trust in the Castle authorities".*

In the preceding account, mention is made of the brutal conduct of the "major's people" towards the inhabitants of Dublin; but the fact that is stated would give a very inadequate idea of the extent to which that conduct was carried. O'Brien and his associates usually followed Major Sirr at a short distance when he went abroad; if any one stopped to look after the major, he was hustled, not unfrequently beaten, by his myrmidons, and if he ventured to remonstrate, was carried off to the Castle guard-house or Sandys' provost. On one occasion, a respectable merchant of Dublin, a Mr. M'Cabe, having committed the treasonable offence to the major's dignity of turning round to look after him as he passed, he was instantly struck on the head by O'Brien; his hat was knocked off, and while stooping in the act of picking it up, he was kicked by this ruffian.

There was no redress for these acts; the man who might be fool enough to seek it, would become a marked man, subject to be taken up on suspicion, sworn against, as in Hevey's case, and perhaps hanged. A gentleman of the name of Adrien was seen looking up at the windows of the Exchange, where some prisoners were confined; he was tapped on the shoulder by the major, and told, at his peril, to turn his eyes on that side of the street again. The floggings in the Castle Yard were frequently

* "Dublin Monthly Magazine", April 1842.

attended by O'Brien and his gang, and the victims, while writhing under the lash, were treated by them with brutal jests and vulgar ribaldry.

In turning the prisoners to pecuniary account, Sirr and Sandys played into one another's hands; the major made the arrests, turned over the prisoners to Sandys and O'Brien, and the latter duly worked upon their hopes and fears alternately, threatening them with perpetual imprisonment, transportation, or the triangles, and acquainting them with the kindness of the major's heart, the forgiveness of his disposition, and the necessity of making a proper compliment either in goods or money. Every act of favour or indulgence was a perquisite, in the provost. Hevey's liberation cost him a horse; M'Gauran's, of Patrick Street, cost him a house at Tallaght. This man was a grocer, living in the vicinity of the depot of Robert Emmet, where the explosion took place. He was in nowise connected with Emmet, or cognizant of his plans, but he had a quantity of wine strongly suspected of being long in bottle; he was arrested by the major, sent to the provost, and committed to the care of Sandys: he came out deprived of nearly all his property. A Mr. Cosgrave, of Crumlin, was suspected of possessing certain Popish pictures he had brought with him from Italy; his house was ransacked, on the plea of searching for a suspected servant: the servant was not found there, but the pictures were detected, and there was presumptive proof of their having been painted by old masters. The major was a lover of the arts; not, indeed, a scrupulous collector: he left the largest collection of indifferent pictures that ever came under the Dublin hammer.

While Holt was confined in the Tower, he suffered continually from O'Brien's rapacity, and his attempts to persuade him to turn approver against his associates. He was persecuted by the attentions of one of the sisters of O'Brien, who came to see him from Ballynakill, and who appears to have been employed to conquer the obstinacy of the intractable rebel, which no other efforts were able to accomplish. This damsel was accompanied by her sister, and their chief business in town appears to have been to obtain a pardon for their brother John, who had been one of Holt's rebel band. Holt speaks of him as an active, useful fellow, while with him, and of "Jemmy having enlisted him in his own diabolical employment of obtaining confidence in order to betray it". Jemmy had him now disguised as a sailor, and the duty assigned to him was, "to frequent the low public-houses, and get wretched, drunken creatures to utter treasonable words, and then, with Jemmy's assistance, he soon lodged them in limbo, and they were generally punished upon the testimony of these two birds of prey". Another of Holt's rebel band, John O'Neil, a man of great ferocity, who had attempted to murder a young gentleman of the name of Pilsworth, was imprisoned in the Tower; he, likewise, was gained over by the persuasive eloquence of O'Brien and his master, and became one of the battalion of testimony, of whom mention will be found illustrative of the value of his services. Like Holt, when he beheld these wretches, murderers, and informers in copartnership, living in the possession of plenty, we may conclude, "the reign of the iniquity short, and its punishment eventually is certain".*

* "Memoirs of Holt", by T. E. Croker.

The case of a respectable citizen of Dublin, Mr. John Hevey, a brewer who was persecuted by Sirr for meddling with one of his people, is on which has stamped the character of this man, and left a lasting record of the means by which his power was upheld and his property acquired, in the disastrous period of 1797 and 1798.

In May, 1802, a cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Kilwarden, in which Hevey was the plaintiff, and the once redoubtable Major Sirr, the defendant. It was an action for assault and false imprisonment, and there was a verdict for Hevey of £150 damages. The plaintiff's case was stated by Mr. Curran, and that part of it which is well worthy of attention, in the following terms :—

"I must carry back your attention to the melancholy period of 1798. It was at that crisis that the defendant, from an obscure individual, started into notice and consequence. It is in the hot-bed of public calamity that such portentous and inauspicious products are accelerated without being matured. From being a town-major, he became at once invested with all the real power of the most absolute authority. The life and the liberty of every man seemed to be given up to his disposal. With this gentleman's extraordinary elevation, began the story of the sufferings and ruin of the plaintiff. It seems a man of the name of M'Guire was prosecuted for some offence against the state. Mr. Hevey, the plaintiff, by accident was in court; he was then a citizen of wealth and credit, a brewer in the first line of that business. Unfortunately for him, he had heretofore employed the witness for the prosecution, and found him a man of infamous character. Unfortunately for himself, he mentioned this circumstance in court. The counsel for the prisoner insisted on his being sworn; he was so. The jury were convinced that no credit was due to the witness for the crown, and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted. In a day or two after, Major Sirr met the plaintiff in the street, asked how he dared to interfere in his business, and swore by God he would teach him how to meddle with 'his people'. Gentlemen", said Mr. Curran, "there are two sorts of prophets: one, that derives its source from real or fancied inspiration, and who are sometimes mistaken; but there is another class, who prophesy what they are determined to bring about themselves. Of this second, and by far the most authentic class, was the major; for Heaven, you see, has no monopoly of prediction. On the following evening poor Hevey was dogged in the dark into some lonely alley; there he was seized, he knew not by whom, nor by what authority, and became in a moment, to himself, to his family, and his friends, as if he had never been. He was carried away in equal ignorance of his crime and of his destiny; whether to be tortured, or hanged, or transported. His crime he soon heard; it was the treason he had committed against the majesty of Major Sirr. He was immediately conducted to a new place of imprisonment in the Castle Yard, called the provost. Of this mansion of misery, of which you have since heard so much, Major Sandys was, and I believe yet is, the keeper—a gentleman of whom I know how dangerous it is to speak, and of whom every prudent man will think and talk with all due reverence. He seemed a twin-star of the defendant—equal in honour, in confidence; equal also (for who could be superior?) in probity and humanity. To this gentleman

was my client consigned, and in his custody he remained about seven weeks, unthought of by the world, as if he had never existed. The oblivion of the *dungeon* is as profound as the oblivion of the dead: his family may have mourned his absence, or his probable death; but why should I mention so paltry a circumstance? The fears or the sorrows of the wretched give no interruption to the general progress of things. The sun rose, and the sun set, just as it did before; the business of the government, the business of the Castle, of the feast or the torture, went on with their usual exactness and tranquillity. At length Mr. Hevey was discovered among the sweepings of the prison, and was finally to be disposed of. He was at last honoured with the personal notice of Major Sandys: 'Hevey', says the major, 'I have seen you ride, I think, a smart sort of mare; you can't use her here; you had better give me an order for her'. The plaintiff, you may well suppose, by this time had a tolerable idea of his situation; he thought he might have much to fear from a refusal, and something to hope from a compliance; at all events, he saw it would be a means of apprising his family that he was not dead; he instantly gave the order required. The major graciously accepted it, saying, 'Your courtesy will not cost you much; you are to be sent down to-morrow to Kilkenny to be tried for your life; you will most certainly be hanged; and you can scarcely think that your journey to the other world will be performed on horseback'. The humane and honourable major was equally a prophet with his compeer. The plaintiff on the next day took leave of his prison, as he supposed, for the last time, and was sent under a guard to Kilkenny, then the head-quarters of Sir Charles Asgil, there to be tried by court-martial for such crime as might chance to be alleged against him. In any other country, the scene that took place on that occasion might excite no little horror and astonishment; but with us these sensations are become extinct by frequency of repetition. I am instructed that a proclamation was sent forth, offering a reward to any man who would come forward and give evidence against the traitor Hevey. An unhappy wretch, who had been shortly before condemned to die, and was then lying ready for execution, was allured by the proposal. His integrity was not firm enough to hesitate long between the alternative proposed—pardon, favour, and reward, with perjury, on one side: the rope and the gibbet on the other. His loyalty decided the question against his soul. He was examined, and Hevey was appointed by the sentence of a mild, and, no doubt, enlightened, court-martial, to take the place of the witness, and succeed to the vacant halter. Hevey, you may suppose", continued Mr. Curran, "now thought his labours at an end; but he was mistaken; his hour was not yet come. You, probably, gentlemen, or you, my lord, are accounting for his escape, by the fortunate recollection of some early circumstances that might have smote upon the sensibility of Sir Charles Asgil, and made him to believe that he was in debt to Providence for the life of one innocent, though convicted, victim. But it was not so: his escape was purely accidental. The proceedings upon his trial happened to meet the eye of Lord Cornwallis. The freaks of fortune are not always cruel; in the bitterness of her jocularity, you see, she can adorn the miscreancy of the slave in the trappings of power, and rank, and wealth.

But her playfulness is not always inhuman; she will sometimes, in her gambols, fling oil upon the wounds of the sufferer; she will sometimes save the captive from the dungeon and the grave, were it only that she might afterwards consign him to his destiny, by the reprisal of capricious cruelty upon fantastic commiseration. Lord Cornwallis read the transmiss of Hevey's condemnation; his heart recoiled from the detail of stupidity and barbarity. He dashed his pen across the odious record, and ordered that Hevey should be forthwith liberated. I cannot but highly honour him for his conduct in this instance; nor, when I recollect his peculiar situation at that disastrous period, can I much blame him for not having acted towards that court with the same vigour and indignation which he has since shown with respect to these abominable jurisdictions. Hevey was now a man again; he shook the dust of his feet against his prison gate; his heart beat the response to the anticipated embrace of his family and his friends, and he returned to Dublin. On his arrival here, one of the first persons he met was his old friend, Major Sandys. In the eye of poor Hevey, justice and humanity had shorn the major of his beams: he no longer regarded him with respect or terror. He demanded his mare, observing that 'though he might have travelled to Heaven on foot, he thought it more comfortable to perform his earthly journeys on horseback'. 'Ungrateful villain', said the major, 'is this the gratitude you show to his majesty and to me, for our clemency to you? you shan't get possession of the beast which you have forfeited by your treason, nor can I suppose that a noble animal that has been honoured with conveying the weight of duty and allegiance, would condescend to load her loyal loins with the vile burden of a convicted traitor'. As to the major", said Mr. Curran, "I am not surprised that he spoke and acted as he did. He was, no doubt, astonished at the impudence and novelty of calling the privileges of official plunder into question. Hardened by the numberless instances of that mode of unpunished acquisition, he had erected the frequency of impunity into a sort of warrant of spoil and rapine. One of these instances, I feel, I am now bringing to the memory of your lordship. A learned and respected brother barrister (L. M'Nally) had a silver cup; the major heard that for many years it had borne an inscription of 'Erin go brach', which means, 'Ireland for ever'. The major considered this perseverance in guilt for such a length of years, as a forfeiture of the delinquent vessel. My poor friend was accordingly robbed of his cup.* But, upon writing to the then attorney-general, that excellent officer felt the outrage, as it was his nature to feel everything that was barbarous or base, and the major's loyal sideboard was condemned to the grief of restitution. And here", said Mr. Curran, "let me say in my own defence, that this is the only occasion upon which I have ever mentioned this circumstance with the least appearance of lightness. I have often told the story in a way that it would not become me here to tell it. I have told it in the spirit of those feelings, which were excited at seeing that one man could be sober and humane at a crisis when so many thousands were drunk and barbarous. And probably my statement was not stinted by the recollection, that I held that

* Curran's "poor friend" was Counsellor Leonard M'Nally.

person in peculiar respect and regard. But little does it signify whether acts of moderation and humanity are blazoned by gratitude, by flattery, or by friendship; they are recorded in the heart from which they sprung: and in the hour of adverse vicissitude, if it should ever come, sweet is the odour of their memory, and precious is the balm of their consolation. But to return. Hevey brought an action for his mare. The major, not choosing to come into court, and thereby suggest the probable success of a thousand actions, restored the property, and paid the costs of the suit to the attorney of Mr. Hevey. It may, perhaps, strike you, my lord", said Mr. Curran, "as if I was stating what was not relevant to the action. It is materially pertinent; I am stating a system of concerted vengeance and oppression. These two men acted in concert—they were Archer and Aimwell. You master at Lichfield, and I at Coventry. You plunder in the jail, and I tyrant in the street; and in our respective situations we will coöperate in the common cause of robbery and vengeance. And I state this", said Mr. Curran, "because I see Major Sandys in court, and because I feel I can prove the fact beyond the possibility of denial. If he does not dare to appear, so called upon as I have called upon him, I prove it by his not daring to appear. If he does venture to come forward, I will prove it by his own oath; or if he venture to deny a syllable that I have stated, I will prove by irrefragable evidence of record, that his denial is false and perjured. Thus far, gentlemen", said Mr. Curran, "we have traced the plaintiff through the strange vicissitudes of barbarous imprisonment, of atrocious condemnation, and of accidental deliverance". [Here Mr. Curran described the feelings of himself and his family upon his restoration; his difficulties on his return; his struggle against the aspersions on his character; his renewed industry; his gradual success; the implacable malignity of Sirr and Sandys, and the immediate cause of the present action.] "Three years", said Mr. Curran, "had elapsed since the deliverance of my client; the public atmosphere had cleared; the private destiny of Hevey seemed to have brightened, but the malice of his enemies had not been appeased. On the 8th of September last, Mr. Hevey was sitting in a public coffee-house: Major Sirr was there. Mr. Hevey was informed that the major had at that moment said that he (Hevey) ought to have been hanged. The plaintiff was fired at the charge; he fixed his eye on Sirr, and asked if he had dared to say so. Sirr declared that he had, and had said truly. Hevey answered that he was a slanderous scoundrel. At that instant Sirr rushed upon him, and, assisted by three or four of his satellites, who had attended him in disguise, secured him, and sent him to the Castle guard, desiring that a receipt might be given for the villain. He was sent thither. The officer of the guard chanced to be an Englishman but lately arrived in Ireland; he said to the bailiffs: 'If this was in England, I should think this gentleman entitled to bail; but I don't know the laws of this country. However, I think you had better loosen these irons on his wrists, or I think they may kill him'.

"Major Sirr, the defendant, soon arrived, went into his office, and returned with an order which he had written, and by virtue of which Mr. Hevey was conducted to the custody of his old friend and jailor, Major Sandys. Here he was flung into a room of about thirteen feet by twelve;

it was called the hospital of the provost. It was occupied by six beds, in which were to lie fourteen or fifteen miserable wretches, some of them sinking under contagious diseases. On his first entrance, the light that was admitted by the opening of the door disclosed to him a view of the sad fellow-sufferers, for whose loathsome society he was once more to exchange the cheerful haunts of men, the use of open air and of his own limbs, and where he was condemned to expiate the disloyal hatred and contempt which he had dared to show to the overweening and felonious arrogance of slaves in office and minions in authority. Here he passed the first night without bed or food. The next morning his humane keeper, the major, appeared. The plaintiff demanded 'why he was so imprisoned?' complained of hunger, and asked for the jail allowance. Major Sandys replied with a torrent of abuse, which he concluded by saying—'Your crime is your insolence to Major Sirr; however, he disdains to trample upon you. You may appease him by proper and contrite submission; but unless you do so, you shall rot where you are. I tell you this, that if government do not protect us, by God! we will not protect them. You will probably (for I know your insolent and ungrateful hardiness) attempt to get out by an habeas corpus, but in that you will find yourself mistaken, as such a rascal deserves'. Hevey was insolent enough to issue an habeas corpus, and a return was made upon it—'that Hevey was in custody under a warrant from General Craigh on a charge of treason'. That this return was a gross falsehood, fabricated by Sirr, I am instructed to assert. Let him prove the truth of it, if he can. The judge before whom this return was brought felt that he had no authority to liberate the unhappy prisoner; and thus, by a most inhuman and audacious lie, my client was again remanded to the horrid mansion of pestilence and famine". Mr. Curran proceeded to describe the feelings of Mr. Hevey, the despair of his friends, the ruin of his affairs, the insolence of Sandys, his offer to set him at large on condition of making an abject submission to Sirr; the indignant rejection by Hevey; the supplication of his father and sister rather to submit to an enemy, however base and odious, than perish in such a situation; the repugnance of Hevey, the repetition of kind remonstrance, and the final submission of Hevey to their entreaties; his signing a submission dictated by Sandys, and his enlargement from confinement. "Thus", said Mr. Curran, "was he kicked from his jail into the common mass of his fellow-slaves, by yielding to the tender entreaties of the kindred that loved him, to sign what was in fact a release of his claim to the common rights of a human creature, by humbling himself to the brutal arrogance of a pampered slave. But he did suffer the dignity of his nature to be subdued by its kindness; he has been enlarged, and he has brought the present action". As to the facts that he had stated, Mr. Curran said he would make a few observations. It might be said for the defendant that much of what was stated may not appear in proof. To that, he said, he would not have so stated, if he had not seen Major Sandys in court; he had therefore put the facts against him in a way which he thought most likely to rouse him to a defence of his own character, if he dared to be examined as a witness. He had, he trusted, made him feel that he had no way of escaping universal detestation but by denying those

charges, if they were false; and if they were not denied, being thus publicly asserted, his entire case was admitted: his original oppression in the provost was admitted; his robbery of the cup was admitted; his robbery of the mare was admitted; the lie so audaciously forged on the habeas corpus was admitted; the extortion of the infamous apology was admitted. Again, said Mr. Curran, I challenge this worthy compeer of a worthy compeer to make his election between proving his guilt by his own corporal oath, or by the more credible modesty of his silence. "And now", said Mr. Curran, "I have given you a mere sketch of this extraordinary history. No country governed by any settled laws, or treated with common humanity, could furnish any occurrences of such unparalleled atrocity; and if the author of *Caleb Williams*, or of the *Simple Story*, were to read the tale of this man's sufferings, it might, I think, humble the vanity of their talents (if they are not too proud to be vain), when they saw how much a more fruitful source of incident could be found in the infernal workings of the heart of a malignant slave, than in the richest copiousness of the most fertile and creative imagination".*

The persecution which poor Hevey endured—the hardships he suffered during his confinement—the ruin brought on his business by his absence, and the expenses attendant on his trial at Kilkenny, eventually impaired his reason, and he died a few years ago, a pauper, in the beggars' hospital in Channel Row.

The wretches retained in the service of Sirr—regularly sent on assize duty—provided with clothing for special occasions—conveyed to and fro at the public expense, and boarded and lodged either with Hanlon, the under-keeper of the Tower, or Watkins, the keeper of the Castle Tavern, or domiciled in the Tower, under the immediate care and inspection of Mr. James O'Brien, have been described by Curran. In his admirable speech on the trial of Peter Finnerty, in 1797, he thus speaks of this band of informers:—

"I speak not now of the public proclamations for informers, with a promise of secrecy and extravagant reward! I speak not of those unfortunate wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory! I speak of what your own eyes have seen day after day during the course of this commission, while you attended this court:—the number of horrid miscreants, who acknowledged upon their oaths that they had come from the seat of government—from the very chambers of the Castle—where they had been worked upon by the fear of death and the hopes of compensation to give evidence against their fellows. That the mild, the wholesome, and merciful councils of this government are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a *man*, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and then is dug up an *informer*.

"Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it a fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked, when he entered, how the

* Trial, Hevey *v.* Sirr.—Stockdale's edition.

stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not seen how the human heart bowed to the awful supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? How his glance, like the lightning of Heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death—a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent! There was an antidote—a juror's oath! But even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the throne of Eternal Justice, is solved and molten by the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer; conscience swings from her moorings; the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim:

—— Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the Devil has been worshipped by pagans and savages. Even so, in this wicked country, is the informer an object of judicial idolatry; even so is he soothed by the music of human groans; even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and the blood of human sacrifices".

On three occasions the major's life had been in imminent peril from the United Irishmen. In May, 1798, he was attacked by the body-guard of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Watling Street. In September, 1798, one Jackson, while under *examination* at the Exchange, was seized by Major Sirr in the act of presenting a pistol at his breast.* At the latter part of the same year an attempt was made on the major's life in Capel Street, and was frustrated by Mr. Flannagan, a printer, formerly connected with *Carrick's Morning Post*. The major, in one instance, was unconsciously the occasion of saving the life of a fellow-creature, though at the cost of another, which was only sacrificed by mistake in the hurry of his official business. Two persons of the name of Farrell, who were suspected to have taken an active part with the insurgents at the battle of Vinegar Hill, were apprehended in the vicinity of Dublin. Such evidence as at that period was considered conclusive, was obtained against one of them, Mr. James Farrell, while the courts-martial were sitting. The major went in person to the provost, and ordered the prisoner to be brought forth. The wrong man was brought out—the summary process was gone through—he was executed. Mr. James Farrell was subsequently liberated, went to Spain, and became a partner in the house of Gordon, Murphy, and Company, of Cadiz. After some years he returned in opulent circumstances to London, and resided there for many years, highly respected, and honoured with the acquaintance even of the brother of his sovereign.

At the time that he was at the height of his prosperity, Major Sirr visited London: he went on 'Change accompanied by the lord-mayor, and

* See "Dublin Evening Post", 11th September, 1798.

† Mr. Flannagan, well known to the author, and by every one respected to whom known, is still living in Dublin,—a hale, hearty, honest man, upwards of ninety years of age. In 1797 he was a journeyman printer, employed on "The Press" newspaper; in 1857 he is still a journeyman printer in Dublin.

on that occasion Farrell was introduced to the major, and the latter was invited by him to dine at his house. Sirr had little idea that the merchant from whom he received the invitation, was one of the Vinegar Hill men whose fate had been in his hands. The major dined with Mr. James Farrell,—the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Savory (then of Bond Street, my informant) were of that dinner party. The twenty years that succeeded the rebellion were productive of extraordinary vicissitudes; and the one which brought the Vinegar Hill rebel and Major Sirr in social communion, was not the least singular. If we judge from Sirr's conduct on other similar occasions, had he recognized Farrell, the probability is, he would have felt gratified, and expressed his gratification, at the fortunate escape of the intended victim. The major's acts, in 1798, were all in the way of business, in the promotion of his own interests—his real zeal for those of his employers is very questionable. One of the delegates, who had been arrested at Bond's—a ship-owner of the name of Trenor—escaped from the charge of Sirr and Sandys in the Castle, and succeeded in getting out of the country. Many years subsequently, Trenor was permitted to visit Ireland; he had an interview with Sirr, and was treated by him with the utmost civility, and congratulated on his happy escape. Trenor was then a man well to do in the world, and he is still living in comfortable circumstances in America, to which country he again returned.

Sirr was more prosperous in his worldly affairs, and more prudent in his conduct, than his friend Sandys:—in 1808, he was appointed one of the police magistrates in the city; and, when a new army regulation made it necessary that the post of town-major should be filled by a military officer, he retired from the public service, with the signal honour of a letter of approbation from the Duke of York, written by his Royal Highness. Neither Abercrombie nor Moore could boast of any similar distinction for their services in Ireland—they were reserved for those of Henry Charles Sirr.

When the Whigs came into power, some twenty-seven years ago, the major felt it to be the duty of a loyal subject to shape his politics to those of the existing government. When reform began to be talked of at the Castle by gentlemen in office, and it had ceased to be the custom to consider all reformers traitors, the major became a reformer, and was one of those who attended a public meeting in Dublin on the occasion of the successful issue of the French revolution in 1830, and in approval of the principles then triumphant.

When Catholic emancipation had made Mr. O'Connell eligible as a candidate for the representation of Dublin, and there was nothing to be got or gained by supporting the ascendency—or lost by disobliging the decrepid corporation—the major voted for Mr. O'Connell.

Five-and-thirty years had intervened between the pillage of one Catholic leader's house, and the lodging of its owner in Newgate—and the giving of his vote to send another to the imperial parliament.*

The latter years of Major Sirr were spent in collecting curiosities, books,

* The house of Mr. Thomas Braughall, of Eccles Street, one of the leading members of the Catholic Committee, was ransacked by the major in 1798, and property to a considerable amount was destroyed and plundered. Braughall was then about 70 years of age, a prisoner in Newgate.

and pictures. He became an amateur, and, in his own opinion, a connoisseur, of works of art and virtu. The disposal of his effects, however, at his decease, showed how few claims he had to the latter title. He frequently attended the book-auctions at the sale-room of Mr. Sharpe, of Anglesea Street; and not very long before his death, he entered the sale-room just as Mr. Moore's work, *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, was put up for sale. The major's appearance at the moment of the casual announcement of that work, caused the bidding to go on briskly, and, among the bidders, passing comments on the merits of the work were not wanting. The major on that occasion made no addition to his library, nor was his stay at the auction-room of long duration.

The ruling passion of domineering over the humbler classes, he indulged in to the last, or at least endeavoured so to do, in the exercise of his magisterial authority; but the terror of his influence had passed away with the decline of the supreme legal power which was associated in men's minds with the name and exploits of Major Sirr in the good old times of 1798. He died on the 11th of January, 1841, and was interred on the 14th, in Werburgh Street church-yard, the burial place of his family. A broken tombstone over his remains, and those of his father and brother-in-law, bears the following inscription:—

"The place of burial
Of Major Sirr and Humphrey Minchin,
1790".

In the same place of interment, in one of the vaults of Werburgh's Church, the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are deposited, immediately under the chancel. There are two leaden coffins here, laid side by side; the shorter of the two is that which contains the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The upper part of the leaden coffin, in many places, has become decayed and encrusted with a white powder, and, in such places, the woollen cloth that lines the inner part of the coffin is visible, and still remains in a perfect state.

The entrance to the vault where the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are interred, is within a few paces of the grave of Charles Edward Sirr, by whose hand the former perished. The desperate struggle which took place between them, the one survived fifteen days, the other forty-three years. Few who visit the place where they are interred, will recall the history of both, without lamenting the errors which proved fatal to the life of Fitzgerald, and deploring the evils of the calamitous times which called the services of such a man as Sirr into action.

MAJOR SANDYS.

This gentleman served as a captain in the Longford militia, and married a daughter of Hamilton Gorges, Esq., of Kilbrue. His connection with this once opulent and respectable family, of high Tory and Protestant ascen-

dency principles, procured him official patronage. Mr. Edward Cooke, Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, had married another daughter of Mr. Gorge's. The captain, soon after his marriage, was appointed brigade-major to the garrison of Dublin. In 1797, '98, and '99, he presided over the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, a filthy, close, dark, and pestilential place of confinement, with a small court yard, and some ill-constructed sheds, set up to afford increased accommodation for the multitude of persons daily sent to the depôt.

There Major Sandys, the brother-in-law of the Under-Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant (one of the most thoroughly wicked and wantonly cruel of the renowned triumvirate of majors to whom the administration of the system of terrorism in the capital was committed) exercised his brutal instincts and truculent propensities with entire impunity, and consequently with undisguised effrontery.

The services of Sandys and his companion Sirr were not confined alone to the detection and apprehension of those who were charged with being implicated in the then pending conspiracy. To their especial discretion was also entrusted the procuration and maintenance of that species of evidence which it was necessary to produce for the conviction of those who were accused of treasonable acts. In this pursuit their efforts were greatly aided by the law; for, it was held that the evidence of a single witness was sufficient to sustain the proof of an overt act of treason in Ireland, although, according to the statute law in England, two witnesses were required to procure a conviction for high treason there. Thus, by a designed omission of the clause in the Irish act, the informer's tale was disincumbered of that check which the absence of sufficient corroboration or the contradictory evidence of another witness might afford.

Major Sandys carried on a regular trade in the official advantages of his functions in the prevot. He sold indulgences to the state prisoners, of a little more than the ordinary scant allowances of air, light, and food. He sold exemption from the taws and the triangles for money and for goods, for every marketable commodity. The unfortunate wretches detained for courts-martial, and delivered up after trial and condemnation, usually fell into the hands of this monster. A young man named Carroll, who was tried by court-martial in June, 1798, but not yet acquainted with the decision of the court, consigned to the tender mercies of Sandys, was one day eating his dinner with another prisoner, Mr. William Houston, a young surgeon, who had belonged to Mercer's Hospital, when he was startled by the sudden appearance of Sandys at the door, calling out in a loud voice—"*Carroll, come out; you are to be hanged*". The young man, terror-struck, threw down the knife and fork which he had in his hands, walked out of his dungeon, and in an instant the rope was put about his neck; he was forced down stairs, while Houston supplicated ineffectually the major for a respite even of a few minutes, in order to have a priest sent for, to prepare his young companion for eternity. He was thrust on a car which was in waiting at the door of the prevot, conveyed to the Old Bridge, and hanged there from a lamp post.

The dawn of better government in Ireland, of a milder administration of justice than that with which the Orangemen were entrusted, and their

partizans or *protegées*—town-majors, yeomanry captains and lieutenants, and police magistrates—about the close of 1802, was the beginning of a dark and dismal time to the Sirrs, Swans, Sandys, and their compeers. Their consequence to the state was gone; their former crimes against their fellow-citizens were even loathed by their employers. The majors, in the execution of Jemmy O'Brien, saw symptoms of a revulsion in the feelings of men in power, which made it plain that the reign of terrorism, their *regime* of blood, was over. Sirr gave himself up to "the fine arts", the police-court (where pickpockets instead of rebels engaged his worship's attention), and to the conventicles of the saints of these latter days, in his native city. Swan was not much of a swaddler or a saint; he stalked about Dublin for some years, an avoided man, with a cold, unruffled, and rather defiant look; a man, apparently, of callous feelings, but without any manifest predilection for great crime for its own sake.

MAJOR WILLS.

"*Major*" John Wills, an old police functionary, a magistrate for the counties of Dublin and Tipperary, a terrorist of 1798, an eminent pike finder, rebel-hunter, croppy-scourger, and of late years an active pursuer of rural rogues and vagrants, died in the odour of sanctity, at his residence near Lucan, in the early part of 1853, leaving property to the amount of upwards of £30,000. His merits as a Protestant ascendency magistrate, and his virtues as a Christian, were made the subject of a funeral oration at his interment, which was delivered by the Rev. Hugh Prior, of the Priests' Protection Society, over his remains. Mr. Wills was in receipt of a pension of £600 a year. He had been a serjeant in the Longford militia; he held an undefinable rank of major unattached in the army, but qualified to be sent to any place where his services might be required, and was considered on permanent duty. His remains were buried in St. Paul's Church, near Barrack Street.

MR. KERR.

Mr. Kerr, of Newtownards, in March, 1797, was arrested and sent on board a tender, subsequently sent to jail, and while in confinement became an informer. The informations he laid were against four respectable young men in the north of Ireland. Personal fear, and the arts of the major's officials, had gained another member for the battalion in Kerr. He was confined in the same jail with Neilson, Teeling, Russell, and M'Cracken; and a few days before the trial of the young men above mentioned, one of the state prisoners confined in Kilmainham jail (Charles Teeling), who was somewhat noted for his powers of mimicry and personation of other people, contrived to get admission, in the garb of a clergyman, to the

remote part of the prison where Kerr was concealed. Under the pretence of ministering to his spiritual wants and making him sensible of his former errors, he drew such a frightful picture of the calamities which perjury and treachery were calculated to draw on the families of the unfortunate victims of spies, etc., that Kerr, stung to the quick, confessed his intentions with respect to his former associates, and promised that nothing would ever induce him to give evidence against them that would do them hurt. The solemn-looking gentleman in black withdrew, returned to his companions, resumed his natural sprightly air, and told the result of his first efforts in his new calling: "We have rescued four men from death, and Kerr from perdition".* Kerr kept his word at the approaching assizes; he was, as usual on such occasions, newly dressed for the witness-box at the public expense, taken down to the assizes, escorted by a troop of dragoons, for the informers who attended at the assizes were, on most occasions similarly attended; but Kerr could not be got to swear up to the mark, and the men were accordingly acquitted.

FREDERICK DUTTON.

One of the informers who rose to distinction in 1798, was a Mr. Frederick Dutton, a native of England, some time settled at Newry, in the north of Ireland. His services were called into requisition on grand occasions, such as at the trial of O'Connor, Quigley, Burns, Allen, and Leary, in the May of 1798. Dutton commenced his career in the north, and was the predecessor of Mr. Newell. He had been a servant to a Mr. Carlisle, and discharged on an accusation of theft. He then became an informer, and was raised by Lord Carhampton to the rank of quarter-master in the corps of artillery in that quarter, in the years 1795 or 1796. When O'Connor and his companions were arrested at Margate, a treasonable paper purporting to be addressed by a secret political society in England to the directory in France, inviting the French to invade England, was said to have been found in the pocket of Quigley. It was produced on the trial, and falsely sworn to by Dutton (who was specially sent from Dublin) as being in the handwriting of Quigley.

The author has reason to know that Quigley was a member of the society of United Irishmen, but he had no connection with any English society. The circumstance of a treasonable paper of this kind having been left in the pocket of a great coat hung up in a public coffee-room, was an evidence of folly that the man's character repudiated, and to the last moment of his life he persisted in declaring that paper had never been in his possession. The fact is, the coat was mistaken for O'Connor's: it being the fashion at that period for persons of rank to wear powder, it was supposed to be O'Connor's. Quigley, unfortunately for him, did wear powder, and the circumstance proved fatal to him. A different version of this affair has been given by Mr. Scott, who was counsel for one of the prisoners at Maidstone.

* Teeling's "Narrative of the Irish Rebellion", p. 80.

The miscreant Newell, in his autobiography, thus alludes to Mr. Dutton: "On the 18th of November I received the following production of that champion of religion and good government, and of which the town and neighbourhood of Newry can bear testimony—Dutton:—

"'Dublin Castle, 16th November, 1797.

"'Dear Brother—I beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived here last night. There appears nothing in the *Press* either with or against us, therefore I don't think worth while to send it. Should any new thing make its appearance in the paper of this night, I shall send it to-morrow night, that is to say, if I do not sail for England before that. Mr. Kemmis, who I saw last night, tells me there is no less than five writs out against me; therefore you may well suppose if they should once lay hold of your celebrated brother, he will be as happy as if the devil had him. I would be glad you would write to me to Emerald House, Wrixham, near Chester, and let me know what you are up to. My best respects to the Murdochs; I hope when I return from England they will be able to put me in the way of earning a couple of hundreds; this they can't be off doing, if they wish to befriend me, for they must reasonably suppose that poor Dutton cannot carry on all those lawsuits without a great deal of cash. And where in the name of ——— is he to get it? I hope none of his friends would wish him to be hanged for robbing the mail-coach, or breaking into some of the banks . . . Tell them to think upon this business; they have until the 9th of next month. Reflect upon it, and absolutely they might as well be guilty of murder as to neglect it; for I must fee my council, and then you know there is another expense which I have not mentioned— . . . and I beg leave to subscribe myself

"'Your most affectionate and celebrated brother,

"'Fred. Dutton.

"'P.S.—I am now at Smith's, writing, and if you'd see his hair standing strait up on his head, you'd laugh, at my telling him the danger he must be in when he comes into court to give in evidence, as I tell him there is a probability that some one or other may absolutely have the boldness to shoot him in open court; he firmly believes it will be the case.

"'Lieutenant E. J. Newell, Esq., 9th Light Dragoons, Belfast'".

The services of Mr. Dutton did not remain unrewarded. In a letter from a settler in one of the most flourishing colonies of Australia, addressed to the publisher of the first edition of this work, it is stated that Mr. Frederick Dutton obtained an official situation in Holland, connected with the British government; that he was living about 1840 at Cuxhaven, married to a second wife, a step-daughter of the late William Pollock, Esq., of Newry, and holding some situation in the post-office department; that his sons went to Australia, speculated in mines, and became persons of great opulence and distinction there.

NEWELL.

John Edward Newell, whose autobiography will be given elsewhere, was a portrait-painter, a native of Downpatrick. He appears to have joined the society of United Irishmen for the purpose of advancing himself in life. He acquired a sufficient knowledge of his new business to enter into correspondence with the agents of the government in the spring of 1797. When he had obtained a good deal of money from government, he betrayed his employers, and published his correspondence with them. He concludes the latter in these words :—

"Having now submitted to the public, in my own illiterate stile, this production, the impartiality and truth of which my letters of correspondence (seized by Alderman Exshaw, and deposited in the Castle) will best show; and, if this voluntary publication of my own infamy, and proclaiming to the world the conduct of a desperate and wicked juncto, can in any degree make a restitution for the perjuries and crimes I have committed, my object is fully answered; and with every respect for that public to which I have been so great a traitor, I subscribe myself the public's most obedient servant,

"E. J. Newell".

Mr. Newell was murdered by the friends of those whom he had brought to the gallows.

HUGH WHEATLY.

"Remember-Orr" Wheatly.

One of the earliest of the informers was a soldier in a militia regiment, of the name of Wheatly, who commenced his career as a witness on the trial of William Orr, who was executed on his testimony at Carrickfergus in 1797. Wheatly's antecedents were by no means good, and so little trust could be put on his oath, even by juries of the right sort, that it was found necessary to back up his damaged testimony by the production of other witnesses less notoriously discredited. We find him in January, 1798, among the tag-rag and bob-tail of the major's battalion, receiving one guinea a week only for his services. However, I have reason to believe they were eventually recognized and rewarded, and that a son of this meritorious gentleman was known to me in another hemisphere.

In Western Australia I was acquainted with a gentleman, long settled in that colony, who had served in the same regiment with Wheatly, and from that gentleman, Captain Hester, I received the following information in 1844 :—

FROM CAPTAIN HESTER TO R. R. MADDEN, RESPECTING WHEATLY.

"Canning River, Western Australia.

"My dear Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge your note relative to the late Captain Wheatly, of the Royal West Middlesex Militia, to the best of my recollection, as I have not any of the army lists of that period. In answer to your queries, No. 1—Where did you first know him? At Silver Hill Barracks, Kent, in the Royal West Middlesex Militia, after his return from Egypt. No. 2—What regiment? He was then lieutenant, and wore the sphinx on his cap. He was a captain in 1820. No. 3—What aged man? In 1810 he appeared between thirty and forty. No. 4—How did he get his commission? I cannot say, nor could any of the officers. No. 5—What character? Not a very good one, being very dissipated. He swore to one woman being his wife, although we knew to the contrary; and the gentleman you allude to was the son of one of them, which he acknowledged to me when he visited my house on the Canning. Captain Wheatly was a very illiterate man; he could scarcely write a word. He came from the north of Ireland, and was a Protestant, he said. No. 6—What was his general conduct? He was commonly called the old rake. When I was last with our Colonel Bayly in France, and was returning to England, Colonel Bayly said to me that if I should see Captain Wheatly at Margate, not to speak to him. The commanding officers appeared always in fear of him. It was not because he had good pistols, for he never used them himself, but would lend them, as he did his cash, on interest. He was remarkable for his love of money and for his profligacy. No. 7—Was Captain Wheatly married? No, he was not. No. 8—Was he a temperate man? I never saw him drunk, although I have often dined at the mess with him, and been at the clubs in Ireland with him. He was a shrewd, cunning man. As he did not volunteer to serve on the Continent, I lost sight of him for a short period. I saw him in or about 1827 at Uxbridge, in the Royal West Middlesex Militia, where he was arresting some of his countrymen for debt, although his brother officers.

"I remain, my dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

"Thomas Hester.

"To the Hon. R. R. Madden, Esq., Colonial Secretary
"of Western Australia".

M'GOWAN.

M'Gowan, a Chelsea prisoner, appeared in January, 1798, as evidence against against John Ferris, charged with administering an unlawful oath. On his cross-examination by Mr. Curran, he admitted that he came from bridewell—that he was kept in confinement. Mr. Curran asked him: "Pray, who sent you up here?" The witness prevaricated, but being

pressed, he answered: "It was Major Sirr who sent me here. The major took me prisoner four or five months ago; I was then brought to the Castle. I told nothing the first day. I was threatened with being brought to a court-martial. I can't tell whether or not they intended to frighten me". Being asked, "if he had never been threatened with being hanged in the riding-house, if he did not inform", his answer was, "Who told you that?" The solicitor-general then took him to task, and he said he was not threatened to be hanged in the riding-house. He said he had been an United Irishman; he had one of their "constitutions" in his possession; had lent it to Mr. Hepenstal, who returned it to him, and he had lost it. The prisoner was acquitted.

JOHN HANLON.

John Hanlon, in 1796, swore against three men at Athy assizes, who were condemned on his evidence on a charge of Defenderism. Immediately after the trial, Hanlon lodged sworn informations against twelve men (including John Ratigan) for conspiring to murder him. In the indictment he is described as a soldier of artillery. Hanlon held a subordinate office in the Tower: he was one of the persons on the major's permanent list. In 1803 he accompanied the major to a house in the liberty, where information had been received of one of Robert Emmet's principal accomplices, Henry Howley, being concealed. The major, with his ordinary prudence, put Hanlon forward to arrest a man known to be of a most determined character, and the result of his discretion was, that Hanlon was shot by Howley, and, like unfortunate Ryan, lost his life, and the major, in both instances, remained unhurt.

The names of the informers of a lower grade, and the acts which chiefly gained them notoriety, are briefly noticed here, as their names frequently occur in documents that have reference to these times.

M'Cann was first produced by the major on the trial of a man of the name of Maguire; he broke down in his testimony. He was one of Lord Carhampton's *protegées*. Reference having been made on this trial to O'Brien's evidence, the major, on his examination respecting M'Cann's testimony, swore that "he thought as well of him (M'Cann) as of O'Brien". The jury believed neither, and they acquitted the prisoner.

Conlan was an apothecary in Dundalk, who swore against his own three cousins (a father and his two sons), who, being convicted on his evidence, were executed.

William Lawler was brought forward as a witness against the Defenders, in Dublin, in 1795. He broke down in his testimony on Leary's trial, and the prisoner was acquitted.*

Mitchell, one of the major's men, lived in Ship Street, and was employed in the seizure at Finnerty's office, in 1797.

* "Dublin Evening Post", September 23, 1797.

James Gray, of Tamlaght, gave evidence at the Londonderry assizes against William M'Keever, in September, 1797; broke down in his evidence, and the prisoner was acquitted.

Cooper, whose real name was Morgan, was a returned convict from transportation.

Walsh swore against a young gentleman of the name of Clinch, of Rathcoole, the preparation for whose execution, we are informed by Mr. Moore, was the occasion of the violent excitement of poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which hastened his dissolution. The only comment on Walsh's evidence which I shall offer, is a copy of a letter addressed to his father, immediately before his execution, for which I am indebted to one of his friends, still living in Dublin.*

"HONOURED FATHER,

"I expected to have seen or heard from you ere this. I fear my fate is determined; I am told I am to suffer death this day. It would be a great satisfaction to me to see you before I die; and if you could bring or send a priest to me, I think I could then die happy: at all events, I will meet my fate with fortitude.

"I would not for worlds exchange situations with Walsh, my prosecutor, who has behaved in the most base and treacherous manner, and swore to several falsehoods. His charges were as follow:—That I swore him to be true to the French, and that I was a serjeant in the rebels, and attended a meeting of serjeants, to elect a captain.—Dear father, I assure you the foregoing charges are false, and, as I hope for salvation, I declared the truth at the court-martial. I hope, dear father, you will bear this with fortitude, and comfort my dear mother on this trying occasion. I feel more for my friends than myself. My love to my dear sister Swords, Ann, Kitty, Fanny, Alicia, Michael, and Larrey, and my brother-in-law, Swords. As I am preparing for that awful moment, I beg you'll excuse any omission on my side.

"I am, honoured father, your ever dutiful and now unfortunate son,

"JOHN CLINCH.

"Provost Prison, June 2, 1798,
Eight o'clock in the morning."

The extent to which the system of espionage was carried on, will now hardly be thought credible.

In Sept., 1797, a Mr. Watkins, in the Castle, dieted Messrs. Newell, Murdoch, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermott, Kavanagh.

In Jan., 1798, Wheatly, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham, and Travers were on the major's list, at one guinea a week each.

In April, 1798, Major Sirr employed Doran, M'Allister, and Magrath, attending the assizes.

* Mr. Clinch was, I believe, the brother of the performer of his name, who was the most distinguished actor of the day in Ireland. His principal characters were Beverley, Oronooko, Joseph Surface, Jacques, etc. He was in vogue in Dublin in 1792, '93, '94, and '95.

In Jan., 1799, Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers, were the major's people.

In July, 1800, Major Sirr paid off half a dozen of the battalion,—Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Dan Gore, James Murphy, John Kearney.

In February, 1801, Wheatly was paid off.

In March, same year, the major lost the services of his friend and employée, James O'Brien, who was committed to jail on a charge of murder.

In July, 1801, Chapman, then in Cork, was paid off after one year and one month's service.

In August, 1801, Edward Lennon was "sent out of town" by Mr. Trevor.

In October, 1801, Hanlon was employed to bury Lennon.

In Dec., 1801, Campbell was paid for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan and Hughes, and Major Sirr discharged two men on his list, who were employed in the country at one guinea each.

In Feb., 1802, Major Sirr came to a final settlement with John Beckett, Mrs. Lennon, Mrs. Dunn, Charles M'Gowan, John Kearney, and Dan Cart——, in full of their claims.

In the latter part of the same month, Major Sirr settled also with Mrs. O'Brien, John Neil, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and J. H. Jackson.

In June, 1802, Coleman was settled with in full of all claims.

In Oct., 1802, John Conlan and E. O'Neil were discharged.

In May, 1803, Richard Chapman was paid off, and the major's people then were, Boyle, Carroll, Smith, and Farrell.

In Oct., 1803, Dr. Trevor paid off Ryan and Mahaffy, and Major Sirr settled with Condon for informing against Howley.

In November, 1803, the major's battalion had dwindled down to Carroll, Boylan, and a few minor miscreants, and at the end of that month, they likewise were paid off, and the major appears to be compelled to "abate his train", and to have experienced the fate of Lear at the hands of Goneril.

APPENDIX V.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SPIES AND INFORMERS, CHIEFLY OF 1798 AND 1803, WITH THEIR EMPLOYER, MAJOR SIRR.

THE following extracts from the volumes referred to in this work, contain the substance of some of the communications addressed to the major by the various members of his Battalion of Testimony, chiefly in the year 1803. These volumes, containing the original correspondence, after the major's death, were secured by the trustees of Trinity College, and are now deposited in the College Library, but are kept with so much care as to be very inaccessible to readers who are not of the elect in College politics.

DR. CONLAN'S INFORMATION AGAINST NICHOLAS MARKEY.

Dr. Conlan states, that at the prosecution of Messrs. Marmion and Hoey in Drogheda, he proved that James Nelly, of the Blackrock, near Dundalk, received the Barmeath rebel returns from Nicholas Markey, who was and is in Sir — Bellew's corps, which stated that the entire corps, save three or four men, were rebels. Marmion and Hoey were convicted and hanged. This is on record. Mr. M'Intaggert, of Drogheda, was agent for the crown. Matthew Read, the permanent serjeant, was also implicated.*

A LIST, SIGNED BY THE MAJOR, OF PERSONS IN THE PROVOST TO BE SENT ON BOARD.

(The list includes fifty-three names.)

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING W. P. M'CABE.

Goes by the name of Wm. Craig, or Montgomery; has a handsome bright chesnut mare, new saddle; possibly is at Russel's, where the mare

* It appears by a subsequent document that Markey was a serjeant of the yeomanry corps of Barmeath, had been in jail on a charge of treason, and that Mr. M'Intaggert was mayor of Drogheda.

is, at Bagenal Harvey's, or at Kirwan and Andrew's, Bride Street, mercers. Wears gray pantaloons, buttons outside, light coloured coat, made in the fashion.

VARIOUS MEMORANDA OF THE MAJOR.

Rattigan, when proclaimed, was sheltered at Dillon's, a calendrer, of Donnybrook, and Dillon gave M'Mahon a horse to go to the rebel camp. Fitzpatrick at Surgeon Wright's is a captain.

M'Mahon had to pass his note, payable at the end of the war, to the people of the mountain for provisions, etc., etc.

——— for making gunpowder was bought by Wright for M'Mahon.

THE PREVOST.

A list of persons in the prevost who ought to be discharged unless there is some charge brought against them. (It includes 125.)

Baronial (that meet at 3 Schoolhouse Lane:—

Thomas Connor, 87 Cook Street, president.
John Harding, carpenter, Corn Market, treasurer.
John Steel, Wormwood Gate, New Row (illegible).
William Woods, wire drawer, 7 Plunket Street.
Frederick Burk, 3 Pembroke Court, Castle Street, silversmith.
John Bulger, Chancery Lane, shoemaker.
Jonathan O'Brien, shoemaker, Golden Lane, Bride Street.
Benjamin Fitzgerald, silversmith, Cole Alley, captain.
Adam Murphy, 28 Fishamble Street, shoemaker.
—— Deegan, Fisher's Alley, entrance 8 Coal Quay, smith.
—— Mullen, Abbey Street, shoemaker.
Pat Hyland, wire drawer, Lower Cook Street.
John Lumley, Red Cow, near Rathcoole.
Pat Neil, Bluebell.
Rooney, butcher, opposite St. Patrick's (Patrick's Market).
Phil Power, Patrick's Market, butcher.
Burk, dairyman, near fountain, James's Street.
Thomas M'Laughlin, carpenter, ditto.
M. Cable, shoemaker, Back Lane.
—— L. G., secretary.
Charles Byrne, treasurer.
George Cartwright, 35 High Street.
George Robinson, Dolphin's Barn.
James Byrne, Back Lane.
John O'Donnell, High Street.
James Moore, Dolphin's Barn.
Thomas Byrne, tailor, George's Street.
Murphy, 55 High Street.
Macleroth, 182 Church Street.
Barney Kavenagh, 87 Cook Street.

INFORMATION TO THE MAJOR.

The writer states that in or about the 1st of August, 1797, he met John Dillon, Michael Shaughnessy, Thomas Darcy, and Thomas James, at a public-house in Fleet Street Lane. They addressed him and said: "We have finished Campbell"; and showed him his blood upon their stockings. Shaughnessy, whom Campbell was desirous of getting to join him in giving information, called a meeting in Fleet Street Lane, to appoint the above meeting. James Jackson was at the meeting; it was composed of about nine persons, and the above four were appointed to murder Campbell.—*No name.*

M'CABE, THE INFORMER RESPECTING NEILSON'S CAPTURE.

Charles O'Hara, now dead, was appointed to command (the United Irishmen of Dublin), in the room of Samuel Neilson, when he was taken in May, 1798. PATRICK M'CABE.

PATRICK M'CABE'S INFORMATION.

Arthur Hill, silk weaver, corner of Carman's Hall, lived with Murray, who now lives at the corner of Hope Lane, Francis Street. John Allen, who lived with Mark Nugent, 80 Francis Street, and served his time to M. O'Brien, woollen draper, Francis Street. Ross Burn, 7 Francis Street, woollen draper. These men were with Arthur O'Connor and Quigley, when taken in England. Hill went by the name of White; Allen by the name of Alley; Ross Burn by his own name, and were all destined for France. P. M'CABE.*

THOMAS JACKSON'S INFORMATIONS.

Thomas Jackson, of Cuffe Street, porter to M'Donnell, grocer, volunteered against his own society, and peached on them all, gave a list of names, residences, etc., on 8th May, 1798, his own master amongst the rest, who was the person who swore him.

The only remarkable person was "Cullen, of the Lawyer's Artillery, son-in-law of Mr. North, Camden Street".

In a list of nine persons committed to the tower for *high treason*, all by Major Sirr, save *Cloney*, of Craig, I find Robert Holmes, aged 37, Donny-

* Patrick M'Cabe, a calendrer of Francis Street, was the writer of the above letter. He was an informer of some note and standing, to the author's knowledge, in his class.

brook, barrister, 29th July; Thomas Cloney, aged 20, Graig, gentleman, 8th November; David Fitzgerald, 18 Crow Street, merchant, 22nd November. The other six for same offence, but marked as witnesses for the crown. Robert Holmes was the eminent barrister of that name. Thomas Cloney was the rebel general; and David Fitzgerald, the father of the present Right Honble. J. D. Fitzgerald, Attorney General.—*Year not given.*

Michael Donnelly, of Marystown, Cooksborough, was sworn a United Irishman by M. Fagan, Mullingar; was appointed captain of barony of Maghera, about April last. (Gives a list of nine sergeants). He went to Mullingar to give in his return. Present, *M'Cabe*, Belfast, etc.

He then details the preparations to take Mullingar. A Mr. William Ogle was to have headed the men in the attack.

ANDERSON'S INFORMATION.

Fitzgerald, a silversmith, works in Skinner Row, a private in the Rotundo division, was appointed a captain of a division on Tuesday, and has got his command. Burke, a silversmith in Pembroke Court, is appointed serjeant to the same division.

Every man is ordered to provide himself with a blanket, a haversack, a banner for their pike, and a week's provisions; the townsmen to act in the country, and the countrymen to act in the town.

A full baronial are to meet on Monday evening next, at eight o'clock, No. 3 Schoolhouse Lane. As they are now so numerous, a split must take place. The pass-word for that night, *Field.*

A subscription was opened this day for Turner, the proprietor of the forge where the pike-makers were taken at work, to send him out of the way, to prevent his appearing to prosecute the pike-makers.

Kilmore Smith, Dolphin's Barn, is making pikes from nine to eleven at night, the only time to catch him at work.

GREEN DIVISION, NO. 12.

April 23.—A baronial meeting took place at No. 3 Schoolhouse Lane, at Colbert's, at nine o'clock in the morning, when fourteen in number appeared; Thomas Cannon, a tailor, in the chair. Present, two. P. Fitzpatrick, yeoman in Stephen's Green division, a serjeant in United Irishmen. [Enumerates the others.] Collected money for expenses, and ordered a meeting on Tuesday at eight o'clock, to elect a captain. Strength of the city, 8,700, and 500 stand of arms for the Green division, and 2,500 pikes. Thomas Connor is the principal man, and is to give out the arms. Burke drilled a number of men yesterday evening (Sunday), between

Harold's Cross and Dolphin's Barn, opposite a stone-quarry, four-edged daggers are making, supposed by Burke.*

MEMORANDUM OF MAJOR SIRR.

Dublin Castle, March 29, 1798.

Henry Medcalf, of Elbow Lane, Meath Street, in the county of Dublin, came before me this day, and gave information, that he knows Mr. Harris, of Cole Alley, Meath Street, ribbon weaver, and from seditious and treasonable expressions which he often heard said Harris make use of, he has good reason to believe him to be a U. I. M., and has heard him declare he was one and ready to take down any bloody Orangeman or any person well affected to the king.†

TO MAJOR SIRR, FROM THOMAS O'HARA.

Honoured Sir,

With profound gratitude and respect I once more beg leave to address your goodness. As I am of opinion that it was not at your honour's desire that I was prosecuted by Mr. Mitchell (the engraver), on whose evidence I was found guilty, I still entertain strong hope and reliance on your kind promise to me (let what will be the consequence of my trial, you would befriend me after), and, honoured sir, rest assured I am well convinced of your great benevolence towards my unfortunate wife and children. Likewise, if your honour but once looked back to my unfortunate situation, I am persuaded you would redress me, as I am confident that the smallest application by your honour's interference would liberate me, as I know it is not your desire that I should be abandoned to all social society, and become a victim to the most obscene companions that Ireland could produce; and if it should be my good hap to obtain my invaluable liberty, and your honour but to take me into your protection, you shall find in me an acquisition that will make an attonement sufficient to compensate for my former proceedings, and also any trouble your honour is pleased to take with me, as I shall walk from henceforth in the path of truth and virtue. This is my fixed resolution, which I shall faithfully keep, relying on your honour's clemency to liberate me from bondage. I have only to add, that I feel an inevitable impulse to cherish the most sanguine hope that this supplication, as my last effort, will be attended with a favonrable issue in reception, and thereby crown the labours of a life that shall be devoted to your command, which I trust will be considered laudable in its principle and agreeable in its effect, and secure to

* Anderson elsewhere says that Burke has engaged to get arms out of the Ordnance, to give a case of pistols for 11s. 6d., and all other kinds of arms at like value. Duigan, of ——— Alley, engaged to find bullets and lead.

† Major Sirr's handwriting.

me your sanction and encouragement, to merit which will be my highest ambition, and the ultimate end of my pursuits through life.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, honoured Sir,

Your most devoted and very humble supplicant,

THOMAS O'HARA.

Geneva Barrack,
18th August, 1800.

P.S.—At your honour's discretion I would leave the kingdom if liberated, but most certainly you would not require it, as I would be of the most essential service to your honour in the city, more so than you can at present imagine. I hope your honour will excuse my incoherent lines, and also the length of this letter.

☞ I trust your honour will be pleased to give your answer to the within letter to William Simpson, New Prison, who will transmit it to me by post. N.B.—As to my behaviour since I arrived at Geneva, Colonel Hall, who commands the Devon and Cornwall regiments of Fencibles, will give me a character during his time of required.

To Major Henry C. Sirr, Castle, Dublin.

Waterford post-mark.

TO MAJOR SIRR, FROM THOMAS O'HARA.

HONOURED SIR,—Animated with a lively sense of your honour's kind advice to me against having anything to do with forgery, and yet I have persevered, contrary to your kind advice, whereby my apparatus and machinery, together with my person, were discovered and brought to justice by your honour's promptitude and vigilance, and also my accusation justly founded, in consequence of which I was sent to Geneva, agreeable to the laws of my king and country; and notwithstanding my present predicament, I absolutely consider myself happy to be arrested timely from so unwarrantable and illegal practice as I was in the habit of prior to my arrest, wherein my life and my soul was in peril. Therefore, if your honour will use your influence with government in my behalf, so as to have me liberated, I will arrange such projects, by having means provided (with the assistance of your letters), as will suppress the entire system of forgery in the above-mentioned towns, and likewise throughout this kingdom (proviso that my name will be kept secret), as I will have a general recourse to my former correspondence, who are now in the habit of buying these notes from those who manufacture them, and sell them again to country merchants and jobbers at a very advanced price or double profit. As these persons will consider me in the usual habit I was in heretofore, I am certain they will not hide anything from me, but communicate openly to me their mind without reserve, and also in consequence of which familiarity I will be enabled to suppress the entire fabrication of counterfeit bank-note making in the above said places, that is not immediately under your vigilant eye. I have wrote this letter at the request of some of the

officers now in Geneva, who are very desirous to have the men apprehended who made their escape from Geneva. [The writer then proceeds to state his ability, and the zeal he would use to have them recaptured.] As my property is totally done away, I trust your honour will use your influence (if you will tolerate me) with government that I may be liable to receive a yearly salary to enable me to support self and family, which yearly salary I will not demand until government and your honour will be satisfied that I have merited it by supporting and performing my promise, agreeable to the contents of this letter.

Your honour will please to give your answer to Leonard M'Nally, Esq., No. 20 Harcourt Street, Dublin, or to

THOMAS O'HARA.

Geneva, Nov. 11, 1800.

FROM J. BIRD TO MAJOR SIRR.

SIR,—On the enclosed sheets are the particulars that befell me from the hour I was so unfortunate as to quit the government till the period I was brought back a prisoner. I have taken the utmost care to omit nothing material, or write aught but facts, and if it can by any means tend to expiate the offences I was rash enough to commit, it would prove a great consolation to my mind. Could the power of man extend so far as to recall a past event, there is no sacrifice I would not willingly submit to, could it tend to eradicate the unmerited insult which, swayed by factious men and mistaken resentment, I committed against you. I repent it with sincere regret, and were not your mind infinitely superior to your vile traducers, I had experienced treatment very different from the indulgence (my conduct considered) I have met with.

I should, sir, have sent this account long since, but the close confinement, and occasional foul air caused by under drains, etc., have at times so affected my head as to incapacitate me from writing for a day or two together.

O'Brien called on me yesterday, to know if I knew of any treasonable conduct of Joseph Leeson.* From *personal knowledge*, I am sorry to say I do not, but am certain that himself and hypocritical brother were the chief agitators that first seduced from their allegiance the peasantry of the county of Wicklow, bordering on their uncle's estates; and a great pity it is that while the numerous and miserable victims to their infernal ambition are enveloped in every species of destruction, those demagogues, whose baleful influence and example first corrupted them, should escape that punishment they so richly merit.

* The "Joseph Leeson" so cavalierly referred to by the miscreant informer Bird, and carefully inquired after by the other miscreant in the service of Major Sirr, Mr. J. O'Brien, was the Honourable Joseph Leeson, of the county Wicklow, grandson of the Earl of Miltown. Mr. Leeson, in 1798, married Emily, daughter of Archibald Douglass, grand-daughter of General Douglass. The present earl, the eldest son of the preceding and fourth Earl of Miltown, was born in 1799; his brother, Henry, was born in 1800, and his sister, Cecilia, in 1801. The widow of the Right Honourable Joseph Leeson married, secondly, Valentine, Lord Cloncurry, and died on the 15th of January, 1841.—R. R. M.

I am, sir, with respect and gratitude, your most obedient, humble servant, BIRD.

Henry Charles Sirr, Esq.
(No date).

BIRD'S STATEMENT.

Referred to in the preceding letter.

Miles Dignam.—The first time I ever was in his company was at Mr. Hoyte's house, Peter's Place, the use of which was given to me by Mr. Hoyte, as soon as I quitted Mr. Moore's. Nothing material happened there, but he soon became more intimate, and told me I was lucky in acting as I had, for that times were changing, and that the leaders of the United Irishmen had infinitely more trouble to keep them quiet than the government. He recommended it to me to publish my memoirs with all possible speed, or I would reap little benefit by so doing, for that the people were now more inclined to fight than read, and that he could not tell one day before another on which the insurrection might begin. He asked me was I conversant in *military tactics*. I answered in the negative. He was pleased to tell me I was clever at the pen, and knew the CASTLE well; could I not have a plan for the taking of it, and give it to him, and he would give it for inspection to the military committee, who, he said, would examine every plan offered, and from the whole extract the best. I told him I would attempt it, but I never did so. Very soon after this, he (Dignam) informed me that a plan was formed for the capture of Dublin. He explained it to me as follows, viz. :—As soon as the inhabitants of Dublin were ready to revolt, notice was to be given to the six adjoining counties, within three hours' march, to send in four thousand men each (which number he said were to be formed within six miles of Dublin, and could reach it in at least two hours, on a pinch), 12,000 of whom were to assist the citizens of Dublin against their infernal enemies; the remaining 12,000 to keep off the soldiers in the country from assisting those in the town. Of the success of this plan he seemed very confident, but of another he seemed still more so, could it be properly reduced to shape, which had nothing to do with Dublin, which, after explaining the outlines, he also invited me to prepare. This plan was as follows :—As soon as the executive should deem themselves strong enough to begin the insurrection, notice should be sent by confidential persons from the provinces to the counties, thence to the baronial committees, commanding every barony to revolt at the same hour, and to secure the persons of consequence resident therein, as hostages for the safety of the prisoners, as well as to prevent the army from firing on the United Irishmen, which in that case could not fire on them without killing their own friends. This plan he called a very humane one, as it would prevent a vast effusion of blood.

I called on Mr. Dignam one evening, on my return from Fingall, where I had been in company with M'Dermott, to seek lodgings. I found him at home, in high spirits, owing, as he said, to the flourishing state of affairs. The returns from Munster, he said, were just arrived: 11,000

infantry and 900 horse, he said, were ready any moment they might be wanting, well armed and well equipped. He asked me had I seen the military, but I answered I had not; he handed over a list of tests, printed on *c* [in MS.] fine paper, I believe, about four inches wide, the purpose of which, I think, was to keep the United Irishmen from rising, without order from their superior officers, as it began with privates, and extended up to the colonels, etc. He was telling me things of this sort, very rapidly talking, of the Castle, etc., etc., when I [illegible—qy. hindered or stopped] him on account of M'Dermott, in whom I did not wish to confide; he then sent him for a coach, in which I and M'Dermott returned to Old Merrion.

O'Brien's affair happened in three days after this, of which I wrote to Dignam, as before related. He came to me in the evening, not rightly understanding the affair, as I wrote to him about the arms in an obscure manner. I told him the particulars, and that I wished O'Brien and himself to settle about them. I saw Dignam after this once more: he came to receive orders for such things as I would have occasion for. He said my bill was near thirty pounds, and that some of my *friends* seemed to think him foolish to trust me when I had no means of payment: but he said he would [*qy.* not?] deny me. He told me he had entered into the military department, and had little doubt but he would lose his life in the business: in which case, he instructed me to remember his children, and he took his leave of me and my wife in the most affectionate manner. This was in the evening, previous to my quitting my lodgings at Mr. M'Dermott's, since which I never saw him, but heard from him once or twice.

COMMUNICATION OF BIRD TO THE MAJOR RESPECTING ROBERT WHITE, PRINTER.

In a former paper I gave some details of this person, who has done as much to the injury of the crown as any of his capacity could. He told me he had a private printing press in his mother's house, in a back and very private apartment, and used to print and circulate a vast number of inflammatory hand-bills, [a word illegible] song-books, etc. He was very intimate with M'Dermott; he was lately in danger of being taken, on account of some song-books he sold to a retailer, who, if taken (he was sworn against), he was afraid would inform against himself. He once gave me to understand he knew all about the printing of the *Union Star*.

The paper above alluded to is the following:—One Maguire, curate to Conolly, parish-priest of the Blackrock, with whom I became acquainted at Mrs. M'Dermott's, Old Merrion, told me that he had been very active in the county Wicklow, and had put a great many up. He said there was at least 13,000 pikes in that county, which was properly organized; that all the Portarlington corps of yeomanry was up, except nine. He gave me a printed paper purporting to be an order from the committee of the city of Dublin, ordering the people to organize and arm with all possible despatch; to organize themselves into divisions of twelve each, and a secretary, as near neighbours as possible, to defeat spies and informers; ordered them to be *steady*, ready, determined, etc., etc. He

told me he was after a visit to Lord Edward F., in whose praise he was profuse; said there would be a committee for the county of Dublin meet next day. He assured me that in case Arthur O'Connor should be transmitted from England, an attempt by armed boats would be made to rescue him, I think at the Head. He was likewise acquainted with Dignam, who had just before told me the returns of Munster were received. He asked me did I know who brought them; I replied not. "I suppose", says Maguire, "'twas a *Captain Morris*,* who is very active in that country, and wants to get into the provincial, and has been in the French service. He told me that Connolly, his priest, was to sit with the committee which was taken at Bond's house, and had a very narrow escape, etc., etc. William M'Dermott and all his family spoke of this Maguire as a very staunch republican, before I saw him. Said that, when he was reading the prayer for the royal family, he used at times, as by a mistake, to pray for George II., George IV., etc., etc.

A few days before I quitted Old Merrion, a young man named O'Brien came to me, saying that he heard I was connected with the heads of the United Irishmen, and he wanted to speak to me on particular business, which was respecting some arms which were offered to him by a person in or near Loughlinstown camp. This person, he said, got together by some means or other about 160 muskets and 5,000 rounds of ball cartridge, which he wished to dispose of to the United Irishmen at prime cost, or even to let them have them on any terms to be rid of them, but knew not who to apply to. I told him I wondered how he could possibly get so much ammunition without being detected. I believe he replied, the person served the officers with wine and liquor, and he supposed he might procure them from deserters or the stores, but be that as it would, *he had the arms*, etc., and wished to put them out of his custody. I told him I had nothing to do with it myself, but would recommend him to *Miles Dignam*, who would soon settle the business. He seemed pleased at the idea of my introducing him to the acquaintance of *Dignam;* said he once met Lord Edward in a society, and would have applied to him only for fear Lord Edward should be offended. He said he wished to organize the United Irishmen about Old Merrion, in which job he requested my assistance. That I told him I must decline too, but Bill M'Dermot would do much better. He told me part of signs of United Irishmen, and that after, when Lord Edward passed by him, and now desiring he would throw out a sign, on purpose to make his lordship answer them, which he always did. He was a foot yeoman, belonging to, I *believe*, Upper-Cross Fusileers, but that he intended to enter in the Stephen's Green division, to avoid suspicion, as he had not for a good while attended on the other, of whom he spoke as of a low set. He breakfasted with me following morning, and repeated all he said before of the arms, etc. I accordingly wrote to Dignam that same day, I believe by O'Brien himself, but of that am not certain. But as he was going to town from breakfasting with me, he saw the corps of yeomen he belonged to making towards him; he leaped over the wall, near Baggotrath Castle, and very narrowly escaped being taken, as they

* The priest Quigley assumed that name.

were in pursuit of him. I quitted Merrion very soon after this, but Dignam came to me concerning O'Brien, and was very well pleased with my sending to him about it, and the last time that I saw Dignam, he told me he had secured, or was about securing, the arms O'Brien spoke of.

Robert White, printer, an intimate friend of M'Dermott, and at that time shopman to Chambers, printer, in Abbey Street, was introduced to my acquaintance as a very active United Irishman the day after last Patrick's day. White gave me a handbill, printed by himself, addressed to the United Irishmen of Dublin, and earnestly exhorting them to quit drinking whiskey, with a text to that effect underneath. He said many thousand persons took it the first day. He printed political song books, etc., as well as watch papers, with a monument to Orr. He was lately printing some new thing concerning O'Connor, Hart, and Orr. He told me one night he left a parcel of men learning their exercise in Chambers's drawing-room. He said he could get plenty of arms, and offered to get me a yeoman's sword for 9s., brace of pistols, 12s., a dagger, 3s. 9½d.; the sword and pistols to come from the Ordnance Stores.

BIRD'S STATEMENT CONTINUED.—TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN FINGALL.

James O'Reily, or James Riely, assured me that the people called him an Orangeman. He was *up*, and worked as well to the cause as any man. William M'Dermott, of Old Merrion, told me he *put* James Reily *up*, or was present at the putting of him up; I am not certain which. James Reily is a Protestant, and belongs to the cavalry commanded by Hans Hamilton, Esq., etc. Luke Reily, brother to the above, made himself known to me as a United Irishman without reserve. He said notice for the *Fingallians* to prepare for an insurrection had been sent from Dublin to their secretary, at which he seemed much pleased. He said the only object he had in becoming a United Irishman was to possess the lands he rented (about 400 acres), on which he had toiled all his life, and thought he had a just right to hold them without rent, as soon as the United Irishmen conquered the government. Reily spoke this in presence of my wife one Sunday evening, and said the same at other times to me. He used to sing republican songs, and the day before I left him he said the secretary had been round to warn the people of me, suspecting me to be an Orangeman. This Luke Reily follows the Catholic Church. He said Fingall was, in general, organized and armed, but that pikes were wanting. At this time a carpenter was working in the house, from which place he was one night sent for by a neighbouring farmer in a great hurry, but neglected going, either by staying to finish Reily's job or some other cause. About twelve o'clock at night the house took fire and was entirely consumed. In a day or two after which accident, as Luke Reily and I were discoursing of the arms of the United Irishmen, he told me that the fire was occasioned by a young man or two (sons of the former, whose house was burned) sitting up with a candle lighted, waiting for the carpenter

coming to make *pike-shafts*, in consequence of orders sent by the committee of the county of Dublin, and that near £300 were lost in notes and cash, exclusive of the furniture, house, etc.

This carpenter was a confidential man, and, of course, must know of a great quantity of arms; [*some ommission here*] and should *the Reilys* prove who are the *secretaries*, etc., it would tend to the total disarming of that part of the country. Reilys reported the priest of Lispale as a United Irishman, as well as Seagrave, Linahan, and Langan, whom they said were intimate friends of Matt Dowling.

From this place, by recommendation of M'Dermott, I went to Warren's, of Downstown, county of Meath. Robert Warren (in custody) told me he was a United Irishman, as were his brothers and M'Dermott, but that he quitted the king's service as a yeoman as soon as he was put up. Camill or Cahill, curate to the parish priest of Duleek, was spoken of by M'Dermott, Warren, etc., as a United Irishman. Robert White, late an apprentice to Chambers, of Abbey Street, was pointed out to me as a very active United Irishman, and had made a great many at Lispale, Duleek, etc.

Morgan Warren (brother of Robert Warren), lately executed, was very generally believed to have had a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, etc., of which it is probable White or M'Dermott knows the particulars.

The inhabitants of the barony of Duleek were represented to me as disaffected in general, except such as were Protestants, who were almost entirely steady loyalists. I could never discover whether the disaffected were organized or armed. M'Dermott and Warren very often told me that the Gormanstown cavalry were nearly all United Irishmen, and that the few who were not up had been so but for the apprehension of Bond, etc., and which report was credited by the country in general.

A person named Michael Farley, farmer, of the Carns, near Duleek, informed me that I was suspected to be a spy by the neighbours. I told him of my connection with Dignam, Dowling, etc., to whom he or they might apply for my character. He was satisfied, and told me that a *Baker* had gone to France with the intelligence of the state of Ireland. I soon afterwards learned this person's name was M'Nally, a smuggler, of Rush or Lusk, and that he knew of some pieces of cannon, with which he was marching towards *Tarragh* the evening of the battle, but, on hearing of the defeat of the rebels, he returned and buried the cannon, arms, etc., to wait a more favourable opportunity of revolting: this was related to me by a person named Brannan or Brennan, whose brother was discharged by Lord Enniskillen at Drogheda. He seemed to be very deeply in the secrets of the United Irishmen of Meath and Dublin, and said he was very intimate with Murphy, at whose house Fitzgerald was taken. He said if the United Irishmen were beat in Wexford, it would be all over with them, unless the French landed; he told me that himself. One Manging, an officer of the rebel army, and Carl or Carrol, of Balinstown, ditto, ditto, and one West, and five or six others, whose names he did not mention, intended going over to France, by means of M'Nally, of Rush, aforesaid, for which they were to pay ten guineas in gold each person, and that his was ready. He spoke a good deal of a person named Markey, whom I understood from many people was a principal United Irishman in those

parts, as were *Tiernan*, of Garistown, *Doolan*, of Ardoath, and *Richard Langan*, belonging to Dillon's volunteers. Those persons, to a certainty, being the first United Irishman in those places.

ANOTHER COMMUNICATION FROM BIRD.

Hugh Crook, clerk to Mr. Dowling, speaking of George Howell, Justice Wilson's clerk, told me that there was not a more active United Irishman in Dublin than he was, and that he had done a great deal of good in the county of Wicklow (meaning that he had made a great many United Irishmen), and that he swore very hard against O'Brien, and was the chief means of saving *Finny* from being hanged; that he would go any length to save a United Irishman, or destroy an informer. He told me more which I forget, but am sure he named some committee to which Howell belonged. Mr. Dowling, speaking of Howell, said the same that Crook did, with this addition, that when anything bad came to his knowledge against a United Irishman, he never failed giving them intelligence to escape it, and that he would swear through a brick wall upon occasion. In the county of Wicklow he was very much talked of as a United Irishman. One Cummins, of Ballatois, who was sworn against as a United Irishman, told me had often escaped by Howell's means.

J. Bird.

FROM J. BIRD TO MAJOR SIRR.

On 20th January, Bird writes to have inquiries made of Mr. Hoyte, Kennedy's Lane, about his wife, and states that he was at the time eighty-one miles from Manchester, where the letter was posted, thinking that Manchester letters were less liable to suspicion than others. He speaks of his fear of his wife being dead, and writes as if he loved her much; and speaks of having "a fair prospect of tranquil peace". Mary Bird, his wife, writes a very curious letter, asking money to take her to England—badly spelled, worse written, and worse again in style—saying she must perish for want, or be "obigated to aply to goverment, and do what might inger you and your friendes"; and reminding the person to whom she writes, that she ought not be treated cooly by "gentlemen who Mr. Bird all ways strove to sarve". [There is no date or superscription, but it probably was addressed to Major Sirr.]

INFORMATION ADDRESSED TO CAPTAIN MEDLICOTT.

The secretary of the district read the underneath, and gave a copy of it to the Baronial Secretary, Sunday, 6th:—

1st—A return of the number of guns in each regiment to each colonel of baronial company.

2nd—Six good flints and a certain quantity of powder to be got for the guns immediately.

3rd—A man in each baronial company who understands cartridges and carries stock for each company—this man to instruct one in each.

4th—A bullet-caster to be got for each company.

5th—Powder on no account to be buried, and shall be in the power of the colonel, or some shopkeeper that can be depended on.

6th—A person to be got who has served in the army, who understands drilling—one for each regiment or baronial company—to serve as adjutant to drill the captain; the captain to drill the serjeants; and the serjeants to drill the men. This man to go round the companies in rotation; to be paid by each baronial company.

7th—A standard to be got for each company; the staff to be ten feet long—a spike at the end; the flag to be green stuff, two feet square.

8th—Each company to find a horn; the person that is to use it to learn three sounds—first, an assembly; second, a charge; third, a call for the captain.

9th—Each man to be provided with one week's provisions; every serjeant to be provided with two kettles or pots; each serjeant to be provided with one shovel; every second division with a sack; every third division with a pickaxe and billhook; every company with a good car and horse, and straps for each man to carry his greatcoat and blanket; also, a small bowl, a can, with a spoon; also, a piece of green stuff for the head of his pike, as it has great effect to frighten the cavalry.

[N.B.—The above is directed on outside to Captain Medlicott, and folded like a letter. I find that Captain Medlicott was a companion of Major Sirr's, in some of his excursions in search of the patriots.]

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD, IN MAJOR SIRR'S HANDWRITING.

The attack on 18th May in Watling Street was reported to Neilson next day; he was informed I was stabbed, and that I wounded two—one desperately with cuts and stabs, whose life is despaired of; one very nearly connected with him was in the affray; one of the party was certainly taken, who he says is a Scotchman. He dined with Lord Edward Fitzgerald the day his lordship was taken, and had only left him about an hour before. He and Lord Edward were taken about five weeks ago, at the hill above Palmerstown, by a patrol of the artillery, commanded by a young officer. Lord Edward was in the disguise of a labouring man, and both were on common car horses, but good trotters. Neilson pretended to be dead drunk, and after being in custody for some time, were again liberated.

Lord Edward did lodge at Murphy's about three weeks, and Neilson took from it, and removed him frequently; Lord Edward was certainly removed the 18th May, and went through Watling Street the time of the attack. Neilson declares that he collected fourteen men to rescue Lord

Edward on the night he was taken, which he would certainly have. [The memorandum breaks off here.]

FROM EDWARD CORMAC.—CATHOLIC LEADERS IN 1792.

(Extract from a letter.)

Thurles, 6th October, 1792.

. . . . I am endeavouring to push forward the Waterford election. Doctor Egan will not oppose it. He is horrid. Still it will go on. I am happy that the mare pleases you. I have drawn for five guineas already. I am informed that only 16 (sixteen) attended at your county election last Thursday. I am also informed that the Catholics speak too loudly in the porter-houses of the number of armed men that they can bring into the field. Such language is too intemperate.

From Edward Cormac to Mr. Richard Cormac,
Mark's Alley, Dublin.

Richard M'Cormick, a silk mercer, of Mark's Alley, was, in 1792, one of the Catholic leaders.

FROM HENRY HAYDEN TO MAJOR SIRR.

(Extract.)

Dublin, 28th May, 1803.

Sir,—Agreeable to your desire, I state the terms on which I would undertake to take Dwyer or any of his party. As I should give up a place of profit to me . . . I should be allowed ensign's pay as an equivalent, and have it made permanent to me by some situation; which permanency I would not demand if I did not make it appear to at least two magistrates of the neighbourhood to have done as much as I possibly could towards attaining my purpose. But that if I did succeed, I should get a permanent place of at least twice an ensign's pay, or the reward offered by government . . . . As I would be at expense in a variety of ways in making acquaintance with the people who harbour Dwyer and his party, I would receive twelve guineas, which should not be afterwards stopped.

I am, sir, etc.,

Henry Hayden.

To Major Sirr.

FROM JOHN DILLON, INFORMER, TO MAJOR SIRR.

Writes a letter, dated May 31st, 1803, Gormanstown, in which he states that he has received a delegate from Dublin by the disaffected; that he attended their meetings, and that, by the advice of a Captain Ralph Smyth, he would remain another week in the country; that he had the

names of the society in his pocket. He adds, "Show this to the secretary, and enclose one of the former notes". The letter is addressed to Major Sirr.

PAPERS OF RUSSELL IN THE COLLECTION OF MAJOR SIRR.—ARTHUR TONE—SUBSTANCE OF LETTERS ADDRESSED TO RUSSELL.

Matilda Tone, in one of her letters addressed to Thomas Russell, speaks of Arthur having been taken from the business he chose for himself, contrary to his father's wishes; and mentions his being about to be bound to some other business, in such a way as to lead one to believe that it was at the wish and through the exertion of Russell and the other friends of Tone in Belfast. Speaking of the fee, she says his father and she will give ten guineas if the other twenty are forthcoming. The letter appears to have been written prior to Theobald Wolfe Tone's departure for America.

Arthur Tone wrote a very bad hand; in writing to Russell, he makes use of this phrase, "My father says, by God I shall not stay here", and asks advice of Russell. He could not at the time have been more than thirteen to fourteen years of age.

July 25, 1803—£660.

July 25, 1803, at 10¼ or half-past.

Walter Byrne, of 13 Meath Street, and John Andrews, 63 Bridgefoot Street, were found concealed in Mrs. Madden's house, 36 Thomas Street, after Mrs. Madden and all the people who appeared in her house had declared there was no men concealed there. When these men were found concealed in a small closet or parlour in her shop, she admitted she knew they were there half-an-hour, but no longer. Her boy, Robert Shannon, being examined, deponent said they were there since the shop was shut, which was at twenty-five minutes after eight that evening. It was therefore thought necessary to take them into custody.

THERE WAS ALSO SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY GUINEAS FOUND CONCEALED IN HER HOUSE, WHICH WAS RECKONED BY MRS. MADDEN, TIED UP IN A BAG, SEALED AND HANDED TO CAPTAIN SINNETT. THE GUINEAS WERE IN ROLLS OF TWENTY EACH, AND THERE WAS ONLY SOME OF THEM RESTORED.

THOMAS R. ALLOTT, JOHN. T. SINNETT,
Captains, Liberty Rangers.

Newtownards, 1803.

Manus Corry, lieutenant-colonel of the South Downshire, under date July 28, 1803, recommends Major Sirr to send two men to the quarter, who should remain at Donaghadee, as he had been informed that several persons had returned without permission of government. "I have myself lately (on the arrival of the packets) seen several persons landed from them, of the most suspicious appearance—men who, from their dress and manners, I should have expected would have travelled post, but, on the contrary, walked into the country, and were not known by any of the loyal people here".

PIKES.

Sir,—I request to inform you that, on going to my house about half-an-hour ago, I perceived lying by a wall adjoining, apparently a piece of square timber, but on close inspection found it to be a packing-case very artificially made, so as to resemble timber in the log, which, on opening, I found to contain forty-one pikes mounted (both handles and heads). I request to know what you would recommend me to have done with them, or where I shall send them.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
John Gibson,
Architect of the Barrack Depot.

Major Sirr.
(No date—supposed to be 1803.)

Father Nowlan, of Rathvilly.

Spoke to his parishioners about one Nowlan, a rebel and robber, in strong terms, recommending that such be given up to the magistrates. Twelve months after, Michael Nowlan came to the chapel, and called the priest an informer and a turncoat; a row ensued, but the priest's party had to make their escape with a good drubbing.

[The above is the substance of a letter to Major Sirr, from Baltinglass, by Francis Derinzy, captain in Shadford Lodge Infantry, August 4, 1803.]

FROM JOEL HULBERT TO MAJOR SIRR.

Monastereven, August 1, 1803.

Sir,—That the following is authentic information, I beg of you to make no doubt of. There is a man in Kilmainham of the name of Barnwell, who keeps a public house nearly opposite the jail, and some short time back had regularly meetings of United Irishmen at his house, from between seven and eight o'clock in the evening until two and three o'clock in the morning. The chairman's name is Peter Brophy; he and his brother, John Brophy, both gardeners, live the next house to Mr. Dixon, tanner, Kilmainham. He always takes the chair dressed in a white jacket, with green facings, and silver epaulets, and a long white wand in his hand. . . . This Barnwell is a most bigoted Papist.

Joel Hulbert.

Further communication and inquiry of same writer.—If it be true that Mr. James Wm. Osborne, formerly a member of the attorney corps, and now of Mr. Cassidy's, had been struck off the attorneys' corps for disaffection? Desires to know if such be the case.

* This letter is deserving of particular attention The first communication of the Monastereven correspondent of the major, which I saw, was signed J. F. H. The recollection of the initials F. H., in the secret service money list

LETTER OF THOMAS COOKE, OF SKINNERS' ALLEY, TO HIS WIFE, FROM NEWGATE.

My dear Catherine,— . . . I am confident that your heart is here, while your body is in liberty—must I say, with me immured within the walls of a prison; but hope in God, and fear not what man can do to me. . . Do not fret nor injure your health by a depression of spirits: health is a blessing that makes the king and the beggar equally happy; but the want of it embitters the enjoyment of all other temporal blessings, and makes the child of sorrow and wretchedness more unhappy. My constant prayer, both night and day, for you and my dear little children. May God, of His infinite mercy, keep you from the hands of your enemy, and that God may be a father to them when I am dead and gone; and after this short and miserable valley of tears, may I see and meet you, my virtuous companion, in the kingdom of Heaven, which is all the prayer I wish for, and that you may, for my sake, meet a better and lovinger companion than I have proved to you, to end your days with. So, no more at present... This is the last letter you shall ever receive from me here. My pen has failed me, so, till death, I remain faithful, and have you in memory.

Thomas Cooke.

September 15, 1797. Newgate.

N.B.— . . . "Blessed are they who suffer for justice sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.

FROM BARON SMITH TO MAJOR SIRR.

Downpatrick, March 20.

Sir,—Of the the three prisoners who were convicted before me (Devine, Byrne, and Smyth), the two former have suffered, and the latter is respited until further orders. On the evidence, there were circumstances which, in the opinion of the other judge, as well as in mine, manifestly distinguished his case from that of the two others. At the same time, having heard that Smyth is an old offender, I am desirous that he should not be made an object of mercy, to which he is not entitled. The evidence on his trial, if it stood alone, would, I think, completely warrant me in recommending him; but as in doing so I exercise a discretion, I will not

prefixed to the reward of £1,000 for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, caused me to make a good deal of inquiry respecting this correspondent, and previous even to the discovery in Sirr's papers of a letter of the writer, bearing the name in full of Joel Hulbert, I discovered that a person of this name, in 1800, had been a resident in Monastereven, a carver and gilder by trade—one of the privileged order, of the exclusively loyal class and church; and yet Mr. Joel Hulbert, in private, was known to entertain, or at least express, very republican sentiments and Tom-Paineish opinions. About two years after the rebellion he obtained the situation of collector of the tolls of the Grand Canal, at Monastereven. He died there in 1816 or 1817. He never had the appearance of being in the receipt of large sums of money. A person of his name followed the business of a carver and gilder, in Abbey Street, within the last ten or twelve years. He had two sons, George and William: both obtained situations on the Grand Canal—one at Mountmellick, the other at Philipstown.

shut my eyes against his general character, provided I receive it from respectable and authentic sources. You have already had the goodness to give me some information about Smyth, but at the time when I made the application, and received your answer, I was extremely occupied, and therefore am under a sort of necessity of troubling you again. I make no apology for doing so. I have an object, in attaining which I know you will be glad to coöperate. I wish to endeavour to have mercy extended to Smyth, IF *he deserves it*, and not to make any such application IF *he does not*. Sixteen persons have received sentence of death at Dundalk, and my wish is, to select from those the fittest subjects for mercy. This, I admit, is an awkward application. I beg, however, to assure you, that any information which you may give me, though *I act upon it, I never shall communicate.*

I have every reason to suppose you a humane man, and therefore I shall only take the liberty of cautioning you against any false delicacy in answering my present application. We have a common wish, viz., that if Smyth be a notorious and atrocious offender, he should suffer, and if he be not, that mercy should be extended to him.

You will really oblige me by answering this application with promptness, and not hesitating to state anything which you think should induce me to decline interfering in Smyth's favour. We shall go into Carrickfergus on Friday. I again ask pardon for giving you this trouble, and have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

"A PROTESTANT" INFORMER TO MAJOR SIRR.

An *informer* designating himself as a Protestant, writes to say that Thomas Regan, servant to Mr. Rooney, distiller, 28 Watling Street, is a big rebel, and that, if handled rightly, can give much valuable information, and recommends the major to try the "worm-tub" for arms.

FROM E. CLIBBORN, ESQ., TO THE MAJOR.—A. O'CONNOR—1803.

Moate, August 9, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,— . . . I have been informed this day that Arthur O'Connor has been in the neighbourhood of Kilbeggan. John Warneford Armstrong says that Charles Clerk, commonly called Captain Clerk, told him he met him on Saturday last, near Kilbeggan, in company with one Counell, a smith. [He then adds that he requested information as to the dress of the person supposed to be O'Connor, but had not got it.]

(Signed) GEORGE CLIBBORN.

FROM R. L. TO MAJOR SIRR.

August 8, 1803.

"Sir,—Having an opportunity of knowing Mr. Sampson for some time, I have found out that he has made and disposed of more pike-handles than any man in Ireland. I have known him to damn the king, and acknowledge himself a Jacobin. . . He is an Englishman, and has two sons Jacobins. R. L.

MR. C. GREENWOOD, OF BELFAST, TO MAJOR SRIR.

Belfast, December 10, 1806.

Sir,—Though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, yet my knowledge of your public character induces me to place that confidence in you which others might prefer placing in some neighbouring magistrate, as I know that the magistrate who has often ventured his life in detecting the desperadoes who sought to overturn the government, and introduce hordes of French ruffians in place of our constitutional defenders,—I say that the man who has done so much will, I am confident, preserve my secret (I mean the secret of my name) as he would that of his brother. In short, sir, my situation in life is comfortable, but wishing to improve, I intended going to Buenos Ayres, but failed through some disappointments. In the mean time it was recommended to me to become a freemason; the person who caused me to become one, shortly after introduced me into a society, seemingly formed for religious purposes, but in reality for the destruction of the government, by bringing about a revolution in Church and State. They are denominated among the higher classes, *Unitos Fratres*, and among the lower classes *Ezekielites*. I am sorry to say that they reckon among their numbers several who have hitherto been denominated loyal. The constitution comprises twelve pages, formed so as to deceive the uninitiated, and is entrusted to secretaries only, to which situation I was chosen on Wednesday last, the day of our meeting, which is on the first Wednesday of each month. The military committee meets the second Sunday, and the commanders the night following, in order to receive reports. I am much in confidence, from the strong recommendation of my friend, whose name I will on no account discover. The only reward I shall draw is your interest to procure an ensigncy for me in some regiment going to Buenos Ayres; or, if this should not be complied with, I am satisfied to remain in town here, and procure all the information in my power. If you can come down, come immediately, and, as you are in the commission for every county in Ireland, you can take up the following persons, viz., William Lockyer, at the Donegal Arms; Stephen Daniel Dwyer, North Street; John Caven, grocer, High Street; James Storey, bookseller, North Street; Samuel Law, John Turner, ditto; and to avoid suspicion, you had better take up myself; and on examining each of us separately, you shall be put in possession of what will astonish you. I

expect you will communicate this to no one but government. Trust no one in this town till you have made everything secure. I must again covenant not to give up my friend.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

CHRISTOPHER GREENWOOD.
Cotton Manufacturer.

THE PLAN OF "TAKING UP" TO EXTORT INFORMATION.

A nameless correspondent, who writes a good letter, and a very neat hand, recommends the taking up of persons named, and that they be threatened, and so induced to give information. This informer wrote many letters, and generally signed "Your humble servant", ———. This fellow was a publican, for he asks the major to get Swan to pay his licence for him, as he had to give all his money to the brewers and distillers. He adds that his being in business will enable him to do much more good for the cause. This letter was written in 1803.

Bird, and nearly all the other ordinary informers, recommend the taking up of men, to induce them to give information.

CONLAN'S INFORMATION IN 1798, RESPECTING TEELING, TURNER, LOWRY, AND BYRNE,

The writer states that when the army left Newry to take persons who were to attend a meeting at Dundalk, Corcoran received information from an officer's servant where the party was going, upon which Corcoran got a horse, and rode to Dundalk, where he knew Mr. Turner had gone to a meeting. He arrived in Dundalk in time to disperse the meeting. Barclay [qy. *tly*], Teeling, Sam Turner, John Byrne, and Alexander Lowry retreated with Corcoran to the house of one Kelly, a farmer, about two small miles from Dundalk, where they hid themselves that night in a barn. In the morning Corcoran was ordered by them to go to Dundalk to know if there was any danger of the military; finding none, they went to Dundalk. Turner, Lowry, and Teeling went to Newry. Turner and Teeling hid themselves. Turner went to Dublin to Eastwood, the attorney, who sent him off. John Byrne gave Corcoran tests to give to Heffernan, M'Keogh, Michael Fagan, and James Doolan, and four to keep for others that might want them. There was a pass-word between Corcoran, John Byrne, and Teeling for putting informers out of the way. If either knew an informer, the informer was sent to the other with the password, viz., "Do you know Ormond Steel?" but there never was occasion for this. He knows Patrick Byrne to be a United Irishman, by seeing constitutions with him, but nothing more.

Corcoran always attended Teeling, Turner, and John Byrne on their

travels to different parts of the north where they held meetings; the writer recollects the following places, viz.—Scotch Green at Dundalk, Newry, Glannary, Ronaldstown, Ballynahinch, Dublin, at Kearn's, Kildare Street, where the principal meetings were held.

LETTER FROM F. LAMB TO THE MAJOR, DENOUNCING THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

Francis Lamb, of Maynooth, says the duke has known him two years; Messrs. M'Gawley and Hughes, of George's Quay, knew him; on Saturday last a man, at Maynooth, told him a rising was to take place that night, and that 10,000 men were to join from Longford; he asked the priest of Maynooth College if he knew of it—said he did, and that the duke knew it too.

Examination of William Dunne, of Carlow, one of the prisoners taken up at Rathfarnham, and sent up by Robert Shaw, states the suspicious circumstance of the rebel song—"Paddy Evermore"—having been found in his hod.

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

March 25, 1803.

Stating, a meeting had taken place in Fleet Street, and that Edward Mooney, when they met, told them to come to one more private meeting. They then went to 21 Townsend Street. Patrick Merkif told them the business would be concluded by Easter, everything would be ready; told him that it was Devereux, the gunsmith, made a great quantity of arms for them; he will find out where Condon is; when we get him, I believe, he can give you more information than any one you have got yet; it seems to me he was more in confidence than any of the rest.

I think by my being in the business (a publican), it will enable me to make out useful information for you; if your honour don't do something for me I must quit the business.

A LETTER FROM SOME INFORMER WITHOUT SIGNATURE,

Declaring he has been mindful of his (the major's) instructions, and making profession of ardent zeal in the cause. He (the writer) had been at different times and in different places introduced by James Dillon to United Irishmen. James Dillon was a cousin of Pat Dillon, of the White Bull, Thomas Street. Had been introduced to several other meetings by James Dillon; that he has not seen as yet any one resembling Dowdall, Allen, Stafford, Quigley, or Cummins, but hopes soon.

Houses for reception of Insurgents.—Almost every inn in Thomas Street have rooms set apart for them, Power and Son excepted. King Street, North, neighbourhood of the Clark's foundry; Hodges's, Mass Lane,

near Charles Street; a public-house just in the rear of John Street, and Eaden's, Hayes Court. Mallin's, Thomas Street, should be particularly noticed,—well as M'Dermott's, Dirty Lane.

Mem.—Edward Moran and two slaters, Walsh and Kelly, murdered Colonel Brown, headed by Byrne, publican, High Street. From Robert Burnett, 190 Great Britain Street.

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

Endorsed Wednesday, 30th March, 1803.

Informs the major of a meeting held the night before, at which were present James Kirwan, Edward Mooney, Grant, otherwise Vaughan, Miles M'Cabe; Captain Horish sent an apology. Heard of a serjeant of the 62nd Regiment, named James M'Donald, whom he is to meet at Livington's, in Liffey Street, "who brought over almost the whole regiment to the business".

Edward Mooney said he hoped, and he gave a toast to the effect of his wishes, which went round, "that shortly the Castle of Dublin would be in our hands".

DENUNCIATION OF COSTIGAN, THE DISTILLER, ETC.

A letter from W. Glascock to the major, states that the government should watch a Mr. Metcalf, etc., as suspicious.

An anonymous letter, informing the major that the 14th of August was the day appointed for a general rising in Dublin; that the servants of loyalists had got arms to destroy their masters in bed. From Dublin the massacre was to go on through the country, which would bring over the English then. On the 24th of August the French were to land in England; many great men, and some with red coats, were in the secret. The writer denounces Costigan, the distiller, of Thomas Street, and a young man named Keegan, "a desperate rebel", being "as big a rebel as can live".

Confidential letters of John and Bernard Gorman to the major.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

April 23, 1803.

The writer states that Captain Murray, when he came up from town with Richardson's cattle, left the new signs, which are as follows:—The foremost finger of the right hand to give them to shake hands with; then the left hand upon the right breast; then asks—"show how far they have travelled". Their reply is—"as far as truth and justice". Dwyer was

continually at Monastown, at Michael Byrne's, Castlehaven, and John Byrne's, Monastown.

Sir, you know my handwriting, so I need not write my name, for fear this letter be miscarried.

LETTER FROM HENRY HAYDEN TO MAJOR SIRR.

Dublin, 28th of May, 1803.

Offering to take Dwyer, on condition that he would be well rewarded; that he would be appointed to some situation in the country, near his residence, that he might get acquainted among those who harboured Dwyer; or get an ensign's pay and a permanent situation.

LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS ELRINGTON, D.D., PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, TO MAJOR SIRR.

June 7, 1803.

Dear Sir,—Miss Bell having mentioned to me that you wished for a description of Robert Emmet, I send the best I can get of what he was five years ago. I know no person who can give you an account of the alteration that may have taken place in his figure since.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

Thomas Elrington.

In 1798 was near twenty years of age, of an ugly, sour countenance, small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty brownish complexion; at a distance looks as if somewhat marked with the small pox; about five feet six inches high, rather thin than fat, but not of an emaciated figure; on the contrary, somewhat broad made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms.

A LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR,*

Recommending him to arrest William Horish, the master sweep, in his house in or near Dame Court or Exchequer Street, who will inform him of all matters that is going on, as he, Carroll, is well sensible of it. In his observations he says he thinks the tools is in the Widow Corrigan's, in this street, or in her friend Muley's concern, opposite to here, Spring-garden Lane.

Extract from the above-mentioned letter:—

I will insist on you to take one of the men who murdered Lord Kilwarden; he is recovered in Temple Bar. If you are not pleased to do this, I shall answer it with another magistrate. To let your honour see I am not humbugging, I will insist to be brought before Secretary Marsden, to let him understand what I have done for government. I will surely call on you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, as I have received no money this

* Probably to this letter the unfortunate Horish owed his terrible flogging in Beresford's riding house establishment for torturing suspected persons.—R. R. M.

fortnight. I think I did not deserve such treatment, which time will tell. I shall ever remain government's most humble servant,

CARROLL.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR RESPECTING ROBERT EMMET.

Winifred Kavanagh, servant to Mrs. Palmer, Harold's Cross Road, near the Canal Bridge, examined 28th August, 1803, as to whether a Mr. Hewit or a Mr. Connynham ever was there.*

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR, IN RELATION TO MR. DAVID POWER.

David Power, who was implicated in the rebellion of 1798, and expelled college, turned approver, and was to have prosecuted at Cork.† He was on the table against Conway, a watch maker, before Judge Day, did not prosecute, and was imprisoned two years. Is just arrived in Dublin, and is at the Mail-Coach Hotel. Says he is a captain in a militia regiment now on the coast of Devon: is now on business with Timothy O'Brien in Ship Street. Is about going to Tipperary or Cork.

This memorandum is endorsed:—Nowlan, 12 Little Ship Street, gunsmith, first floor, streetward: workshop backwards.

A gentleman at wine, sitting pensive. A white chest on the stairhead.

LETTER FROM MAJOR WINGFIELD TO MAJOR SIRR.

Cork Abbey, Aug. 4, 1803.

The writer says that Benjamin P. Binns, who was a plumber in employment at Cork Abbey some time before, should be looked after. Mentions that his glasses and decanters were all engraved with "Erin-go-bragh" and the "harp reversed, without the crown". Also counsels the major to look to Holmes the glassman, Denis Kelly, and Patrickson.

EDWARD WINGFIELD.‡

* Winifred Kavanagh was servant in the house in which Robert Emmet was arrested. He went there under the name of Hewit, and sometimes of Connynham.—R. R. M.

† Mr. Power was arrested in Cork, and imprisoned for some time in Spike Island in 1798. The most extraordinary pains were taken to terrify him, with the view of inducing him to inform against the suspected members of the Cork directory. Power was a talkative, indiscreet person, but unconnected with the rebellion. A Mr. Westropp worked upon him to give evidence on some of the trials; but, when the time came, he refused to give evidence against the prisoners, and, for his integrity, suffered two years' imprisonment. He published a letter after his expulsion from college in 1798, in the newspapers, professing feelings of excessive ardour, of a patriotic turn, and full of declared resolutions to die for his country. There was too much talk of dying for it, in this fiery and flowery epistle.—R. R. M.

‡ Colonel Edward Wingfield was a brother of Lord Powerscourt.

FROM —— TO MAJOR SIRR.

Merrion Row, August 9, 1803.

I published the paper with the best intentions, and with the approbation of your friends at the Castle. If you wish for one hundred of them to disperse through the country, send to my house at ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

I am, dear Sir, your friend,

(*name illegible.*)

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN GIFFARD TO THE MAJOR.

August 11, 1803.

DEAR MAJOR,—The bearer is of the name of Conner, and was in the chancellor's book, as you were informed; but whether he is the identical murderer, I cannot pretend to say. I believe Counsellor T—— can identify him; if not, he must be held till we send for our man to Wexford.

Your's ever truly,

JOHN GIFFARD.

LETTER FROM MR. DAN MAGUIRE TO THE MAJOR.

Black Pitts, August 11, 1803.

SIR,—I would have taken this liberty some time back, only expecting Mr. Tully's friendly interference with you. But, as the matter has been so long delayed, I now request your attention to my poor son, William Maguire, now in the Prevot. On the 23rd of last month, the poor boy, with Charles Daly (my apprentice to the rope-making business), was sent to get a witness to a trial expected to come on, wherein Mr. Tully is concerned, and in presence of Pat Kelly, the attorney, and one of the attorneys' corps; also to go White's Lane, on the way, for that purpose; when that business was finished, to go to Bloomfield, and see that the carman, Frank Murphy, brought some furniture from thence to Black Pitts. On their coming to Black Pitts, there were no beds there for them, and they went to my house in Francis Street, of which —— is a partner; and on the Coombe they were met by Justice Drury, who will state the same fully. The boy is not sixteen years of age, of mild, inoffensive manners; and, although he has been in Germany and Russia in my vessels, never offended mortal. No better child ever was. Rest assured, these are all facts, and that no party business ever entered his head, nor ever an oath escaped his lips.

Sincerely request your inquiry, whether these are the facts; if so, you will see the danger to the morals of so young and good a boy to be in such a place. Your humanity will, I am sure, excuse this trouble from

Your humble servant,

DAN MAGUIRE.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR OF A COMMUNICATION MADE TO HIM BY A GENTLEMAN BEYOND THE BLACKROCK.

Sunday, August 14, 1803.

The following information was this day confidentially communicated by a gentleman of loyalty and honour, who resides beyond Blackrock. "On Monday last, about three o'clock in the evening, Russell was seen entering a house which is next Judge Foxe's—in a lane which is a *cul-de-sac*—some time after, unknown persons were seen entering the same house, and afterwards, as the person who saw this transaction asserts, Doctor Brennan followed them into this house. The same person asserts that Surgeon Wright, with three other persons,* travels to the Rock in a jingle, every day at the same hour".

FROM E. NEWENHAM, ESQ., TO MAJOR SIRR.

Blackrock, August 19, 1803.

SIR,—As I find, on my return here, that you did not succeed on the information I gave you about arms and suspected persons, I think proper to state to you that I was your anonymous correspondent, and I do so lest it might induce you to doubt all such anonymous correspondence. My information, I find, was perfectly well-founded, but all was contrived to secrete both men and arms. On the Monday morning following, five strangers left the town, and took different roads to the county of Wicklow. One was seen going into Tinnehinch, rather well dressed, and had a military gait in walking.

As I am not able these eight months to carry arms, or walk but little, and as I am in a very exposed skirt of this village, my name is now given to you in strict confidence. Add to this, certain persons are very rancorous in their speeches about me, therefore I would be in nightly danger of assassination if my name was known. We are much in want of a few military in the place of the Cavan militia, who have left us; for though our yeomen are brave and spirited men, yet they are not fully trained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

EDWARD NEWENHAM.

MR. KEMMIS TO THE MAJOR.

MY DEAR MAJOR,—We shall want Patrick M'Cabe, Thomas Hannon, and William Hannon, and the wife of Thomas, at the

* The three persons referred to, from an endorsement on this paper, appears to have been Teeling, Drew, and Jonathan Gray, Usher's Quay.—R. R. M.

Sessions-House, Green Street, on Wednesday morning, as the trials are to commence.—Yours truly,

THOMAS KEMMIS.

Dublin, August 23, 1803.

Would you be so good to direct Hanlon to have Mary Airie sent to me.

LETTER FROM JOHN LIDWELL TO MAJOR SIRR.

3 Fishamble Street, Dublin,
August 17, 1803.

Communicating information the writer got from a woman, a Protestant, who got it from one of the rebels, to whom she passed herself off as one of them, that there were pikes sufficient for all Ireland in Newtown Mount Kennedy, with arms, ammunition, etc.; and that had Tallaght been searched at night, they would have found near 2,000 muskets, etc.; but now they act cautiously, keeping them buried in the earth, being well covered with woollen cloths, to hinder them getting rusty in the earth.

Says, if the late Secretary Cooke was in town, he would remember him for his loyalty and usefulness to government in 1798, as he wrote him several letters he was thankful for; and Captain Beresford, Lords Castlereagh and Roden, all of them knew him.

[The writing and orthography of this letter is so bad, it can scarce be read.]

MURTOCH LACEY TO MAJOR SIRR.

August 19, 1803.

SIR,—I take the opportunity of telling you that I am now on my keeping for what I cold not help; but, if you be pon honner with me, I will tell you nuf. Murthey Lacey is my name, and I was to join that core in John Heifferan's house. Bay himself, he was the man that swore me. My name is Murthey Lacey; we both live in the town of Kildare—sol if you parding me, I will tell yoo anuf; sol yo may send me word to Mr. Hilles, the postmaster, he vill tell my wife, if you forgive me—yo may have Heifferan taken at about Thursday next. I CAN BRING IN THIRTY-SEVEN.

To Major Sirr, to The Casel of Dublin,
to his office.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

Subject—Offering to give information against a most suspicious person, whom he knows, if he be recompensed; says he gave information to Lord

Westmeath in 1795, and appeared before the Select Committee of Lords, but got nothing for it.

Quotations.—"I saw yesterday a most suspicious character, a resident of Thomas Street, or Dirty Lane, and that neighbourhood, but which, since the late business, he has forsaken, skulking in a most suspicious part of the town, dreadfully wounded in the hand, apparently with musket shot; he is an intimate of Mr. Murphy's, and, I think, you had him the last rebellion; he is also an intimate of Patrick M'Cormick, the noted tinker of High Street; and it occurred to me that, were he apprehended and interrogated, something might come out to throw light on the horrid night of the 23rd, for which purpose I watched him, and know his haunts. Now, Sir, I am a very poor man, and if you think him worthy of notice, and will mention, by advertizement in *Saunders*, to the purport as at foot, I will inform you all the particulars I know about him.

"'*Money.*—Anonymous shall receive ——— guineas for the communication he proposes'.

"Please fill the blank with the utmost that will be given, and, if liked, you shall receive particulars".

FROM W. H. HUME,—DENUNCIATION OF DOYLE, A WICKLOW MAN, TO THE MAJOR.

August 20, 1803.

The writer says that he has heard of the apprehension, in Dublin, of Doyle, who was a rebel captain, and had served between Blessington and Tallaght.

I am informed, by good authority, that he has been very active, and can give much information, if you can work it out of him.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR.

Dublin Castle, August 14, 1803.

Anthony Moore and Walter Tyrrell, owners of the house in Stephen's Lane, where the Currens were taken.

Thomas Curren, Edward Curren, and Michael Curren, brothers, from Jamestown, county Westmeath; James Curren and Daniel Curren, from Gaybrook, Westmeath; taken by Captain Abbot, on Saturday, the 13th of August. H. C. Sirr.

A MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR.

Dublin Castle, August 22, 1803.

Stating that he, Major Sirr, had received useful information, from time to time, from a man named *J. Houston*, who had formerly given useful

information to Lord Carhampton, of the designs of the conspirators of the Hill of Howth, where he resided. Has latterly acquainted him, the major, with their designs respecting the meditated attack on the Pigeon House by water; and, as the informant was a MIDSHIPMAN in the navy, it was thought HIS ENTERPRISING DISPOSITION would be useful in the undertaking—William Corr and one John Sweeny.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR'S.

Benjamin Adams came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that, on the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, Owen Kirwan assembled with a large body of pikemen and rebels of different descriptions, and on that same night he commanded the party of rebels that went through Plunket Street, and he called to the inhabitants of that neighbourhood to take up arms or pikes against the government, and that whoever would not take up the arms should be put to death the following day.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO THE MAJOR.

Informing him of a meeting at Coffey's, in Gregg's Lane, that a man came from Wexford to Dublin in one day, and there were many matters of importance to be settled at next meeting.

August 25, 1803.

Received from Henry Charles Sirr, Esq., Five Guineas, on account.

WILLIAM HALL.

£5 13s. 9d.

From Mr. John Hanlon.

A LETTER FROM CHARLES M'GOWAN TO MAJOR SIRR.

August 17, 1803.

Stating that he was an informer in 1798, and is now in dread of his life, and asking for a recommendation to Chelsea Hospital.

A letter to the major recommends steps to be taken against Fleming, grocer, and Rourke, publican, Eades, grocer, and Carroll, seedsman—all of Cook Street.

LETTER FROM R. SMYTHE TO MAJOR SIRR.

Drogheda, May 31, 1804.

States, he has seen John Carroll; that he will remain there until he has settled the business, and that he will do the needful.

LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR, SIGNED JOHN DILLON, BUT APPARENTLY IN THE HANDWRITING OF CARROLL.

Pormanstown, Ballybriggan, May 31, 1804.

States having seen Captain Smyth; had been at two meetings in the country—one on last Sunday, the next on Monday, at the Bull, at the bridge foot of Gormanstown. There were nine men delegated from the country round—one of the name of Brennan, "an eminent farmer". That he, Dillon, passed himself off as a delegate from Dublin.

LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR FROM CONLAN.

Stating, that when the army left Newry, in 1798, to take the people at the meeting at Dundalk, Corcoran received information from an officer's servant where they were going, upon which Corcoran got a horse and made off to Dundalk, where Turner had gone to a meeting; he arrived in time to disperse the meeting.

Bazeley, Teeling, Samuel Turner, John Byrne, and Alexander Lowry, went with him to one Kelly's, a farmer, at about two miles, where they hid themselves that night in a barn; in the morning they sent Corcoran to Dundalk, to see if there was any danger; finding none, they went—Turner, Lowry, and Teeling, went to Newry; Turner and Teeling hid themselves; Turner went to Dublin, to Eastwood's, the attorney, who sent him off; John Byrne gave Corcoran tests to give to Heffernan, —— Keogh, Michael Fagan, and James Doolan, and four to keep for others who might want them. There was a password between Corcoran, John Byrne, and Teeling, for putting informers out of the way of their friends.

FROM JOHN WOLFE TO MAJOR SIRR.

April 3, 1804.

Hoping the major will try to get the reward, which was offered for the taking of Wylde and Mahon, for the woman who gave information, on which they would have succeeded but for the mismanagement of Drury.

From Carroll asking for five guineas, and says he hopes soon to complete

the business: thinks the tools are making by three principal men of this city.

A plan to take James Hughes and his party (generally of thirty men) by sending parties from Blessington to Ballydaniel, from Tallow to Ballanascorning, etc.

FROM THE REV. MR. PRATT.

Newry, July 17, 1804.

Stating that MacCabe, the rebel, had been in the town, and had the impudence to appear upon the military parade; that he had been at Portadown, county Armagh, and in Downpatrick.

THE MAJOR IN WANT OF A PROSECUTOR.

Memorandum of the major.—O'Ferrall, an officer in Keating's regiment; Dunne, county Wicklow; Hastings, Kildare; Dempsey and Son; Cogan, Wexford; Kelly, the two Andersons, Dublin; and Foley, Flood, and Joyce, Conolly's men, "are noted United Irishmen, but have no prosecutor".

WYLDE AND MAHON.

Memorandum of Major Sirr.—Wylde and Mahon, and with them often M'Mahon, have been occasionally concealed at Mahon's brother's, at Green Hills, at Frayne's, near Rathcoffey, at Quigley's, and at an alehouse, probably Costello's, at the Cork Bridge, and at the jailer's, in Philipstown, who is married to Wylde's sister; his name is Morrow.

FROM A YEOMANRY OFFICER (JOHN CAULFIELD), RESPECTING AN ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE WYLDE AND MAHON, TO MAJOR SIRR, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—In consequence of your information, I reached the jail of Philipstown, and also another house in the town, where I thought it likely that Wylde and Mahon might be concealed, but did not meet them there. I then thought it possible that they might be in a house at Ballycommon, within two miles of Philipstown, which the jailer of Philipstown had lately taken. On consulting Captain Dodgson, Fourth Dragoon Guards, and Lieut. Sherlock, of my yeomen troop, we thought it the most likely way of taking them would be by surprise, and, in consequence, we went there a little after eleven o'clock, A.M. Just as we got there the door was shut *on us*, and I sent off Lieut. Sherlock for a detachment of the yeomen. Captain Dodgson and I determined to watch the house till the guard came up, and in consequence, we took post on the flank of the house. We were immediately obliged to retire: the house having a parapet wall all round it, the persons within threw down stones and flags on us, and on retiring from the house we saw men looking over the parapet wall, one with a blunder-

buss, the other with pistols, another aiming a shot at Captain Dodgson, which, unfortunately killed him; two more were fired at me, by one of which I was slightly wounded. Captain Dodgson had fired one shot, and I fired three, and, I am sorry to say, without effect, and by the captain's unfortunate death and my wound, the villains made their escape.

The jailer of Philipstown and wife are in confinement.

The house the villains were in is an uncommon strong one, and I understand since that a report was in the country that some deserters harboured there, which put them on their guard, and that being the case, nothing but cannon could dislodge them. They left behind them in the house a pound of powder and six pounds of ball. I had parties of military out immediately after them, but the bogs being close by to the house and so extensive, they have hitherto eluded our search, though I am still in hopes they may be taken, as I think they have not left the country. They took their arms with them. Major Norris has the yeomanry still out in every direction in search of them.

I remain, dear Sir, your's most faithfully,

JOHN CAULFIELD.

Mem.—In the precis book of the correspondence of the Kildare magistrates with the government, in 1803, there is the following entry, which in all probability is the substance of the information on which Caulfield and Dodgson acted.

"Frayne says there are five men now at Oberstown, within a mile of Naas; their names are, Wylde, Mahon, M'Mahon, Stafford, and Edward Power. Says there are five stone of ball-cartridges, two firelocks, two blunderbusses, and a great number of pistols, concealed in a fallow field in Rathcoffey—the corner field, where three roads meet, opposite Quigley's garden; and five suits of green uniform, with lace and epaulets, in the warren in the demesne of Rathcoffey".

Elsewhere it is stated:—"William Sheridan says Quigley and the two Barretts set off this day fortnight and went to the county Galway, to the Barretts' father, who lives within ten miles of Galway, on Mr. Blake's estate. Quigley is to write in a week from thence to his mother, stating where he is. The letter to be directed to old Paddy ——, of Rathcoffey, and is to be written so as not to be understood by any person except the friends of Quigley".—R. R. M.

"JEMMY O'BRIEN".

A memorial of O'Brien to the Lord Lieutenant, dated July, 1800, praying remission of the sentence of death passed on him for the murder of John Hoey. A letter of Lord Castlereagh to Major Sirr, stating he had referred the memorial to Judge Day and Baron Yelverton. Unfavourable report of judges. The following words endorsed on memorial:—"O'Brien was distinctly a murdered man. His own statement was the truth. He was a calumniated, honest, and brave man".—J. D. S.

THOMAS O'HARA TO THE MAJOR.

From New Geneva, dated July 2, 1801.

Thanking the major for his interference in obtaining his pardon.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR—LARRY TIGHE.

"Larry Tighe was often invited by S. C. to be up".

There can be little doubt Sylvester Costigan, the distiller, was the person alluded to, for his name occurs on the back of the same document in another note of Sirr's.—R. R. M.

LARRY TIGHE.

A letter dated 2nd Sept., 1803, from this gentleman to Major Sirr, proposing to sell his premises in Thomas Street to government for barracks.

FROM LUKE BRIEN (INFORMER), OF 35 FRANCIS STREET, TO MAJOR SIRR, RESPECTING MESSRS. FITZPATRICK AND MERRITT.

Lamenting the wickedness of the times, the lower order drinking whiskey on the Sabbath; regretting he had not been yet able to do anything respecting Fitzpatrick and Merrit (brother of the silk-mercer of Capel Street), "but does not despair of coming round the latter yet".

J. F. H.!!!

A postscript of a letter from Mr. Joel Hulbert, of Monastereven, dated 4th August, 1803, addressed to Sir John Macartney, 31 Merrion Street, and evidently placed in the major's hands by the latter. The postscript is written on the back of the page bearing the superscription, and was mistaken by me at first for a separate letter, beginning with sir, date, etc. The purport of it, is an inquiry about a Mr. James W. Osborne, once a member of the attorney's corps, and now is of Mr. Cassidy's corps. This postscript is signed J. F. H., while the letter that precedes it on two sides of the same sheet is signed Joel Hulbert. This document is to be found in the book of the major's papers, labelled letters, 1803, class N. tab. 4, N. 10.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S WARRANTS FOR APPREHENSION OF SUSPECTED TRAITORS, ADDRESSED TO MAJOR SIRR, SIGNED CASTLEREAGH.

For apprehension of	William Lawless,	date, 20th May, 1798.
,,	Richd. Dillon, Bridge St.,	23rd ,,
,,	Capt. Philip Hay,	4th July.
,,	Henry Magrath,	24th November.

For transmission to the Pigeon House.	Samuel Neilson,	18th March, 1799.
,,	Thomas Russell,	,, ,,
,,	Matt. Dowling,	,, ,,
,,	William Dowdall,	,, ,,
,,	Arthur O'Connor,	,, ,,
For apprehension of	Thomas Wright,	3rd April, 1799.
,,	Robert Emmet,	,, ,,
,,	Hugh O'Hanlon,	,, ,,
,,	Pat. Fallon,	2nd July, ,,
,,	Simon Hearne,	26th June, 1800.
,,	John Brenan,	27th November, 1803.*
,,	John Stockdale, Abbey St.	8th August, 1801.†
,,	Gerard Hope, silk dyer,	,, ,,

BERNARD DUGGAN.

A vast number of letters to the major, from March, 1805, to October, 1822, from this vilest of the vile band of informers, denouncing various parties, and making tours of espionage throughout the country by the major's orders, getting hold of the lower orders especially, playing the part of a flaming patriot, and betraying his unfortunate dupes into the meshes of the law. His first letter to the major is dated March 11, 1805, praying, through his influence, to be released from jail, where he has been confined for upwards of a year. From the above mentioned date B. Duggan figures as a free man and an informer of the basest character. The 21st of October, 1820, he writes to the major:—

"I beg leave to state to you for the good of government, it is absolutely necessary to keep up my consequence, as I have ever done". And then the truculent old ruffian requires to have a sum of ten pounds sent to him. On the 3rd of August, 1821, he writes to the major: "If the Catholics are emancipated, when they get into any degree of power, they will rouse the public into fury and madness". I have dined in 1836 in the company of this miscreant at the table of a member of the old Catholic Association, where he had out-Heroded Herod in declarations of zeal for the cause of his creed and country.—R. R. M.

The major prefixes to B. Duggan's correspondence a memorandum, wherein he says there was no doubt but that Duggan was the man who shot Mr. Darragh in Kildare in the early part of 1791, and who fired at Mr. Clarke, the magistrate, when he was coming in on the 22nd of July, 1803, to give the government notice of the approaching insurrection on the 23rd; and the major concludes his memorandum with these very remarkable words: "The government had frequent information given them of that insurrection on the 23rd July, 1803, and on that day they paid no attention to it. Major Sirr and Edward Wilson, the chief-constable, were the only two official persons that were *au fait*. This accounts for the great attention since paid by government to the most trifling infor-

* Warrant signed by Edward Cooke. † Warrant signed by Charles Abbott.

mation threatening disturbance". The last documents in the book relating to Duggan, are receipts of his, one for one hundred pounds from the major, dated 7th November, 1821, and another receipt of his for sixty pounds, dated 9th October, 1822.

MEMORANDUM IN THE MAJOR'S HANDWRITING—DONNYBROOK HURLERS.

John Madden,
Peter Madden,
William Dowdall,
James Alleyburn,
Thomas Hyland,
David Fitzgerald,
Richard Scallan,
Pat. Burke,
——— White,
——— M'Cabe,
John Allen,
John Kearney,
Stafford Donnellan,
Eugene M'Mahon,
John Bawes,
Henry Fairfield,
John Fairfield,
Batty Donnellan,
——— Holland, sen.,
Philip Long,
James German,
Michael Meighan,
George Ward,
——— M'Namara,
Nolan and Richardson,
Sir Thomas Lighton,
And seventeen others.

MR. PAT. LONG.

The most systematic espionage detailed in the book of the major's correspondence with spies and informers, from 1803 to 1830, is the journal of an anonymous informer, who kept a regular diary of his proceedings during the months of November and December, 1804, and January and February, 1805, tracking the steps, watching the movements, and dogging a suspected gentleman from place to place, morning, noon, and night, always either at his heels or near his house, evidently a person of high station and consequence, who is only designated throughout the journals as Mr. H. The entries in the journal always commence thus: Pat. Long says he saw Mr. H. at such an hour or such a place, etc.

I knew Mr. Patrick Long intimately in my childhood; he was in the habit of frequenting my father's house, and by every one except my father was suspected of being an informer.

Mr. H. is frequently spoken of as going to court (the law courts), and returning from them with Mr. Lawson.

J. M'D., AN INFORMER.

There are many letters of a Mr. J. M'D., who seems to have been in the same line as Mr. Patrick Long. J. M'D. seems to have been especially set on Sylvester Costigan, the distiller, and Mr. D'Arcy, a brewer or distiller, with the view of entrapping two affluent traders of a suspected faith.

THE LAST HORRIBLE POPISH PLOT—THE INFORMER Z.

On the 24th and 27th of December, 1830, a gentleman under this signature, obviously from his hand-writing an educated man, and from the style of his two long statements addressed to the major, a person of considerable acquirements, and one very intimately acquainted with the college lives and career of Roman Catholic clergymen both at home and abroad, gave himself the trouble of imposing on the government, whatever his object or design might be, whether to gratify cupidity or resentment, or to practise a hoax on the major, by furnishing a detailed account of secret machinations of most dangerous character, carried on by a number of Roman Catholic gentlemen and clergy, chiefly at the house of a Mr. M'Sweeny, No. 10 D'Olier Street, where on one occasion at a meeting it was announced that "twenty-three agents or officers", all young clergymen of Carlow or Maynooth, had been dispatched to various parts of the country, all by different coaches, and that all of them received their letters of instruction at Battersby's of Parliament Street (poor W. J. Battersby, the bookseller, the least dangerous of men to his sovereign or the state). At that meeting the writer says there were present John Coyne, W. Battersby, Thomas Reynolds, Pat. Serenius Kelly, two monks from Clondalkin, a priest, and several other gentlemen, all persons, to the author of this work at least, well known never to have taken any part in revolutionary plots or conspiracies.

In the second statement several priests are made to figure in the Guy Fawkes line, and, amongst others, the Right Rev. Dr. Blake. This was the last mare's nest discovered by the major or disclosed to him: Othello's occupation was pretty well gone at the date of these disclosures. The major made his *debut* on the official stage in the solemn tragedy of "*State Terror*", and took leave of it in the ludicrous farce of "*The Battersby Plot*, or a hoax on the patron of Jemmy O'Brien".

THE LAST HORRIBLE POPISH PLOT.

A letter from Sir Philip Crampton to Major Sirr, begging the major to let him have "*the statement*" of Z, adding that he was on the point of departing for London.

APPENDIX VI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL PRECIS BOOK OF THE KILDARE MAGISTRATES' PROCEEDINGS.

MINUTES OF EXAMINATIONS AND INFORMATIONS IN 1803.

October, 1803.

William Vallance, slater, of Naas, gave information against many Naas people, as having met them on the road going to Dublin, between four and six o'clock, 23rd July. John Patterson, butcher, had many people with him:—John Doyle, of Tipper, a miller; John Dunn, of Naas, a baker; Patrick Daniel, carpenter, Naas; John Beirne, of Hill, carpenter; Daniel Brophy, brewer, Naas.

Before Solicitor-General and Colonel Wolfe, J.P., 3rd October, 1803.

John Reynolds, apprentice to Surgeon Bolton, in Dublin 23rd July. Said his father was a loyal man; died in Naas in 1802; saw Lord Kilwarden's carriage stopped, from his uncle's window in Thomas Street.

Peter Hamilton told by John Duff and Martin, all of Naas, there was a French officer in Naas, organizing the people, and that Dwyer was to go to Dublin with a great force.

Richard Flood, baker, of Kilcullen Bridge, said to be the principal leader, gave out the orders.

Two of the Naas men killed the night of the 23rd in Dublin.

Cause of the failure attributed to their turning out two hours before the time appointed.

Peter Hamilton examined.—Stated, about a month before the rising, saw 150 or 200 men going down the banks of the canal to exercise by night, close to Ladytown. The intention was to take Naas; to attack it at nine o'clock in the evening, when the time came.

That Kiernan Lackey was in correspondence with the Naas people; lives in Dublin, corner of Temple Lane, at Dolmar's; that he had killed a Scotch corporal; that he was a great coiner.

LIST OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF NAAS, ETC.

Daniel Brophy went out from Naas to raise the country, 23rd of July.

William Andrews, publican, rode out from Naas, 21st of July, for the rising on the 23rd, and his house a place of meeting for rebels.

Benj. Bushell, nailer, rode out from Naas on July 21, for the rising on 23rd.

Richard Scott, skinner, went out from Naas on the 21st July, to raise the country on the 23rd.

Pat. Dunn, publican, Naas; meetings at his house frequently of rebels.

Matthew Dodd, publican; meetings at his house frequently—meetings of rebels.

John Patterson, butcher, left Dublin in the evening, 23rd July, to stop Kildare rebels.

James Toole, shoemaker, went to Dublin 23rd July, with Doyle, the miller.

Hamilton says the serjeant (Duff) gave the orders; went to the houses of meeting; dropped the written orders, but said nothing; no name to them.

Matthew Dodd examined.—Said that Mr. Madden, a grocer in Bridge Street, on the 23rd of July, at four o'clock, told him that a disturbance would break out that evening in Dublin.

Dowling, Blackhall Row Market, *a whitesmith;* much visited by the Naas men on the 23rd of July.

A great many carpenters of the Naas men, who went to Dublin on the 23rd. Michael M'Daniel one.

Richard Eustace examined.—Says Pat Rorke had twelve *perch* (query pikes), Cushion one hundred perch, in Thomas Street, Farrell's eating-house.

William M'Dermot, a publican, Naas, a distressed man, and likely to give information that would be useful, in Dublin on the 23rd.

Richard Lynch, in Dublin the 23rd.

James Corcoran, in Dublin 23rd July.

Simon Cullen, shoemaker, in Dublin 23rd July; a leader of the rebels last rebellion.

Pat. White, carpenter, in Dublin 23rd July. Strong symptoms of guilt on being examined, and likely to give information.

Daniel Dolan, publican, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Doyle, miller, a leader, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Dunn, baker, of Naas, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Keating, labourer, in Dublin 23rd July.

Two M'Mahons, one of them killed, it is supposed on the 23rd July; the other lately returned, and was in Dublin 23rd of July.

Michael M'Daniel, publican, Johnstown, in Dublin on the 23rd of July.

Tierney, of Sallins, not returned, and supposed to be killed.

Shawn King, not returned, and supposed to be killed.

James Byrne, baker, Naas, in Dublin, and taken with a pike; convicted and executed on Lazor's Hill.

David Cassidy, in Dublin, as well as Michael.

James Tracey, coal factor, Naas; went to Dublin, 23rd July, with Doyle, the miller, and Toole, the shoemaker.

Michael Kelly, present when Lord Kilwarden was killed.

George Kelly, of Mandlins, mason, distributed money to the rebels at Johnstown, the 23rd July.

John Byrne, of Kill, publican, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Jordan, of Kill, tailor, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Myles Hanlon, of Kill, publican, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Gillespie, of Kill, blacksmith, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Michael Dalton, of Johnstown, clerk to Kennedy, the miller, one of the leaders in the last rebellion.

Daniel Byrne, of Tipper; meetings held at his house; in prison for treason last rebellion.

Michael Kilroy, of Naas, in Dublin, 23rd July, and fled in the battle.

An apprentice to Plunket, butcher, in Naas, went to Dublin on the 23rd July, but not returned; supposed to be killed.

One hundred and fifty people left Naas for Dublin on 23rd July.

John Walker, of Johnstown, herd to Brophy, the ————, Dublin.

Martin Byrne, of Blackchurch; his house a place of meeting for rebels.

Peter Burchell, of Kilteel, a farmer and an esquire, returning from town on 23rd July, was met by a party at the Canal Bridge, and brought back to town. A timid man, and likely to give useful informations.

Costigan (the distiller, of Thomas Street) had two rebel officers to dine with him the 23rd.

Madden lives corner of the new street from Corn Market, at that corner next New Row; counselled the Naas rebels that night in Dublin.

Halpin, the distiller, or brewer, an active rebel. Grange, a distiller in Dublin, has a store in Naas. One of them is ————. Their clerks came down to Naas to raise, 20th of July, ————, and gave the orders for the country, and the four first in the list executed their orders.

John Mahon, formerly servant to William B. Ponsonby, a leader in Thomas Street, 23rd July.

Widow Ryan's, 99 Thomas Street, the place where the Naas men met (within three doors of John's Lane).

John Peppard, of Athy, shopkeeper, got three casks of gunpowder from Cork gunpowder office.

Mr. William Murphy, of Smithfield, set out on Friday, 22nd July, and rode through Kildare, raising the country.*

Nicholas Gray, secretary to B. B. Harvey, 23rd July.

Thomas Fitzgerald, of Geraldine; if in Dublin, is at Seapoint.

Conran, of Castle Corner, superintendent of Lady Ormond's works; in Dublin the 23rd July, and a leader of rebels.

Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffey, a leader, had been out of the kingdom, and came back prior to the outbreak in 1803.

Richard Eustace, Naas, carpenter; in Dublin 23rd, when examined there for expectations held out to him.

The White Bull Inn, a rendezvous of the Naas men, the 23rd of July.

Rourke kept the "Yellow Bottle Inn", in Thomas Street.

* The gentleman above referred to informed me, the statement of his taking any part in the insurrection of 1803 was utterly unfounded. He had no knowledge of it. I showed him the original book, in which an account for his suspected treason was duly opened, with his name and occupation in large letters at the head of the page, and with a mysterious * prefixed to it. He laughed when he read the account of his riding through Kildare on the 22nd of July, 1803, raising the country, and, after some minutes' conversation, said he remembered perfectly riding from Dublin to Wicklow and the borders of Kildare, with his friend, Mr. B—— C——, on the day specified. The object of this Sunday excursion was the trial of a horse newly purchased by Mr. M. He remembered the circumstance, he stated, because Emmet's insane attempt was made the next day.

APPENDIX VII.

THE SPY SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED BY EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE OF EDWARD JOHN NEWELL, THE INFORMER.

Of all the wretches of that band of informers, who rioted on the wages of iniquity in those frightful times, the worst, the most thoroughly debased, the vilest of the vile, was Edward John Newell, a native of Downpatrick, a portrait painter by profession. Treachery seemed to be the ruling passion of this man's life. To every friend or party he connected himself with he was false. He betrayed the secrets of the United Irish Society, professedly to prevent the murder of an exciseman named Murdoch. He ingratiated himself into the confidence of Murdoch, and then robbed him of the affections of his wife. He became one of the regular corps of ruffians called the Battalion of Testimony, who had apartments provided for them at the Castle, within the precincts of that place which was the residence of the viceroy and the centre of the official business of the government. Having sold his former associates to the government, and by his own account having been the cause of two hundred and twenty-seven arrests, and the occasion of the flight of upwards of three hundred persons from their habitations, and many of them from their country, in consequence of the informations he had laid against them, he next betrayed the government, published their secrets, and fled from the service of Mr. Cooke to that of the northern United Irishmen. Some of the latter—amongst others James Hope—were employed to go to Dublin to make overtures to him on the eve of the trials of Messrs. Barrett, Burnside, and other northern prisoners, and at the same time to put Murdoch in possession of certain letters of his wife, known to exist, which had been discovered in a chest of Newell's, left by the latter in Belfast. My informant, James Hope, delivered these letters into the hands of Murdoch. The result is alluded to in Newell's narrative, but not the cause of the *denouement*, which ended in Murdoch's being lodged in jail. About this time, the self-importance of the miscreant Newell knew no bounds: he was on terms of familiar official intercourse with the Chief Secretary and Crown Solicitor; he corresponded with general officers, and had power to command

their coöperation when and how he thought fit to make his requisition for it. He swaggered about the Castle Yard with all the consequence of a distinguished government official. He disregarded the ordinary rules and regulations of the major's department in the Castle. At length he carried his audacity to the point of taking a pistol from his pocket, and deliberately firing at a sentinel on duty at the Lower Castle Gate, who impeded his entrance at an hour when it was forbidden to allow persons to pass. He was in the act of discharging a second pistol at the sentinel, when he was overpowered and conveyed to the guard-house. In the morning Mr. Newell was released, when it was discovered who he was. He was then sent for to the Castle, and instead of being forthwith committed to Newgate for this capital offence, *he was reprimanded by Mr. Secretary Cooke.* This statement is not dependent on the authority of Newell. The newspapers of the day make mention of the occurrence, as well as of that of Mr. Murdoch's previous attempt on the life of Newell.

A meeting was at length concerted between Newell and one of the United Irishmen, named Robert Orr, a chandler, of Belfast, at a place of accommodation and entertainment for informers, called the "Stag-house", nearly in front of Kilmainham jail. The result was Newell's departure from Dublin, in the company of Orr, for Belfast. For some time he was concealed in that town, in a house near the artillery barracks. He was from thence conveyed to the house of one of the United Irishmen at Doagh, a few miles from Belfast.

It was while he was in concealment in the latter place he wrote the narrative of his life, which bears his name, and it was privately printed by John Story, a printer in Belfast, though on the title-page it purports to have been printed in London.

The narrative is unquestionably the production of Edward John Newell. Of the fate of the unfortunate wretch who wrote it there is some doubt, but a great deal of reason to fear that he was barbarously murdered by the persons into whose hands he had fallen after his removal from Belfast. James Hope, who had delivered the letters to Murdoch, which were the occasion of the rupture between him and Newell, had no knowledge of his movements from the time he had been taken from Belfast, for the purpose of being in the immediate vicinity of the Lough, where facilities existed for embarkation, when the opportunity should occur of carrying the intention into effect of putting him on board a vessel for America.

Murdoch's wife, in the mean time, had been prevailed on by Newell to accompany him to America, had quitted her husband's house, and taken up her abode in a neighbouring one to that in which Newell was then living. He quarrelled with the unfortunate woman he had inveigled from her husband's house, and no sooner was he informed that a vessel was in readiness to sail for America, and the time was appointed for his departure, than he wrote to Murdoch to acquaint him where his wife then was, and of her readiness to return to him; but whether this letter was written with her sanction, or with the knowledge of the persons who kept him in concealment, it is impossible to say, for it is difficult to conceive the extent or the design of such complicated villainy.

One thing is certain, that Newell, by some proceeding or other of his,

gave his custodians an idea that he was only biding his time to return to his old pursuits and perfidy; that he was informed a vessel was in the Lough bound for America; that he was prevailed on to embark on board a small boat, or at least to accompany two pretended friends to the beach for the purpose of embarking, and that he never more was heard of.

The man whose name is coupled with the chief part of the infamy of this alleged transaction, went to America and died there.

M'Skimmin, the historian of Carrickfergus, informed me that he had no doubt of the assassination of Newell, nor of the authenticity of the narrative which bears his name. On the subject, however, of assassinations ascribed to United Irishmen, M'Skimmin has taken up ideas which have no existence except in the brains of persons like himself, who have suffered at the hands of the United Irishmen, or apprehended injury from them. He states that the murder of Newell was not an isolated act of one or two individuals of the friends of those whose lives were depending on his appearance at the ensuing trials or his absence from them, but a part of an organized system of murder, duly managed by a committee of assassination, of which the northern one was a branch; that the Dublin leaders were the originators of this system; and that the assassination journal, called the *Union Star*, which he (M'Skimmin) insists was printed in Belfast, was the organ of the northern committee.

This idea had evidently taken such possession of the mind of M'Skimmin, that all attempts on my part to remove the impression were in vain. It was of no avail that he was informed of the *Union Star* having been got up, printed, and disseminated in Dublin; of O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Neven, having repudiated and denounced its atrocious principles; of such denunciations having been found in Emmet's house, when searched by the authorities, and having fallen into the hands of government; of assassination being repudiated by every leading member of the society; and of the charge originally brought forward by Lord Clare, of the existence of a committee of assassination, being utterly unfounded. I have taken no common pains to inquire into this subject, and the result of my research is a conviction that there exists no ground for the allegation, and I can truly affirm, if a single fact had come to my knowledge affording authentic information on which a contrary opinion could be formed, it should not have been suppressed by me.

In the year 1797, a friend of M'Skimmin, an old pensioner of the name of Lee, known as an informer, swore against J. Cuthbert of Belfast, and some others, who were tried at Carrickfergus. Previously to the trial, an attempt was made to murder Lee, and M'Skimmin's connection with a man of some notoriety as an informer, caused him to be suspected by the people, or M'Skimmin to imagine that he was suspected, and that it was the intention of the United Irishmen to make away with him. He took refuge in the Castle of Carrickfergus, and did duty with the old pensioners who were stationed there for several months. The apprehension which caused him to take refuge in that place had made a deep impression on his mind; it became, in short, a fixed idea, and the delusion led him to collect a mass of information, a very large portion of which consists of fabrications, which were palmed on him for facts; and provided they were

injurious to the character of the United Irishmen, they were eagerly received by him. With these observations I have to preface a statement respecting Newell's disappearance, and the several assassinations committed by persons supposed to be United Irishmen, drawn up for me by M'Skimmin.

"About June, 1798, Newell's friends wished him to leave the country and go out to America, offering him ample means. This, however, he refused, unless Mrs. Murdoch would consent to go with him. During this negociation he remained mostly at M'Questen's, at Donegore, which he left one evening in company with two professed friends, and he was never afterwards seen. He had become again suspected by the United Irishmen of being about to give them the slip, and he was therefore consigned to *Moiley*, then a cant term for assassination. The account says he was thrown overboard from a boat in Garnogle; another, that he was shot on the road near Roughfort.*

"Though the pistol or dagger was the common mode of disposing of those charged with being informers, others were also resorted to. We have heard of one who was thrown into a burning lime-kiln; and near Belfast a house is pointed out where the victims were decoyed in to be murdered. On entering its hall a trap-door opened, and the victim fell into a cellar, where he was despatched by a man who stood ready with a hatchet to receive him. About twenty-five years ago, in making a ditch near this house, a human skeleton was found, that had evidently been interred in the common clothes worn during life, some portion of them lying with the bones".

M'SKIMMIN'S ACCOUNT OF ASSASSINATIONS IN 1796–7.

"When any of these murders became known, it was said *Moiley* had him, or that *Moiley* had eaten him.

"1796. January 5th.—The body of a stranger, said to have been an informer, of the surname of Phillips, was found in a dam near the paper-mills, Belfast.

"August 3rd, same year.—A soldier of the Limerick militia, then

* The following account of Newell was given to me by Dr. M'Gee, of Belfast (a United Irishman), a short time before his death:—

"In the winter of 1797, four United Irishmen were to be tried at Dublin—Barrett, Burnside, Dan Shanaghan, and Henry Joy M'Cracken. The witnesses against them were Smith *alias* Bird, the other, Newell. Bird declined to come forward, and the only apprehension then was for Newell's appearance. Certain persons were sent up from Belfast, to endeavour to buy off Newell. Robert Orr and another person met Newell at Kilmainham on a Sunday morning, at a public-house called the 'The Stag-house'. Newell had sent a messenger to some of the prisoners' friends, that he wished to meet them. He said to Orr and his friend he was sorry for what he had done; he wished to make amends and get back to Belfast, provided he could get a certain person to accompany him to America. There was no money given to him. It was understood that he was to be sent off at the expense of the United Irishmen".

Mr. Gunning, another of the actors in the struggle of 1798, who recently died, informed me a few weeks before his death, that a Mr White, of Ballyholme (about ten miles from Belfast), about fifteen years ago, had found there, on the beech, partly uncovered, some human bones; and from all the circumstances connected with the discovery, he believed them to be the bones of Newell, who was said to have been drowned there.—R. R. M.

quartered in Belfast, was found drowned at the Strand mills near that town. He was reported to have been an informer; and it was said he had been cast into the river by his comrades on the previous night. About the same time the body of a soldier, believed to have been murdered, was cast on shore near Hollywood.

"1796.—On the 19th of August, a man named John Lee was fired at, and severely wounded in the shoulder, at Dumbridge; for which some persons were sworn against by Lee, but were acquitted.

"1796.—On the night of the 8th of October, the Rev. Philip Johnston, a magistrate, was fired at and severely wounded, while mounting his horse between two dragoons, in Castle Street, Lisburn. About seven o'clock of the evening of the 19th of the same month, a man named William M'Bride, who had lately arrived from Glasgow, was shot dead, near the head of North Street, Belfast. He was also reported to have been an informer, though it is certain he was not an United Irishman. A few evenings after, his murderer also shot a man near the county of Down end of the Long Bridge, who was immediately tossed into the river.

"1796. October 29th.—The Rev. John Cleland was fired at while passing along the streets of Newtownards; and on the 31st of the same month, a man named Stephenson, servant to a Mr. Gurdy, near Newtownards, was murdered at his master's door: before he died he deposed that one John Lavery, of Derryanghy, was one of his murderers. About the same time a butcher, named John Kingsbury, Belfast, was murdered near the Drumbridge: he was a professed Orangeman: some words uttered by him against United Irishmen, are said to have led to his murder.

"1797.—Mr. Cumming, one of the Newtownards cavalry, was murdered in his own house, and his arms carried off. In April, an informer named M'Clure was killed, near Ballynare; and May 6th, a man was shot, charged with being an informer, near Dunnedery; he was not an informer. A man named M'Dowell, near Dromore, was shot at his own house, charged with a like offence; and an informer named Morgan was shot in the vicinity of Downpatrick, by persons who came on horseback from Ballynahinch. About December, Neil M'Kimmon, a soldier, Argyle Fencibles, was murdered between Lisburn and Blaris camp.

"The house of one M'Clusky, county of Derry, was burned, and himself murdered; and in December, a man was murdered near Magilligan, because he had said he had seen men exercising at night; and about the same time they destroyed the property, and cut the ears off one Lenagan, in the same county. Richard Harper, an informer belonging to Saintfield, was killed on his way to Belfast. The place where he was murdered is since called Harper's Bridge".

So much for M'Skimmin's statement. Of that part of it which details murders and attempts to murder, with all its fabrications and exaggerations, some of the statements are in accordance with the accounts I have myself received of the same atrocities; but the inference he draws from them of the existence of an organized system of assassination, is wholly erroneous.*

* Samuel M'Skimmin, the historian of Carrickfergus, was born in the town

There is no evidence that the persons who committed those murders were United Irishmen; but there can be little doubt but that in many instances the perpetrators, or instigators, of the latter were friends of United Irishmen who had been sworn against, or whose lives were endangered by the persons they had made away with. But if the value of life was not duly estimated by the people, by whom was the example set of making death in all its ghastly forms—on the scaffold, in the fields, or at the lamp-posts in the streets—familiar to their minds? In troubled times like those of '97 and '98, the evil-disposed are ever ready to take advantage of the general disorder to carry their malignant designs into effect, whether actuated by feelings of private animosity or impelled by the desire of plunder; and every deed of violence which then takes place is set down to the account of those who are proscribed as rebels and enemies to the king's peace.

The following information, in connection with this subject, was given to me by a man whose honesty and truthfulness had a sort of proverbial currency in Belfast; by the late Israel Milliken, a man not unacquainted with "the troubles" of that time, nor a mere spectator in that struggle. Milliken's statement gives an insight into the crimes which men were driven to in those times; men meeting perjury with perjury, and attempts on life in the arrangements of the panel and the drilling of the witnesses, with the taking away of life by other modes of assassination and procedures equally murderous.

"Joseph Cuthbert and John Boyce, and four other prisoners, in 1797, confined in Carrickfergus jail, were put on their trial. The witness against them was one Lee, a pensioner, and also a peddler, who had lodged the original information against this man before the trial came on, and who was drowned at Dunnedery Bridge, three miles from Antrim. Lee was then brought forward as a substitute for the peddler, to swear against them; and prior to the trial an attempt was also made on the life of Lee, who swore that Cuthbert and some others had fired at him. Lee had been set on by a Captain M'Nevin. The attorney for the prisoners was James M'Gucken. It was determined to get two *alibis*, to prove that the prisoners were of a mason's lodge, and had been in it all that evening on which the murder was said to have taken place. Those two witnesses were sent to confer with M'Gucken before the trial, and on leaving him, one of them said it was evident that he (M'Gucken) was giving them advice that would cause them to break down. They, however, and all the prisoners' friends, thought that M'Gucken did this from stupidity, and not

he chronicled the events of, in 1775; he died the 17th February, 1843. I visited him not many months before his death. He lived in a small cottage in a back street in Carrickfergus, in which he kept a kind of huxter's shop, sold candles, groceries, and small provisions to the poor of his locality. A small room behind his shop served for bed-room, parlour, and library. The latter consisted of very few volumes,—three or four dozen probably; yet, in this humble position, and with very poor appliances to literary pursuits, M'Skimmin laboured, and not unsuccessfully. He communicated articles to the "Gentleman's Magazine"—among his papers, one on "Extinct birds", another on the "Round Towers". In "Frazer's Magazine", an article on the Insurrection of 1803, wherein he gave full scope to his rabid Orange feelings of bitter hatred to the leaders and others of 1798.

from dishonesty.* The two witnesses were one John Sayers, a farmer, the other was William M'Coe, a publican. Some years after, Sayers became dispirited, and repented of what he had done; he came to Israel Milliken, and told him he had no peace or comfort; that he had consulted several clergymen, but they gave no ease of mind. A person present, a friend of Israel's, recommended the man to take comfort, and inasmuch as he had not borne false witness *against* his neighbour, but *for* his neighbour, instead of causing the deaths, he had saved the lives, of six men. These witnesses, on their examination, gave so circumstantial an account of the masonic toasts, songs, and proceedings, which they described on this occasion, that the witnesses quite carried the judge with them, and the prisoners were acquitted".

James Hope, on the subject of the assassinations ascribed to the United Irishmen, informs me, that at the society established at Craigarogan, they came to a resolution to the following effect: "That any man who recommended or practised assassination of any person whomsoever, or however hostile to the society, should be expelled".

At a baronial committee, held at Ballyclare, near Carrickfergus, James Hope and Joseph Williamson proposed the resolution above named: it was seconded by William Orr (who was executed at Carrickfergus), who said on that occasion, "a man who would recommend the killing of another was a coward as well as a murderer". The resolution, however, was opposed by some of the Belfast men, and it did not pass at that meeting. But no society or committee gave a sanction to the practice of assassination. The only persons Hope knew to have been assassinated, were M'Bride, an informer of Donegore, shot in North Street, Belfast, at Saw's Entry, in 1797; M'Clure, of Craigbally, supposed to be made away with in 1796, who suddenly disappeared, and was never more heard of; Harper, of the county Down, suspected to be an informer, shot at a bridge near Ballygowan, about three miles from Belfast; Newell, from Dublin, an informer, who was traced as far as Doagh, about ten miles from Belfast; Phillips, an excommunicated priest, from French Park, county Roscommon, who had sworn in a number of Defenders, had received a shilling a-head from them, and subsequently had given information to Colonel King and Lord Dillon, and had several of the men thus sworn arrested. He then came to Belfast, but his character came before him; he was taken by a party of Defenders, about 1794; one of them, it was said, confessed he

* This statement, relative to M'Gucken's suspected treachery to his clients so early as 1797, is deserving of notice. Mr. M'Gucken, who was a Roman Catholic, not long before his death gave himself the trouble of persuading a worthy clergyman of my acquaintance that he only gave up the cause of the United Irishmen (he did not say, his unfortunate clients to the government and the gallows), after he had witnessed at Maidstone, on the trial of Arthur O'Connor and the priest Quigley, how the latter had been sacrificed by O'Connor and his friends on that occasion. In his virtuous indignation, this Belfast attorney, who was engaged by the prisoners, and who attended at Maidstone for their defence, according to his own account, informed the government of the secrets of their society. The plea for his infamy was worthy of this base man, who delivered over his clients to the hangman for money, and bagged no small share of it in his infamous professional career from 1797 to 1803 and 1804.

was present when they seized Phillips, tried him on the spot, and condemned him. They gave him time to pray, then put leaden weights into his pockets, and drowned him at the paper-mill stream, close to the town. Henry Caghally, of county Derry, suspected of being an informer (but no proof of the fact); he got money to take him to America, but spent the money, and remained at home; he was then seized, brought to Templepatrick by a party, who gave him drink, and then stabbed him in the breast and killed him. This was two miles from Templepatrick, on the Antrim road. Hope knows of no other instances of assassination ascribed, with any probability of truth, to the United Irishmen.

In reply to a question put by me to the Rev. Arthur M'Cartney, the vicar of Belfast, if he had ever heard of a committee of assassination existing in Belfast with the cognizance or sanction of the leaders of the United Irishmen, I was informed by that gentleman that he did not believe there was anything of the kind; his own father had been told by some of his friends that he was marked out for assassination, and his grave had been already dug. Mr. M'Cartney replied, he did not believe it, for they would not have commenced with digging the grave of a man whom they meant to kill. Dr. M'Donnell, of Belfast, to a like question, gave me an answer to a similar effect. He thinks, however, had the cases which occurred where individuals of the society were supposed to be implicated, been more reprobated by their associates generally, fewer similar acts would have been committed. The only organized system of violence that took place in the county Antrim was after the suppression of the rebellion, in 1799, when a fellow of the name of Archer, and thirty or forty more of his gang, chiefly deserters from the militia regiments, went about the country, visiting the houses of persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the people in 1798. They used to inflict the punishment of flogging upon them, two hundred lashes at one time, perhaps two hundred more in a fortnight's time, at another visit; in some instances burning the houses, and in a few, putting persons to death. Archer and the ringleaders were eventually taken and executed.

Mr. Robert Simms informed the Rev. J. S. P., that the report which was at one time very generally circulated, and partially believed, of the existence of an assassination committee in connection with the society, or at least connived at by its chiefs, was, so far as he knew, a pure fabrication.

I now proceed to lay before my readers the extracts from the narrative of Newell, above referred to. The omissions are confined to matter which is either unimportant or irrelevant to the subject of this paper.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE ENTITLED

The Apostacy of Newell; containing the Life and Confessions of that celebrated Informer; his reasons for becoming, and so long continuing one, etc. Written by himself. London: printed for the Author. 1798.

Dedication. To the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor, etc., etc., in memory of his humane heart, refined feelings,

and benevolent mind, as a testimony of gratitude for his paternal counsels, which I have so long adhered to, these Memoirs are respectfully inscribed by the Author.

Of my father or mother, I shall not say more than that they are both descended from Scotch families, who had fled from that country at the rebellion. I was the first fruit of their union, being born in Downpatrick on the 29th of June, 1771; from my earliest infancy I showed a propensity to mischief, and during my juvenile years practised every species of it.

I was greatly addicted to private spouting, one of the most dangerous propensities a young man could have, on account of the company he must mix with; and also to drawing, in both of which I greatly indulged myself.....

When I was about seventeen, my father having gone to the north, as was usually his custom once a year, to settle his affairs, he was one night thrown from his horse and dangerously hurted; my mother immediately went to him, leaving the care of the house to me. As the news I heard constantly of my father was far from satisfactory, and rendered me uneasy, for I really then most tenderly loved him, and on account of his being on the point of death, rendered me so completely miserable, that I went to see him. Arriving at my uncle's, where my father then was, my mother was greatly surprised at seeing me, but was far from receiving me as a parent; and indeed I had never received from her any of that affection which mothers should have for their children.

On my arrival in Dublin, I gave myself up solely to the enjoyments of my companions, two of them in particular, whom I informed I had determined to leave my father's house, but had not as yet formed any plan to proceed upon.

After a few days I thought it prudent to depart, as my father was hourly expected; I therefore went to take a passage for England; but on Rogerson's Quay I met Captain Johnson enlisting seamen to go to Spain.

We sailed for Cadiz; and on the thirteenth night at sea, being very dark, there arose a most dreadful storm: then did I first witness the dangers of the sea.

On our voyage home we experienced the greatest hardship, having lain to for six weeks in the Bay of Biscay, where we lost our maintop mast and foretop sail yards, living on raw meat, lying in wet clothes, and constantly working at our pumps, during which time we thought our fate inevitable.

After my return to Dublin, my father, commiserating my sufferings at sea, wished me to settle, and bound me to the painting and glazing business, which I reluctantly followed for a year, until my usual licentiousness occasioned a difference with my master. Leaving this business and engaging in the glass-staining, which I practised agreeably about two years, but the like misconduct occasioned a separation from my employer and a total separation from my father.

Spouting in private theatres, and all its concomitant extravagancies, was my constant delight; by such means, and a connection with a young

woman, I was reduced to the necessity of leaving Dublin with her, and went to Limerick, in order to proceed to Baltimore in America, to which place I had several letters of credit. We took our passage, and got on board an American ship lying in the Shannon; a king's cutter came alongside to impress the passengers, who for a time made resistance, but being ordered to desist by the commander of the vessel, the gang got on board, pressed near fifty men, and, enraged at the opposition they had met with, treated the crew and passengers with the utmost cruelty, destroying their provisions, insulting every person, and driving their cutlasses through beds and boxes, under a pretence of search for men. In the course of this affray, an American gentleman of respectability received such treatment from this banditti, that he died in a few hours.

During several weeks we were obliged to stay on shore for safety, and when we had sailed, we had not got many leagues to sea, until we were again attacked by a king's ship, and after several shots being fired, obliged us to return to Tarbert, where we were kept prisoners. I here procured an order from Dublin for my liberation, as I could not be let go to America without swearing that I was not an artist. This ship and crew were some weeks after lost on the banks of Newfoundland.

In Limerick I again attempted business, but was again unsuccessful, and therefore returned to Dublin, where, sometimes employed and sometimes idle, I spent my time, until sickness drove me to the utmost poverty and distress, and, had I not been assisted by two friends of liberty, absolute misery must have been my lot. My parents, to whom I applied, refused the smallest assistance, on account of my being a Defender.

I had long been a Defender, and some time an United Irishman, in the last of which principles I have been always an enthusiast.

While a Defender in this city, I suffered the greatest distress that poverty and sickness could inflict; yet such was the confidence reposed in me by the people, that at a time when my situation might have warranted suspicion, they fully confided in me, nor have they had ever reason to repent of it.

About the beginning of the year 1796, I was recommended to go to Belfast by a sincere friend. "There", said he, "you will find every man a lover of his country; there shall you be rewarded for your sufferings by the number of friends you shall find attached to your cause!" I went to Belfast; after being some time there I became an United Irishman. I was, partly on account of my activity and former sufferings, admitted much sooner into confidence than would otherwise have been the case, and higher than strangers are generally entrusted. During a space of thirteen months I regularly attached myself to the cause, in which I placed my greatest happiness; I gloried in, I revered the cause of liberty; my heart beat but to its sound; its friends were my friends, and its enemies my enemies; I neglected my trade; it was alone my study, my business, and my pleasure.

My over warmth, my too great love of the cause, were construed into a plan to deceive, and I was looked upon as an agent of administration; my most anxious endeavours to promote were looked upon as schemes to destroy union, and I at last fell a prey to ill-judged suspicion.

In Belfast I followed the business of a portrait and miniature painter, a business I had never dared to try before, and in which I had never received the least instruction. Necessity, however, conquered fear, and the kindness of my friends crowned my attempt of support with success.

In the course of my business, I became acquainted with a Mr. Murdoch, a hearth-money collector, to whose house I went to do some pictures: during the time I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention. I thought myself esteemed by the family, and they were really so by me. So great was my affection for them, that I forgot our difference of political opinion, and risked for them my conscience, my honour, and my oath.

Some friends of mine, who knew his character, who knew the secret villainy of his heart, laid a plan to rid the world of such a miscreant, and supply themselves with the arms with which his habitation abounded. I was admitted and sworn one of this association, and though sworn, yet such was my respect and attachment to the family (for then I knew them not), that I apprised them of their danger, and recommended guards for the house. In return, he rewarded me by informing all he knew of my being a rebel, as he called it, and an assassin.

Here, then, the people thought themselves justifiable in their suspicion: they thought, and they thought rightly, that such a rascal should not be left alive. I had papers in my possession of some value: at the appointed time I appeared not, as I should have done, to deliver up my trust, "because I was detained by illness"—fresh proof of perfidy in their eyes. Yet, I assure you, my countrymen, if my assurance will avail, except that one act of serving the Murdoch family, I never had broken my oath, or in the least departed from that duty incumbent on me as a man of integrity.

I apprehended my life was in danger: conscious of the innocence of my intentions, and exasperated at their suspicions of me, I returned to Murdoch's house. Ill-fated return! the cause of all my woes!

There these blood-thirsty cannibals—these fiends—took care to blow the spark of resentment which glowed within my breast until it became a blaze, and when once fully heated—when once raised to desperation and revenge by their insinuations—they took care I should have no time to return to reason until they hurried me to the throne of despotism, to the chamber of seduction, to that arch-betrayer of every honest heart—the insinuating Cooke.

When I arrived in Dublin, where Bob Murdoch accompanied me, we having been provided with money and horses by Robert Kingsmill, Esq., the ——— commandant of the Castlereagh Cavalry, who is an honest Orangeman, and to whom I gave information of the societies, which were afterwards taken at Alexander's, I was conducted to Mr. Cooke by that ——— Col. R———. There I met with all that sweetness of reception, that cringing servility and fulsome flattery, such sycophants ever use to those whom they wish to seduce to their own ends.

To open the soul, to give the tongue an unrestrained command, the wine was freely circulated. The secretary set his pens and papers ready for the work; but I, not choosing to trust much to such people, who, when they have got you in their power, think it the greatest and most fashionable

way to forget their promises and plighted honour when the service is over, refused to tell anything until I had received a pardon for the crimes I had committed.

Mr. Cooke—Will you not trust to my honour?

Newell—Not in this case.

C.—I assure you, you may rely on me.

N.—I don't doubt it; but you'll pardon me: where the life is affected, I rely on no man.

C.—Making out a pardon will take up some days; the people of the north will hear you are here, and they will counteract our schemes, and perhaps get off.

N.—That, sir, is not my fault; this is my determination. There is no harm done; I can return again.

C.—Would not a written pardon from the Lord Lieutenant satisfy you till we can get one made out? I assure you it is of equal power. You know, my dear Mr. Newell, the state of the country. You know there is no time to be lost, and that government for their own sake would not desert you; if they did, could they expect others to come forward like you?

N.—Sir, confident of the propriety of what you say, a written pardon shall satisfy me for the present.

Mr. Cooke then wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, and in a few minutes presented me with a paper, of which this is a copy:—

"Dublin Castle, April 13, 1797.

"SIR,—I desire you will inform Edward John Newell that I hereby pardon him whatever offences he may have committed against his allegiance and against his majesty's peace and crown.

"I am, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"CAMDEN.

"E. Cooke, Esq."

This night he did not form examinations, but asked me several questions. I informed him of the most of what I could; mentioned the men I thought dangerous, etc.; of all which he made notes. I was then permitted to depart. I waited on him early in the morning. Bob Murdoch was sent away, fearing he could not be trusted; but he knew him not; for there is no crime whatsoever but this villain would join in for his own interest. During nine hours I sat with Cooke; he drew out my examinations, the theory of which was mostly true, but which his inventive genius highly embellished. . . . .

Mr. Cooke, I call upon you, is this not true? Did you not make me enter in my list men with whose very names I was unacquainted? O guardian worthy of our constitution! Did you not make me arrest the friend of the poor, the comforter of the afflicted, and a man of respectability, Dr. Crawford, of Lisburn, only because in our discourse I mentioned having once dined in his company? In like manner, the Rev. S. Kelburne, for once speaking to me in the street, because you still thought his blunderbuss levelled at your head?

Was I not obliged, to please you, to form a murder, to which I was to appear accessory, because you would not be content without it? You knew, you said, I belonged to an assassination committee. You were sure, from my character, that I was privy to murder.

I told you of one, for which you well knew examinations were lodged six months before by one really present. Could then a man be murdered twice?

Did you not, Mr. Cooke, see the falsehood, the impossibility of people trusting such a business to a fortnight's knowledge? Did you not paint to me the improbability of the accusation? Did you not bid me swear, absolutely swear, the time was longer?—told me so short a time would prejudice a jury against it; and though you felt convicted, though you knew I lied, yet, such was your thirst of blood, you drew up the following as a separate examination, fearful the people should profit by the improbability, and that government should lose its victims:—

"*Ireland*, } The examination of Edward John Newell, of the city of
to wit. } Dublin, miniature painter, who, being duly examined and sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, that about the month of June last, to the best of his recollection, intelligence was received, as he understood, from the camp at Blaris Warren, by the societies of United Irishmen at Belfast, that a militia man of the city of Limerick regiment was sent to Belfast for no other purpose than to find out what he could with regard to the United Irishmen, and give information against them, and therefore he was to be taken care of. That Robert Neilson, painter, of Belfast, was spending the day with deponent at Patrick Linn's, publican; that Neilson wanted to go away in the evening, and when deponent pressed him to stay, he said he must go on serious business; and he then swore deponent to secrecy on a Bible or Testament, and told him it was to kill a militia man who was a spy. Deponent then offered to go with him, and they went to the house of John Young, when he introduced him into a room where Corporal Burke and the said militia man, Thomas Dry, *alias* Jackson, John Gordon, Robert Neilson, James Burnsides were present, when they drank till nine, at which time they were joined by Alexander Gordon. On his entrance into the room, Burke asked him was he ready; Gordon replied that it was too soon. That they then sat and drank, and the militia man began to let out his secrets, which confirmed them in their suspicions. That after leaving the house, when it was late, they were joined by John Young, the keeper of the house. They went then to take a walk down the Mall, with an intention, as they professed, of having some fun; that they were very agreeable together till they came to a bridge near the paper mill, at which time one of the company wanted to sneak off, when Corporal Burke pulled out a pistol, and swore he would blow it through the brains of the first cowardly rascal who dared to stir. The militia man then seemed to be alarmed, and wanted to return, when Young struck him, and d——d him to go on. Dry was then standing on the bridge, and he left them, as deponent believes, to get the weight ready to put in the militia man's pockets. Burke then seized the soldier and dragged him up to the bridge, and struck him two

or three times. Burke then gave deponent the pistol; he turned about, and at that moment Burke threw him over, and cried out, it is done, by ——; they all then went home. The next day deponent saw Burke and drank with him, and deponent and Burke asked whether that job was not prettily done. Deponent says that Alexander Gordon was afterwards on the coroner's inquest, and when deponent asked how he could stand seeing him, Gordon replied it was because he was fond of fishing, or to that purpose, and further deponent says not.

"Sworn before me the 14th April, 1797.

"CLONMEL.

"Edward John Newell".

Look, Sir, at my two examinations: see if, by the dates, I did not swear I executed that business, before I was even an United Irishman! See then if you can justify the confinement of those worthy men in prison.

When he had formed the examinations so as to answer his own intentions, and had received the opinion of the attorney-general on their utility, Lord Clonmel was sent for, in whose dignified presence the following were sworn, though I solemnly declare not the one-fourth part of them were my words or sentiments.

"*Ireland*, } The examination of Edward John Newell, of the city of
to wit. } Dublin, miniature painter, who, being duly examined and sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, deposeth that, about a year ago, he went down to Belfast to follow his business; that, about a fortnight after he was there, he was introduced by James Malone, a notorious Defender, of the county of Leitrim, as deponent believes, and who now lives at Killead, near Belfast, and Barney Close, who has run away for debt, to John Gordon, clerk to Mr. John M'Cracken, muslin manufacturer, at the house of Margaret Magee, publican, in Mill Street, Belfast, who swore him upon a Bible to be an United Irishman; and the oath that he took was the oath of the United Irishmen, as set forth in their printed book of constitutions; and the said Gordon instructed him in the signs of the United Irishmen; Malone and Close and another man were present; the said Gordon then ordered him to attend a meeting of United Irishmen the Sunday fortnight afterwards, which he did with Malone and Close. The meeting was very full; Gordon read the constitution, and deponent again took the oath from Miller, a printer, to whom he paid six pence; also Rice, Quinn, and a great many others were present, all of whom heard him take the oath, and seemed to understand what he said, they all having, as deponent believes, taken the oath of an United Irishman. At this house the room was so full (which is the house of Flanagan, a publican, on the Quay) and so hot, that deponent was forced soon to go away. The Sunday following deponent was at another meeting, at the house of Crozier, a publican, at Belfast, where the numbers were so great that they parted into two societies; Gordon was made secretary to the division to which the deponent was allotted; and they only collected the different subscriptions, and elected the officers of the society. That deponent was at several other meetings, and that he at first considered that the objects of the United

Irishmen were, mere reform of parliament and emancipation of the Catholics; but that at the time the Yeomanry Bill passed, Gordon, who was then delegate to the county committee, acquainted him that these were not the real objects of the United Irishmen, but entirely to overthrow the state, king, and government; and that there were laws then in consideration, to substitute in place of the present constitution, when it should be overturned. Afterwards, about the beginning of January, at a divisional baronial meeting, at the house of Mrs. Nichols, on a Sunday morning, when he (deponent) was recommending that the United Irishmen should take the yeomanry oath, as it did not bind them to support, as he thought, the particular laws they complained of, said Gordon bid him not be busy, and then explained that the object of their societies was to overturn the state, king, and constitution, and introduce a republic; and the meeting seemed surprised at deponent's want of knowledge, and they all concurred with Gordon. At this meeting, John Henderson, James Miller, John Grimes, Allen Ingram, —— Mitchell, publican, Robert Montgomery, —— M'Cauley, publican, and several others, were present: and at this meeting Gordon read a report from the county committee, to which he was delegate, stating the measures which the county committee had taken to supply the United Irishmen in jail with money, the sums which had been spent, and the manner. That they had taken methods to intimidate juries, and to circulate that the man who found an United Irishman guilty should lose his life; that their friends in Dublin would take care to prevent the prisoners in Dublin from suffering, were they even found guilty. Gordon also reported the numbers of United Irishmen, which was, to the best of his recollection, about 70,000; also gave in a return of arms, ammunition, pikes, cannon, etc.; and he recommended to them to make a voluntary subscription for mounting six pieces of cannon, after which many subscribed sums of money for that purpose.

"Deponent saith, that about December last, in order to carry into effect the purposes aforesaid, there was an order from the county committee, which Gordon delivered, for all the societies to elect military officers; that Gordon himself, Philip Kelly, and Robert Philips, were elected by his society, which is No. 69; that the officers of every nine societies should form a military committee, and three members be elected from the different divisional military committees, to make the head military committee. That the following persons form the divisional military committee to which he belongs, viz., John Gordon; Philip Kelly, weaver; Robert Philips, weaver; Robert Neilson, painter; John M'Cann, jeweller; Richard Magee, cloth merchant; James Corkran, shoemaker; William Scott, a clerk; Ernest Corkran, tailor; James Burnside, weaver; John Queery, bookbinder; John Shaw, cloth merchant; John Tennent, merchant; Henry Speer, cloth shopkeeper; William Templeton, clerk in the *Northern Star* office; William Kean, ditto; James Green, shoemaker; John Grimes, merchant; John Dunn, shoemaker; Allen Ingram, Smith; Robert Redfern, saddler; Robert Montgomery, a clerk; Hamill, publican; Alexander Kennedy, clerk to William Tennent; all of Belfast: and that he had been at four meetings of the military divisional committee; but little has been done except passing certain resolutions with respect to discipline, which deponent

drew up, and which Gordon was to lay before the executive committee.

"Deponent says, that about six weeks ago, Gordon reported from the county committee, that reports had been received from all the committees in and near Belfast, that they were ready to take the field when ordered by the executive committee, and that they thought delay would be prejudicial to the cause; and in the evening of that day, Gordon told deponent that a million of money was going or gone to the French, to induce them to invade Ireland. Deponent further says, that at the time of the French appearing off the coast, Gordon gave instructions to his committee, in the name of the county committee, that the people should keep quiet, and put up with any insult, sooner than give reason for government to injure them; and that those who told the people it was time to rise, would be of disservice; but if the French effected their landing, fresh orders would be issued. All the officers of the United Irishmen were instructed to make up their lists, which they did, and deponent gave in the list of his men, which was thirty-six or thirty-seven. Deponent says, that matters are conducted with great secrecy among the United Irishmen; that the inferior committees are not let into the secrets of the superior, either the county or provincial committees; and deponent understands that there is an executive committee in Belfast, but he does not know of whom it is composed. Deponent further says, that he verily believes he has often heard the same; that Dr. Crawford, of Lisburn, is one of the principal leaders of the United Irishmen; that in the course of last summer, at the house of Dr. Derham, Dr. Crawford gave him the sign of an United Irishman with his left hand, and then called deponent out of the room, and asked him whether he had any constitutions of the United Irishmen in his pocket, and on his saying no, he said he should always carry one with him, as he might watch the sentiments of persons in company, and take favourable occasions for making them United Irishmen. Examinant also says, the Rev. Mr. Kelburn, of Belfast, is one of the heads of the United Irishmen; and that he acknowledged to him last year that he was one of the county committee, and asked if he had not received their last report, and seemed surprised and angry when deponent told him he had not. Deponent further says, that one of the great objects of the United Irishmen is, to swear the soldiers and militia men to be United Irishmen, and to seduce them to desert, and that every exertion is, as he believes, made for that purpose. Deponent further says, that in last summer, John Golding, carver and gilder, of Stephen Street, Dublin, James Murphy, of Kilcock, in the county of Meath, and —— Metcalf, came to Belfast, in order to join the Defenders of Dublin with the United Irishmen of the north. Deponent met Golding in the streets, whom he knew in Dublin as a member of the philanthrophic society, to the best of his recollection. He then introduced them to Thomas Dry, *alias* Jackson, who carried them to Joseph Cuthbert, tailor, in order to swear them; and about two or three days afterwards he was present when said Cuthbert swore Golding to be a secretary of the United Irishmen, and gave him two books of the United Irishmen's constitutions, with which he went away from Belfast. Deponent further says, that about December last, the military committee elected twelve of their members to be

a private committee, for the purpose of securing the safety of their societies, by preventing detection, by giving notice of suspected persons, and taking off informers; but nothing particular has been yet done by that committee, of which the following persons are members:—John Gordon, James Burnsides, Richard Magee, John Queery, Henry Speer, —— Queery, Robert Neilson, junior, —— Hamill, John Shaw, John Grimes, Robert Montgomery, and himself. Deponent further says, Carmenthan, a French teacher in Belfast, is a secretary of United Irishmen, he having shown him a table of the societies in Belfast, amounting to one hundred; and he has seen him in his society, and he is considered as very active. Deponent further says, that he knows John Simpson, cloth merchant, to be an active United Irishman; and said Simpson, in company with William M'Cracken, Alexander Gordon, and Thomas Storey, went with deponent, in the course of last summer, to seduce the artillery men at Belfast, to the house of M'Crea, where they met two artillery men, one of whom was Smith, and settled that fourteen artillery men should desert, and be furnished with clothes and money; and the said Smith did afterwards desert, and he understands the others also deserted. Deponent also says, that he understands that the United Irishmen expect the French soon to land, and that they intend to join them; and deponent believes that there will be soon an insurrection, and that the government and the constitution will be overturned, unless government shall prevent it by immediate and vigorous measures. Deponent further saith, that at the time of giving this examination, he has seen a printed copy of the declarations, resolutions, and constitutions of the societies of United Irishmen, which are the same as those referred to in this deponent's examinations, and which he has now marked and identified.

"Sworn before me this 14th day of April, 1787.

"Edward John Newell". "CLONMEL.

The next morning Cooke's black servant came to me to the Ulster hotel, where I then lodged, with a note, and on waiting on Cooke, he informed me I must immediately go down to Newry; that I should there meet General Lake, to whom an express had been sent for that purpose, and several other officers, with the commander-in-chief. He gave me ten guineas and the following note, which was carried by Bob Murdoch:—

"Dublin Castle, April 15, 1797.

"SIR,—The bearer of this, Mr. Murdoch, is a firm friend of government, and accompanies a Mr. Newell, who has given us the most valuable information concerning the United Irishmen of the north: you will please to allow him any money or number of men he may demand; they are to obey his orders, and you are to take his advice in all affairs relative to this business.

"I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"EDWARD COOKE.

"To Lieut.-General Lake, Belfast".

On my way to the north, I met Lord Carhampton and his aide-de-camp, Captain Eustace, who had been waiting for me some time. After dinner,

over our wine, we had a great deal of discourse about unitedism: he described his knowledge of an assassination committee being in Belfast, of which, he said, he had several informations on oath, that Joseph Cuthbert, a tailor, was one of the principal men who formed it.

He expressed his sorrow that interesting business which called him to another part of the kingdom, prevented his going to Belfast, and explained the tortures and punishments he would inflict on the rascals who had been guilty of such crimes.

On our leaving the Man of War, he desired me to stop where he did, as his guards would be a protection to me, and that he would expect to meet me at Hanlon's, in Newry, at one o'clock next day. According to his directions, I met him at the hour and place appointed, on Easter Sunday, April 16. After a long discourse between him, General Lake, and me, we settled that the next evening, at eight o'clock, troopers should wait upon me at Murdoch's to conduct me to the general's house at Belfast.

While in Newry, the following occurrence took place:—A Mr. Turner of that town was standing in the parlour of the inn, talking to Miss Hanlon; he had about his neck a green handkerchief, which Lord Carhampton perceiving, went into the room, accompanied by a number of officers, and demanded, in a most insolent and ungentlemanlike manner, "How he dared to wear round his neck that symbol of rebellion?" to which Mr. Turner, in the most polite manner, replied, "It might or might not be a symbol; it was immaterial to him; he liked the colour, and would wear it".—Lord C. then told him "He would tear it from about his neck". Mr. T., in the boldest manner, told him, "While surrounded by his officers, he might do as he pleased"; and putting his hands behind his back, held forward his head until Lord C. took off the handkerchief. "In any other situation, my lord", said Mr. T., "you durst not have done so. Your behaviour is not that of a man; you shall find that I am one, and you must acknowledge yourself guilty of robbery".—On leaving the room, Lord C. asked "Who was that rascal?"—Mr. Turner himself answered, "He should find he was a gentleman".—Lord C. then told the officers present, wherever they met this symbol of treason and rebellion, no matter on whom, they should tear it from them, and trample it under foot; he had set the example. In the course of the evening or morning, Lord C. received a note from T., the consequence of which was, Lord C. making an ample apology to Mr. T. for the impropriety of his behaviour.

That evening Lord Carhampton gave me the countersign, which was his own name, for the purpose of going through the town, and having any person I knew dragged to the guard-house.

On my arrival at the house of General Lake, he met me in the hall, and introduced me to Colonel Barber and to the perpetual high-constable of Belfast, the consequential little William Atkinson. After the necessary introduction, the general asked me how I first intended to proceed. I said, the soldiers whom I had informed against, were those I intended first to arrest. His answer was, there should be no soldiers arrested. I told him I would certainly take them, as the very men who were in danger from me, might be those who went as a guard with me, and that, instead of protecting, might themselves be the very first to injure me. He said

it was true; yet his determination was, that no soldier should be made a prisoner, and his commands should be so. I put him in mind of the orders he had received; of my not being under his command; and that if I could not do as I pleased, I would return to the Castle, and inform government he had prevented the execution of the scheme settled between Cooke and me. When he found I was determined, he acquiesced, and told me Colonel Barber would do everything I wished, of which the colonel himself, in the most flattering manner, assured me.

We then, according to my plan, set guards at the doors, both front and rere, of every public-house to which the friends of liberty generally resorted, and after trying the houses of individuals against whom we had warrants, we searched those of the publicans where we had left the sentries, and took, according to Cooke's directions, all those we had or had not anything to warrant such arrest, except their being suspected to be honest men. After we had made prisoners of near twenty worthy fellows, we marched them to spend their time in the solitary confinement of the Colonel's bastile, the artillery barracks. We paraded all parts of the town, and did not disperse until past four in the morning. Colonel Barber told me, at parting, he would call out to see me in the morning, but as I was fatigued, we agreed to defer our nocturnal rambles until Wednesday. Next day, I received, through the hands of Murdoch, the following note: —

"Tuesday evening.

"Colonel Barber's compliments to Mr. Murdoch, begs he will tell Mr. Newell that some very particular business prevents his calling on him this day, but will be at Mr. Murdoch's on the forenoon of to-morrow".

The next day, April 18, Colonel Leslie, attended by an officer, called on me at Murdoch's; he said he came out to let me know he had been informed by General Lake that some of his men were to be taken up, and that he would not allow it, as he was confident they were innocent, and not a more loyal set of men in the kingdom. As to their innocence, I replied, I should not account to him as I had done it to those who were above him, and from whom I had received such power as made me despise his resolution; and that I would arrest and bring in their place whoever should try to prevent me from making them prisoners. He asked, who were the first in his regiment to be taken? I informed him of Corporal Real, and either twelve or thirteen others: they were arrested by Colonel Leslie, on his return to town, as I understood, to prevent the disgrace of my taking them out of his regiment. They all denied having any communication with United Irishmen, or knowing anything about the business, and ever continued so, except Corporal Real, who, on being stripped of his regimentals, and threatened with immediate transportation to the bastile of Dublin, where every cruelty of punishment should be inflicted on him, confessed everything, and afterwards prosecuted the others to conviction. The reason of my discovering against the Monaghan soldiers was, because they had among themselves threatened the murder of their officers, as I was informed. This, even when my utmost wishes were for the success of the cause, I never thought it would attend on such complicated crimes.

But to return. On Corporal Real's confession of what I had informed, the following are my examinations.

"*County of Antrim, to wit.* } The examinations of Edward John Newell, who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and examined before Gerard Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqrs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county:

"Sayeth, That on or near the month of December last, in the sixty-ninth society of United Irishmen, he met Corporal Real of the Monaghan Militia, and that he sat while all their business was doing; that by desire of Gordon and John Henderson, he, examinant, and a man of the name of Atiknson, gave Real two constitutions, first administering the secretary's oath, as set forth in the constitution, and gave him the thanks of the societies and committees for being so active, and that he assured him he had himself put up thirty-seven or thirty-eight of the Monaghan Militia.

(*Signed*) "Edward John Newell.

"April 19, 1797".

Colonel Leslie, in the most polite and gentlemanlike manner, came out to Murdoch's with the same gentleman, and apologized for the doubts he had formerly expressed, for his behaviour on that day; and assured me that so convinced was he of my propriety, that if I chose, he would call out the whole regiment in the barrack-yard, and whoever I pointed out should, without anything more, be led to instant confinement. This proof, however flattering, of his confidence, I did not accept.

We began, then, on Wednesday, our very disagreeable visits, which we continued every night that week until Saturday, taking care never to throw away our time, or return empty-handed to our quarters. Rather than do so, we one night, with triumph, marched to the barrack the old volunteer drums, which were lying on the loft of a porter-house. No place was sacred; we went where, and demolished what we pleased; destruction or imprisonment to those who dare to resist, without the least fear of punishment on the hand that inflicted it. . .

On Saturday, I received the following note from Colonel Barber, and according to his directions, deferred our visits till next evening.

"Belfast,
"Saturday, April 22, 1797.

"Sir,—Please to inform Mr. Newell, that General Lake desires the search may be delayed until to-morrow night. Sunday being an idle day, the probability is that many of them will be taking their glass, and planning together, so that we may expect more success then than if attempted this night.

"And am, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"L. Barber.

"Mr. Murdoch".

On Sunday morning I received the following, the business of which

EDWD NEWELL THE INFORMER.

From a Sketch of his own prefixed to his narrative

was Murdoch's excessive loyalty, which had made him fire at those men for daring to pass his house after dark.

"Belfast, April 23, 1797.

"SIR,—At the desire of Gen. Lake and me, Mr. Cavan is willing to drop all prosecution his people intend carrying on against you; I therefore recommend it to you to do the same by them, as I partly engaged for your so doing.

"If this merits your approbation, I suppose you'll give your attorney notice what has been agreed on, that the bills may be ignored. Be so good to mention to Mr. Newell that the traps shall be all set, and safe guards placed over them, early this night, and that two orderly dragoons shall be at your house a quarter before nine.

"And am, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"L. BARBER.

"Mr. Murdoch".

In the evening the sport of man-hunting again commenced, with our usual success, having been executed in the same manner. That evening we showed how little respect was paid to propriety of conduct, for not even a freemason lodge, in which some of those determined enemies of despotism were sitting, could protect them from being taken; although, for once, we acted rather mildly; for, by my orders, and knowledge of the men present, I might have marched almost every man to prison. We took but one, nor should that one have been taken, but that his name had been in the warrant, Mr. William Davidson. The alleged crime was, coming into a room where some papers were reading, and approving of the manner they were written, in consequence of which the following examinations were filed:—

"*County of Antrim, to wit.* } The examination of Edward John Newell, of Belfast, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and examined before Gerard Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, saith, that on or about the month of February last, in the house of M'Caul, a publican in the said town of Belfast, there attended a meeting of the sixth divisional committee of United Irishmen, of which the examinant was a member, and that he there met William Davidson; that said Davidson remained there during all the time of business, reading reports, voting supplies to arm United Irishmen, and hearing the business of the county and provincial meetings; the state of a number of arms, amunition, etc.; that examinant produced an address for the speedy method of having United Irishmen properly disciplined, and that said Davidson gave his vote of approbation and support to the address, for the purpose of having it laid before the executive committee: that therefore Davidson is an United Irishman, and therefore a dangerous man.

"Sworn, etc., April 22nd, 1797.

"E. J. Newell".

After parading the town, we returned with the colonel, where, with wine, loyal toasts, and execrating of the rebels, we spent the remainder of the night, and then, in the greatest style, were guarded to our respective habitations. This sort of business continued for that week in the same routine. In that week, I received from Colonel Barber twenty guineas, and a desire to demand as often and as much as I chose. During this time the general, accompanied by crowds of officers, daily attended at Murdoch's to look what should be done with those taken, and who should be arrested next. On Thursday evening, having expressed a determination of appearing in Belfast on Saturday morning, to arrest some people who were too much on their guard to be taken at night, I on Friday received the following note.

"Colonel Barber has just received Mr. Newell's note: will call on him before eleven o'clock to-morrow. In the meantime, hopes he will not attempt coming into town until he sees or hears from him. Appearing in Belfast without the approbation of General Lake might be improper, and not have the good effect remaining quiet might produce; as neither Mr. Newell nor Colonel Barber can tell the instructions General Lake may have received from Government; therefore it is incumbent in Colonel Barber and Mr. Newell to wait the general's pleasure, and follow the directions he may give.

"Belfast, Friday, April 28th, 1797".

In the *Northern Star* appeared an advertisement to this effect:—"Though great rout has been made about people taking up arms with their faces blackened, yet there is no notice taken of a ruffian, who, with a handkerchief on his face, haunts the town to the ruin of peace and conviviality; and one who, if we are informed right, is to receive £3,000 for swearing to every man obnoxious to Government". In answer of which I wrote these reasons, as they were dictated to me by Colonel Barber, many of which were distributed.

"*To all Honest Men.*

"Roused with indignation at the means which the editor of the *Northern Star* has taken to blind your eyes, and raise in your breast that abhorrence, which every man must have to the villain who would barter his conscience and the blood of his countrymen for gold, common justice requires that I should say something to confute their malice. Long have I been wandering in delusion; long have I been what they call a steady and honest man; ever active to promote what I then thought the cause of liberty, and in which I had been too much an enthusiast. At first I was blinded by the idea of a parliamentary reform, and long thought that alone was their consideration; and even when my eyes were open, when, upon a thorough knowledge of the business, I knew that a total revolution and extermination of Government and its friends were its aims,—that bloodshed and anarchy alone were to prevail, and that all the enemies of their constitution were, without mercy to be butchered,—still I stood firm to my principles, and still should have been so, but for their returns to my constancy and activity.

When, for happening in the course of ousiness to visit at the house of a friend to Government, the assassination committee of Belfast would send their agents to murder a man who never gave them cause even in the smallest manner to be displeased with him —when, without preface, daggers, knives, and pistols are shown to him as a reward for his services,—what heart but must be roused to revenge for such a return? what heart but must abhor that community who could plan and execute such premeditated villainy?—These, then, are my reasons for my proceedings, not the promises of Government; nor did Government ever hold out any artifice or bait to bribe me to the business; but conscious how long and how far I had been led astray, I thought some restitution should be made my country for the time I had been an instrument in promoting her ruin. Unsolicited, therefore, I went to Dublin; unsolicited, I made my discoveries, and so will go through the business, as a debt I owe every honest man, and as what alone, by helping to save my country from confusion, can alone cause pleasing sensations to the mind.—Be not then, my countrymen, longer blind to the infatuation of your situations: let me have the pleasure of calling you from ruin. What do you fight for, and what is against you? The law, the army, and all the true friends of liberty and peace. For what do you fight? For ends you don't understand, for ends you never can obtain, and which, if attained, you never could enjoy. Consider, an ignominious death constantly awaits you; and should you be fortunate enough to escape that, the reward of your services from what you now esteem your friends, like mine, would be daggers when they had received all the services you could render them.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL".

I returned about four o'clock on Sunday morning, April 30th, from the last of those nightly expeditions, in all of which Bob Murdoch acted as my aide-de-camp, but was too cowardly to even enter a house with me. About twelve in the day I received this note:—

"Belfast, Sunday, April 30th, $\frac{17}{97}$.

"SIR,—An express is just come from Mr. Cooke for your immediate repairing to Dublin.

"You will therefore, without loss of time, directly come to my house, as I have some things to communicate to you and transact, prior to your leaving this! Let young Mr. Murdoch accompany you. Slip in, and in the most private manner you possibly can; but be sure have some of the Highlanders in view, lest some insult might be offered you:

"And am your humble servant,

"LUCIUS BARBER.

"Mr. Newell".

We then took our leave of the family, some of whom I parted with sincere regret, and old Murdoch having a sore leg, escorted us on horseback, as far as the Long Bridge. When we arrived at Colonel Barber's, he showed me an express, that I was wanting to appear before the secret committee of the parliament, that he had carriages provided, and that

General Lake would attend me immediately. On his arrival, we settled about my constantly informing him of those who should be taken; a list was to be sent to me, and I was to mark such as were dangerous, who were immediately to be arrested. I then got *twelve guineas* from Colonel Barber; he wanted to give me more, but I had no use for it; I also received the following note:

"SIR,—Agreeable to your commands, I send up Mr. Newell, and inform you, that since his arrival here he has been indefatigable in performing his duty and your commands, running, in the performance, every risk of his life—and in which he has also been accompanied by Mr. Murdoch:—

"And am, Sir, etc.,

"G. LAKE.

"April 30th, 1797.

"Edward Cooke, Esq., etc."

During the time I was at Colonel Barber's, Colonel Leslie brought up a soldier of the name of Donnelly; a man with whom I had been formerly intimate, and against whom I had given information: this fellow, with the greatest firmness and effrontery, denied the least knowledge of me, though I recalled to his memory many circumstances which would have staggered the confidence of any man but himself. He denied knowing the people I mentioned; did not know where I lodged; had never seen me before. Some time after, I quietly asked him, pretending at the same time to be otherwise engaged, how long he had been acquainted with Magee before I had seen him drink tea there. The simplicity of the question, the motive of which he did not perceive, put him off his guard, and he answered about three weeks. When he found he had betrayed himself, he then acknowledged the truth of what I had said.

A little before our departure, a Mr. Felix O'Neil, who, no doubt, had heard of my being in town, and not having the pleasure before, I suppose, wished to see me, being old acquaintances; he came towards the Colonel's to have that satisfaction. As it would be ungenerous to let such a mark of his esteem go unrewarded, I recommended him to the Colonel, who immediately claimed his acquaintance, and provided him with a *free* lodging, and had the goodness, in a few days, to have him carefully removed to the metropolis.

The following examinations are the only remaining ones of which I have a copy, from amongst a vast number laid before Generals Lake and Barber, at Murdoch's. These were lodged some days after the prisoners being arrested.

"*County of Antrim, to wit.* } The examination of Edward John Newell, who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and examined before General Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqrs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, saith, That, on or about the latter end of January last, in the house of William Astler, Belfast, publican, he there was in company with the said William Astler and a man of the name of James Irvine; that they drank for some time, and that he

knew Astler by his behaviour to be a United Irishman; that at the request of the same William Astler and Irvine, he, examinant, swore the same James Irvine to be a United Irishman, the said Astler providing a prayer book or Bible; and that the said Astler bolted the inside of the parlour door, and was present, aiding and assisting examinant in administering the oath.

"Sworn before us", etc.

We left Belfast about four o'clock, the 30th of April, and at twelve the next day arrived in Dublin, having travelled in chaises and four, which were carefully ready at every inn—an express went before for the purpose. We were accompanied by *little* Atkinson, Lieutenant Ellison, and Major Fox, who bore the expense of the journey, and had also a strong escort.

The guards made the people believe us to be prisoners, and when we stopped at an inn, numbers flocked round the carriages, commiserating our sufferings, and requesting to know how they might assist us. I own that my heart bled at their generous treatment.

When we arrived in Dublin, we waited on Messrs. Cooke and Pelham, who, after questioning us on the good effects produced by what had been done, and a determination of prosecuting the scheme of *terror* further, informed me, that on Tuesday I should be before the Committee of the House of Commons, and, on going away, gave me *ten guineas* to take care of myself, until a place was provided for me in the Castle. This was in one fortnight £36 8*s*. I had received; a very promising appearance on the first commencement of the business; but, as the sequel will show, falls far short of the manner in which I was afterwards treated.

During two or three days, I dined with Mr. Fox, and shall only give, as a proof of his generous treatment and the *allowance* of government, that I have seen him, for one dinner and wine for six persons, pay *above seven pounds*. The remainder of that week, and part of the next, I slept at Mr. Cooke's, in the Castle, and breakfasted with himself. Murdoch and I dined and supped in the Castle Tavern, at the rate of *three guineas* a day, which Mr. Cooke cheerfully accounted for.

On the 3rd of May, I attended in the Speaker's chamber at the parliament house, and at two o'clock was admitted to the room where the Secret Committee were then sitting. After the usual formalities, I was, with great ceremony, placed in a high chair, for the benefit of being better heard.

I went through the subject of the examinations, *improving largely* on the *hints* and *instructions* Cooke had given me; propagating circumstances which never *had*, nor, I suppose, *ever* will, happen; increased the number of United Irishmen, their quantity of arms and ammunition; fabricated stories, which helped to terrify them, and raised me high in their estimation, as a man whose perfect knowledge of this business made his information of the highest importance. I told them of laws framed to govern the republic, when they had overthrown the present government, many of which they approved of highly, though they had no foundation but the effusions of my own brain. I embellished largely the dangers that royalty and its

friends were liable to from the machinations of the United men, who, I informed them, were regularly disciplined, and constantly improving themselves in military tactics; assured them there was persons of the first rank and abilities connected with this business; that the French were hourly expected; they were to land at Galway, not at Bantry, as they supposed; that the people looked with eagerness for their arrival; and that government should not trust the people in the south, who had formerly pretended to rise in their defence, their loyalty being only *finesse*, the readier to join the French on their landing; that I was confident, from the disposition of the people, they would, in a few weeks, even if they did not arrive, attempt an insurrection, in which they were sure of succeeding, on account of their numbers, the justice of their cause, and their hopes from the soldiery.

They seemed dreadfully terrified at my information, and instantly became incapable of asking me any more questions relative to this business. Will it be believed that a boy, even one of the swinish multitude of the north, filled with consternation and terror the leaders of the army and the senate! —they who are the conquerors of Italy could *he* make tremble, by relating scenes of imaginary terror!

Among many papers which I read were the following, which is a part of the papers I before alluded to.

"March, 1797.

"*The address of Edward John Newell, of the city of Dublin, to the military committees of Belfast, to accompany his papers, signed by the 69th, and voted by the Divisional to be laid before the Baronial Committee.*

"Citizens,—At this present time, when anarchy and confusion prevail; while the spirits of our fellow citizens are depressed; while the agents of administration are by every means, legal or illegal, strengthening their faction, and devising new schemes to make further additions to it; while our country is degraded by those abuses which must hurt the feelings of every true son of Ireland;—I say now is the time for every honest man to speak his sentiments—and he is not an honest man that does not,—not only to speak his sentiments, but also by his advice to assist the completing the means of rescuing us from those injuries. It is not to be a mere *steady* man that fulfils his obligation; he should be an *active* one, and *assist*, by *every means*, the cause with which he is connected.

"Fully impressed with the truth of these sentiments, I formed to myself such maxims as I think should be infused into the people, and such as I see have been shamefully forgotten.

"In the first instance, *military discipline* (in this country alone) has been quite neglected; that which alone can give weight to our endeavours — that on which I may say success alone depends. Without discipline, what can be attempted? This alone damps the spirits of our friends. Tell a man, unacquainted with discipline, of the injuries he suffers, though he may be willing to resent them, what can he attempt? But tell the man properly acquainted—paint in true and striking colours the oppression they labour under, their hearts are no sooner roused to revenge, than their hands are ready to execute it.

"Think, citizens, of the disgrace that must accrue from it; that to find the men of Belfast, whose steady perseverance has preserved our cause—whose wise conduct alone has reared it from infancy to its now glorious maturity, that they, to whom all the citizens of Ireland look for example, should alone be unable to resist them in the field, and that only from being undisciplined. We look to foreign friends, but will they be willing to join with men unacquainted with manœuvres? Certainly not; such a junction must be the inevitable ruin of the whole. I know the old volunteers are among us, but what are their numbers when compared to the community at large?

"I am sorry to say, we have military officers who are so far from considering the necessary means and exertions to fill their stations, that they do not properly understand their situations or their consequence; but their pride being gratified by appointment, every other feeling is entranced, and they are blind to the consequence which may result from their stupidity and neglect.

"Let them, then, by you be roused to activity; instruct them how to proceed; let public thanks stimulate and be the reward of those who do their duty, while public disgrace should be the attendant of neglect.

"On the day of retribution, I doubt, without some stimulus to immediate exertion, or fear of disgrace by dastardly behaviour, I say, I doubt our first muster will look very poor; that those half-United Irishmen, as I may call them, will at the first keep themselves back, that they may be able to return those the compliment who gloriously step forward, by saving themselves to fight for them another day, when superiority of numbers will leave them less doubt of success.

"Let the man, then, who is not ready at a moment to join the friends of his country—let that man, however well he may afterwards behave, never enjoy public confidence, and be for ever exempt from all military appointments; let him also, until he has proved by his conduct he deserves it, be deprived of the honour of wearing the green cockade. Such, and such like disgraces, attending upon cowardice, must rouse the smallest spark of manhood into action.

"These, and their attendants, are part of what I think our wants, and what I shall exert myself to have remedied; and though my abilities are but weak, I trust my hints will excite attention in those who are blessed with a capability of proper execution. Health and fraternity.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL".

The attorney-general, after a long discourse upon the nature and danger of what he had heard, thought it would be advisable to try to conciliate the people, by granting them some of their wishes, until government should be better prepared to resist, if granting would have the desired effect. He then addressed me: "Mr. Newell, you must now consider that we are a select committee of the parliament of Ireland; that that Parliament is to be guided by these gentlemen; and that these gentlemen are to be guided in their proceedings by you: weigh well, then, the situation in which you now sit, and its consequences, and tell me, would a reform of parliament please the people, and put an end to disturbances?" "Sir, from my

knowledge, nothing but the overthrow of government and establishing a republic would now satisfy the people".

Major Fox, Lieutenant Ellison, and little Atkinson were then called to identify the papers which had been seized with the societies taken in Alexander's, according to my information, and for which so many of our countrymen are now sustaining the loathsome sufferings of a pestilent tender. We were then dismissed with many thanks for our attention, and with every encouragement for our continuance in loyalty. I should have mentioned, that Mr. Toler, the Solicitor General, during my discourse, assured the committee, they might place the greatest confidence in whatever I advanced, as he had long known me; and until I went to Belfast, he was sure I was a most honourable lad.

As the committee of the Lords was only a routine of the same business, it is unnecessary here to mention it, except, that for four hours I was with them; by my artifices, I raised in the breast of these hereditary wisdoms the same surprise and fear that I had before in that of the Commons, magnifying every report to enhance my own importance. In consequence of which, they agreed to the Report and Address from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Lords, of the 12th May, 1797.

Three days after the sitting of the committees, I received the following from George Murdoch, hearth collector of Belfast.

"Belfast, 6th May, 1797.

"Dear Boys,—Your favours of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of May we received, which gave us much pleasure. Since you left this nothing new has turned up. Some of the gentry has returned to the town: Colonel Barbour was searching on Thursday for pikes in Belfast, but was not fortunate in getting any. Let me beg of you to give Colonel R. every information you can of what is going on. Enclosed you have Rob. Newell's advertisement; I am told his father is in Belfast. I have just received a letter from the Post-Office, telling me that there is a plot laid to murder me and my two sons, by either day or night, signed, a friend. I still have the Highlanders at my house. I wish with all my heart that Robert may get into the artillery. Do you expect that any of the prisoners will be shortly tried? Perhaps if Robert was to see Rowley Osborne, he might get from him where the Belfast cannon is hid. When do you think Belfast will be put out of the peace? Let me beg of you both, to take particular care how you go out at night, as you have numerous enemies, and let me have a few lines every post, that we may know how matters are going on. Mr. Newell's chest was sent here the other day, but I am sorry to say it was rifled first of its contents, and nothing left in it but a few pieces of paper; it had been forced open.

"Mrs. Murdoch, Joseph, and family, join me in best wishes for you both; and believe me to be, dear boys,

"Your ever affectionate,

"George Murdoch.

"Messrs. Newell and Murdoch".

Copy of the enclosed advertisement above alluded to.

"I, Robert Newell, jun., apprentice to Mr. Moore Echlin, attorney, having learned with unfeigned concern that my brother, Edward John Newell, miniature painter, has been for some time past in the practice of going through the town of Belfast, disguised in the dress of a light horseman, with his face blackened, and accompanied by a guard of soldiers, pointing out certain individuals, who have in consequence been apprehended and put in prison, and that this practice has been repeated night after night, and a number of inhabitants of the town have been so taken up, and confined in barracks and military prisons: now, howsoever severely I feel the mortification of being driven to publish the misconduct of an unfortunate brother, I think it justice to my own character to express my abhorrence of so unworthy a proceeding. If this unfortunate young man had become fairly acquainted with any fact, which in conscience and honour he thought necessary to public justice to disclose, I should never have censured him either publicly or privately, had he come forward, and been fairly confronted with the accused; but to act the part of a secret and treacherous informer, is to do what in my mind is a violation of every principle of conscience, honour, or manhood. This young man has been unluckily disconnected for some years past from his family, and I trust, but for this circumstance, he could never have fallen into such company, or such a course of life as he appears to have led.

"R. Newell, Jun.

"Great Britain Street, Dublin".

The time that this publication, dictated by my father, appeared, Mr. Cooke used every means in his power to raise my exasperation to such a pitch as to get me to swear against my father. He said he would not, indeed, advise my prosecuting him, but the lying in jail he richly deserved, and would be a very proper punishment for intermeddling in the affairs of Government. He was confident he was a United Irishman, or I could never have been so strong in the principles; and he thought I should have satisfaction, both for his former usage and his present conduct; which, bad however, as I was, I declined. But in answer to the above, I published the following:—

"Shocked at my father's duplicity, and his publication signed by my brother, I must beg leave to expose his behaviour to the eyes of a candid and discerning public. When I was last summer in Belfast, I was constantly troubled with his messages through my relations, and letters, condemning me for being connected with United Irishmen, and offering me a reinstatement of his affections *if* I would give up United Irishmen to the justice such rascals merited; these were his own words. Enthusiastic in their cause, I scorned his offered friendship, and stood firm to my ground, confident, from his past unnatural conduct, that not affection or regard for me was his motive for wishing me to act so, but a hope of making himself considered as an active friend of Government. And had not the people of Belfast, by their attempt at murdering me, warranted my proceedings, I

would still have continued true to that cause I have always been so much attached to.

"I am confident my father's publication is because he is actuated by fear, knowing I related these particulars to the people of Belfast as regularly as they happened, and lest they should think his unremitting endeavours had at length brought about what he so much desired, might, as they could not hurt me in my own person, take revenge upon him. Likewise, disappointed ambition for not being informed of my reformation, and having, as he wished, the honour of being thought to work it. As to my proceedings since, it was necessary at first to be disguised, that villains might not know who was against them, and by flight to escape the justice their crimes so justly merited. . After the second night I never disguised, but walked the streets openly both day and night. As to whether I came fairly or not by my information, will be clearly proved in a court of justice, where every honest man will see the propriety of my conduct. Nor can the disapprobation of a boy, though guided by his father, cast the least reflection on it, or prevent it being acknowledged, that conscience, honour, and manhood alone actuated me. As to being unluckily disconnected with his family, as he calls it, I think it the most fortunate occurrence of my life, not only from being enabled by my knowledge of things to be an instrument in preventing anarchy and confusion, but also, that I am unconnected with a family whose every act is guided by duplicity, cowardice, and meanness.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"Dublin Castle, May, 1797".

I at this time had been provided with rooms in the Castle, by Cooke's orders and under Mr. Dawe's direction, where every luxury was procured with the greatest attention to my pleasure, and every expense, however exorbitant, cheerfully discharged. I daily waited on Cooke, and had every time fresh proof of his kindness and wish for my ease and happiness. I now gave loose to every debauchery and extravagance, and in a few days had cause to repent of my folly. I had, before I fell ill, applied in favour of Bob Murdoch, to Cooke, who generously granted him a commission. He continued, however, with me. On the 13th of May I received this letter by Colonel R., being the medium through which I received Murdoch's favours.

"Belfast, 11th May, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,—I received your favour of the 8th instant, which gives us all much satisfaction. Pray write me all the news you can collect; and if you send me a *Freeman's Journal* it will be very interesting. How do the prisoners behave? Do they get half a guinea per day? Yesterday Mrs. Lewis and little George were at Durdonel, where they spent the evening: on their coming off, three young men belonging to Belfast came out of Mrs. Mark's, and began to ridicule Mr. Newell, and called him a damned rascal: upon which Mrs. Murdoch immediately jumped off the car, and drew little George's sword, and swore she would run any lubberly rascal through the body that dare speak a disrespectful word of Mr. Newell; and at the same

time she desired James to look out, and see if his master and Joseph was coming up, on which they all three ran off as fast as their legs would carry them. John Shaw is in town, but don't appear. Mrs. Murdoch is getting Mr. Newell's shirts made. Pray when do you both intend to be down? be assured it would make us happy to see you both here. This instant we have received your favour of the 9th inst., for which we return you thanks. I am surprised you would let Robert's publication give you a moment's uneasiness. You may live without your relations; but friends and good neighbours, may you never want them. *Are you up?* Pray what is the secret committee doing with Belfast? Will Belfast be put out of the peace? It ought ere this to be burned to ashes. On Saturday last seventy-five of the Monaghan militia went down on their knees and asked pardon and mercy, which was granted them; but seventeen of the stiff fellows and ringleaders of the regiment has had a court-martial sitting on them Monday, Tuesday, and yesterday, but as yet nothing has transpired: it is thought two or four of them will be shot, as Corporal Real has proved that they were to murder all their officers, and give up the several barracks, etc., etc., to their united *damned rascals.* Pray give Colonel R. as much information as you can; he is a rival friend. May the Almighty God give him happy years. Pluck up your spirits, and tell me when you will be down, as your bed and room is ready. Be assured you stand high in Mrs. Murdoch's esteem, and ever shall in your humble servant's: keep it up; who is afraid? let the dogs tremble. We got some things belonging to you from Mrs. Philips. Mrs. Murdoch has cut a piece of muslin into handkerchiefs, which she will have ready, with the shirts, against you come here. Mrs. Murdoch will write to Mr. Newell in a post or two. What regiment is Robert to join? Mrs. Murdoch, Mrs. Lewis, Joseph, and the girl, with little George, joins me in love to you both, and wishing you all happiness,

"I am, dear boys, your ever affectionate,

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"*Verbatim et literatim.*

"P.S.—Let me beg of you not to meddle with your brother Robert on any account. I am certain that before this his own conscience will be punishment enough. Do you or Robert want anything? if you do, pray advise me. If convenient to you both, I would be glad you would go to Ringsend, and see Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and their family. I am told he is a guager there. Ask Bob Murdoch if he called and done what Mr. John Johnson ordered him to do. Did you call on Mr. M'Cormick about William Robinson's gun? Be sure and write to us. What is Colonel R.'s opinion now of matters? "G. M."

During the time between this and the latter end of June nothing material happened, except my application, agreeable to the desire of my friend, for the liberation of Mr. Davidson, of whom I said everything favourable that could be possible to say for the dearest friend, and received an agreeable answer. I was during this time closely confined to my room, where, by Cooke's orders, attended by Mr. Stewart, the surgeon-

general, to whose skill and attention I really owe my life. My medicines were all got in Murdoch's name, so fearful was government of my being poisoned. At this time I received the following letters.

"Thursday morning.

"Mr. Cooke's compliments to Mr. Newell, requests to know is there any charge against Cleary".

"Thursday.

"Sir,—He was taken up according to your orders of arrest, as I knew him to be an active United Irishman; but there is no oath against him.

"I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

"Edward John Newell.

"Edward Cooke, Esq., Dublin Castle".

"Belfast, 8th June, 1797.

"Dear Newell,—Your letter I received, covering the book per Doctor Atkinson, for which I return you many thanks. Be assured your not writing has given us much uneasiness. For God's sake, write to us at least every other day; you know I have many things to do that takes up my time; your silence makes us think you are worse, and every letter we receive gives us much satisfaction. Captain Kingsmall and I differed in opinion, on which he got very far up, and told me to leave the troop, which we both have done. I accused him of cowardice, which he denied; it is therefore left to you and Robert to determine. Pray do you recollect his writing to you, Robert, or me, requesting of us to apply to Colonel Barber, to get a guard to take his servant-man, which he dare not; and of writing us a note, saying, if Mr. Newell knew anything against the three young Edwards, as they were suspected people, it would be well done to take them up; and at the bottom of his note he said, burn or destroy this? Colonel Barber has the note relative to taking up his servant, and says he will take care of it. Pray recollect yourselves, and let me have your answer fully to the above, as he shall not dare to treat me with indifference. He wanted the horsemen, after parading, to sit up as a guard on the footmen's arms, which we refused to do; as we told him, if the footmen could not take care of their arms, that if he delivered them up to me, I would put them under my own guard without putting him or Government to a six-pence expense. To this he would not agree; therefore we sent him, yesterday, our regimentals, etc. I wish we had a man of spirit: if we had, we could do business through the country, and not be lolling on a bed in a guard-room. On Monday we had a field-day, and fired in honour of his Majesty's birth-day; and such an illumination never was seen in Belfast: not a croppy dare speak, and all the disaffected had their windows smashed. We chaired General Lake, Colonel Barber, Mr. Fox, etc., through the Main Street; and in return I got a ride. We hear that several men near Newry have been shot and their houses burned, for attacking the army. We long much to see you both; and as this letter is so very long, it will serve you and Robert for this time. Mrs.

Murdoch, Mrs. Lewis, Joseph, Maria, Caroline, Charlotte, and George, desires their love to you, and Mrs. Murdoch says, if you do not write, you shall be flogged. Adieu, my boys,

"And believe me to be yours most sincerely,

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"P.S.—I have just received Robert's letters, and the paper, for which we are thankful. Our love to Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and family. We are every day taking up the boys and putting them on board or sending them to confinement. Cunningham Gregg's house was wrecked, etc.; his furniture underwent a swinging. *Are you UP?*"

"Belfast, 19th June, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,—Your favours I received, for which I am much obliged to you, and for the good news you sent me. Yesterday thirty-one united lads came in here prisoners; they are in the artillery barracks. I'm told Rowley Osborne is put in irons. Pray is it so? and what new thing is he guilty of? He well knows where the Belfast cannon is hid. All the country people are coming in to take the oath of allegiance. Captain Lewis arrived here last night. Is Bob in possession of his commission yet? if so, what is it, and in what regiment? Is there any word of your getting down, my lads? Be assured we long to see you here. Mrs. Murdoch and family joins in love to you, Edward and Robert, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and family. And believe me to be,

"Dear boys, yours affectionately,

"G. MURDOCH.

"Messrs. Newell and Murdoch".

"Belfast, July 4th, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,—Yours came to hand on the 27th June, when I was in Newry. In your observations I firmly acquiesce; gratitude can never be looked for, where it never had the smallest foundation; and a revenge of the like tendency to our protectors, must proceed from black and rancorous minds. As to an observation of your's, that the person's punishment was not adequate to the crime, no one felt themselves more hurt than I did at the sudden forgiveness, and according to your opinion, as if it proceeded from your pen, as well as from my lips, I declare it to be an interlude to a repetition of the same offence. If she has the least spark of feeling, it ought to bring her to a sense of her duty to her, whose only wish is for her to conduct herself becoming the connexion which she has with the best of families. It was owing to Joseph's indisposition, and intercession to his indulgent parents for her return, which made them consent to her return, though with reluctance. Mrs. Murdoch's arm is very black and very sore; and Mrs. Murdoch, to prevent company suspecting any misunderstanding, may speak to her, but is determined not otherwise.

"If you, dear friend, knew how ungrateful she was to me, when a mistaken pity induced me to say things in her behalf. When she was in a former disgrace, she availed herself of a moment's shyness between Mrs.

Murdoch and me, which proceeded from the circumstances above mentioned, the poor cutthroat said in private to Mrs. Murdoch, that I had endeavoured to ingratiate myself in her esteem; but in a language similar to this, that she was proof against my pretended friendship. She did not go untold of it. We all consider ourselves obliged to you for our existence. I and the family will never forget the obligation, for in the existence of my dear wife depends my own. Bob is an idle vagabond, or he would have wrote to me. Tell him so. Which neglect, in fact, does not prevent me sending my love to him.

"With the best respects to you from the whole of the family, remaining yours sincerely,

"William Lewis.

"P.S.—I am in a hurry, dinner is dished, and I am hungry".

"Belfast, 22nd July, 1797.

"Dear Boys,—I received Robert's of 15th instant, and would have answered it in course, but in hourly expectation of seeing you both here. Thank God, Joseph is recovering. All the rest of the family are well; but by no means let Robert and you part, but come together when you get permission, and do not stir without. When you get leave to come down, write to me, and I will meet you at Newry, Banbridge, or Hillsborough. The last letter I wrote you was returned to Newry, which I received from Colonel Ross, where I was attending our friends who were duly elected on Wednesday last, and I do not know where or how to direct to you; as to Robert's commission, let it come in course, and he will save by so doing, but do not disoblige your friends at the Castle. Does Mrs. Morgan call on you now? Mrs. Murdoch and family joins me in love to you both, and wishing you safe here—still keep up the guard of five men —none of the croppies dare stir. Write to me by return of post.

"I am, my dear boys,

"Your affectionate friend, etc.

"George Murdoch.

"Mr. Edward John Newell".

On my recovery, I applied to go down to Belfast, as the Murdochs had so often invited me. I signed my name to Mr. Watkins's bills, who was the person appointed by Government to provide me with breakfast, dinner, supper, wines, jellies, etc.

The bill for May, odds of	£38	0	0
Do. June, upwards of	50	0	0
Do. July, about	72	0	0

I had liberty of inviting any person to see me; in the course of this time I had also received above fifty pounds to buy clothes, and more for other purposes; and were I to state the doctor's, apothecary's, and other bills which were paid for me, the sums would hardly be credited.

The day before I left town, I in the street arrested Mr. Carmentrang, the gentleman mentioned in the examinations, who not choosing to gratify

Government with his knowledge of the business, was crammed aboard a tender, and never since heard of.

Having received twenty guineas from Cooke, and a desire to write whenever I wanted any more, I set off for Belfast, accompanied by my aide-de-camp, Ensign Murdoch. On my arrival at Fort George, I was received with the greatest friendship, and in the course of a few days had the honour of being waited on by almost all the principal supporters of our holy Church and State in that part of the kingdom, to congratulate me on my recovery and arrival in the country, and to inform me that many of those, for whom I had formerly been searching, were returned to their wives and families, and could now be easily laid hold of.

At that time, I lived in the habits of the most endearing intimacy with the Murdoch family; there was no liberty thought too great for me to take, nor any favour too great to bestow on me.

On the 23rd of August, I received the following letter in answer to one I had written to Mr. Dawes, and which may serve as a specimen of many I have received upon the same purpose.

"Dublin, August 23rd, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 18th instant, and was happy to hear that you and Mr. M. were well. Agreeable to your directions, I waited on Mr. C——, and he gave me a ten guinea note, which I enclose you: there is no particular news in town: we are all very well. Give my best respects to Mr. M——, and believe me to be,

"Your very humble servant,

"S. D.

"Mr. Edward John Newell".

This letter is endorsed, "*Dawes*, ten guineas".

Never suspecting these letters would appear in print, the correspondence that took place has not, of course, been entirely preserved; and it is even by chance that the few here laid before the public were not also destroyed, and which are far from being the most interesting. About this time a man of the name of Martin came to me to draw examinations against Charles Rankin, Esq., and some others, for high treason. Those examinations, by Mr. Rankin's interest, when offered to be sworn before Colonel Barber, neither he nor General Lake would admit to be done. I therefore enclosed the examinations in a letter, of which the following is a copy, to Lord Carhampton and also to Mr. Cooke:

"MY LORD,—Conscious as I am that there are no persons who exert themselves more to detect treason or who wishes more totally to destroy it, I take the liberty of addressing your lordship, confident that riches or power will never bias your lordship where duty calls, and to lay before you the examinations of a poor man, against a man of property, who, because the poor man embraced the proposals held out by the proclamation for a return of allegiance, has ever since done his utmost to ruin the man. Mr. Rankin, every person about the country knows to be a strict republican,

and I have often heard him talked of in our societies as a most active one. I am confident of the propriety of this part of the examinations which says, 'he was the cause of numbers being united'. I have the pikes mentioned, and I am sure, should it please your lordship, that the arresting of Mr. Rankin, and his servant M'Connell, would be of the utmost service to this part of the country. Should it be your lordship's pleasure, and if your lordship shall find me always willing and determined in doing my duty.

"And am, my lord, with every respect,
Your lordship's ever greatly obliged
"Very humble servant,
"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"Belfast, September 15th, 1797.
"To Lord Carhampton, Commander in Chief, etc."

On account of the jealousy which clearly showed itself towards me, by Mr. Murdoch's suspicion of a connexion between one of his family and me, I wrote to Cooke, that I thought it necessary, and wished to return to Dublin. I some time after received the following answer :—

"Dublin Castle, 30th September, 1797.

"SIR,—I received only yesterday your letter of the 19th, and enclose you ten pounds, that you may come up to town without delay, which by your own account seems necessary. Colonel Barber will assist you in your coming hither. When you arrive I will have the pleasure of conversing with you on the subject of the examinations which you inclosed.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"E. COOKE.

"Mr. Edward Newell".

In the latter end of October, I set off for Dublin, having first received from Colonel Barber twenty-four guineas, in addition to several prior sums.

Murdoch and his son Bob also accompanied me as evidences in my favour, and were I to search the world I could not have a better; for so willing was he to serve me, that he desired me on the journey to write out what I wished him to swear, and he would get it by heart and do so, let it be what it would, to assist me.

In Newry I met Mr. John Hughes, whom Colonel Barber had desired me, if I could by any chance meet with, to arrest; him, therefore, I made a prisoner, though I had no warrant or authority whatsoever for so doing but the direction of Colonel Barber, and sent him under a strong guard to Belfast. The crime alleged against him—his exertions to save the life of Orr! The next night I arrived in Dublin, accompanied by three others.

The 2nd of November, I received the following answer to a letter I had written upon the business :—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I had the pleasure of receiving your kind favour, for which I thank you. As to the inquest of Connell, a militia man in the

City of Limerick corps, I gave the papers to Mr. Bristow; but I recollect the most of the jurors. The foreman was Dr. Gelston, next *Alexander Gordon*, James Alderdice, next Dr. Shephard, Richard Moore, James Kirkwood; as to the rest I am not sure. The verdict was 'accidental death', which at the time they gave it in I thought to be false; however, let that be for a future day. I hope to see you on Saturday next, and then may tell you something more about it. Make my compliments to Mrs. Murdoch, and believe me to be, dear Sir, yours truly,

"WILLIAM ATKINSON.

"Belfast, October 31st, 1797.

"*Verbatim et literatim*".

On my arrival, Cooke and Kemmis severally applied to me to assist Bird in the prosecuting of Messrs. Kennedy, Shanaghan, etc., which I positively refused, and replied that, was I brought forward, from what I knew of Bird's character, my evidence would tend to injure rather than serve his testimony. The 3rd of November, Mr. Parroch and Mr. Robert Orr, of Belfast, passed through the Castle Yard, and as it was known they were principal exculpatory evidence against Bird, I informed him of the circumstance. He seemed greatly alarmed, and at his request I dogged them to Mr. Dowling's, their attorney, and also brought Major Sirr to Bird, having first left Mr. Dawes, the king's messenger, to watch where they should proceed to from that. When we arrived at Bird's room, he assured Sirr that they were most material evidence against him, and that if there were not some method taken to keep them out of the way, he would be ruined. I mentioned to Sirr that the best way would be to arrest them on suspicion, and keep them by until the trials would be over, and that I was confident they would be too much rejoiced at their enlargement to inquire the cause of their detention, fearful their inquisitiveness might be a means of having it prolonged. Sirr said it would be a great stretch of power, but the circumstance warranted it, and I, though I detested Bird, was willing to execute it. Orr I could take on suspicion of being an United Irishman, but Parroch's character is too well known to be arrested on that charge. Sirr and I that night searched the north country inns for to take them; but not meeting with them, and the trials being next morning postponed, the business dropped.

Dutton, the Newry informer, having a recommendation to me from a gentleman of that town, called to see me, and a few days after our acquaintance, Dutton was arrested at the suit of Mr. Ogle; fearful he might receive insult, I brought a guard with me to the courts and sheriff's office to prevent it. He was not liberated above an hour when he was taken upon a second charge of the same gentleman's, and I was obliged to get Mr. Kemmis to bail him.

On the 8th of November I received the following:—

"Belfast, 6th November, 1797.

"DEAR EDWARD,—I arrived here on Thursday night, and found all the family well, except Joseph, who still continues poorly. At Banbridge

I met the brave Colonel Barber, Doctor Atkinson, etc., posting for Dublin. On Saturday morning I received your letter with the *subpœna*. I served Mrs. Boyd, and will serve Francis Obre this day. He and the family are removed to Lisburn. Please God, I shall post it up, as the coach is taken every day to the 14th instant. Captain Rankin is gone up, so is two Fargusons, brothers to Farguson of Smithfield. As jurors, object to them all, as also Mr. Lepper and John Hastings. All here is quiet. No word of Magee that I can depend on. Mr. and Mrs. Philips are quite well. James has enlisted with Col. Barber. Let Robert get a coat and breeches made, and I will be with you on Thursday, and give him cash to pay for them, etc. —— Mrs. Murdoch's eyes are very bad; as soon as she is well, she will answer your letter. She and family join me in love to you and Robert. Please to give my compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, and believe me to be, dear Edward,

"Yours truly,
"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"My best respects to Mr. Dawes and son".

The night old Murdoch arrived in town, I had the honour of his company at my apartments at the Castle; Dutton, old and young Murdoch, Obre, Morgan, and Jameson, all of which, during my stay, lived with me, where I entertained them in the first style of elegance. After dinner, etc., we repaired to Mrs. Beattie's, where we spent the night in wine and debauchery.

The rapidly increased circulation of the *Press*, as soon almost as it was established, gave considerable alarm to administration by the publication of those atrocious acts, which were universally suspected to have been perpetrated with the connivance, but to my knowledge, with the warmest approbation of ——, etc. It therefore became a matter of the last importance to put it down, and happening one evening over a bottle to mention to Major Sirr that I had, about two years since, repeatedly seen the printer, Mr. Finnerty, at several public places in this city, where I remarked he talked with freedom on any questions that occurred, immediately Sirr suggested to me the propriety of swearing against him; and as Defenderism was the rage of that day, I was furnished with means sufficiently probable. Accordingly, the following examinations were drawn up, which, in case of his acquittal of the libel, for which he was then a prisoner and shortly to be tried, I was to have sworn.

"*County of* } The examination of Ed. John Newell, of said city,
City of Dublin. } miniature painter, who, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and duly examined before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county:

"Saith, that about two years ago, or better, he became acquainted with Peter Finnerty, of said city, printer, with whom he formed an intimacy: that some time after, being several times together in the house of —— Mathews, a publican, in Dame Court, he, the said Peter Finnerty, introduced the subject of Defenderism, which, finding was agreeable to exam., he proposed to exam. to become one; that, after some discourse on the

subject, he, exam., gave him the sign of a Defender, which Finnerty answered, and seemed much and agreeably surprised, saying he by no means suspected he was a friend, and wondered he had not before known it. He told exam. that he was secretary to a society of Defenders, showed him a list of names, and invited exam. to come the next night of meeting, which he intended holding at the said Mathews', in Dame Court; that he went to Mathews' at the time appointed, and there saw the said Mathews refuse to let Finnerty and his party have a private room, and they then left the house, and exam. stayed there, being ashamed to go with the men who then accompanied the said Finnerty.

"Nov., 1797".

As there was no business to be on the cloth this term, after a fortnight's stay, the expense of which, I am confident, was above a hundred guineas to government, we determined returning to the north; I therefore received from Mr. Taylor, Mr. Cooke's chief clerk, he being then in England, ten guineas for travelling expenses, seven guineas from Mr. Kemmis, and as it was impossible to get more until Mr. Cooke's return, I applied to Mr. Barber, who, with the utmost kindness, gave me ten guineas more on my giving him a receipt, as if I had received it before I left Belfast, he having no leave to give me money in Dublin.

Before Cooke went to England, he assured me that, according to his promise, he procured me a commission in the horse; that he got it out in another name, confident I would not wish to continue my own, but that he thought it better not not to put me in possession of it then, as I might be questioned about it on the trials.

When I returned to Murdoch's, the same friendship and scenes of felicity continued, and on the 18th of November I received the following production of that champion of religion and good government, and of which the town and neighbourhood of Newry can bear testimony—Dutton:—

"Dublin Castle,
"November 16, 1797.

"Dear Brother,—I beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived here last night. There appears nothing in the *Press* either with or against us, therefore I don't think worth while to send it. Should any new thing make its appearance in the paper of this night, I shall send it to-morrow night, that is to say, if I do not sail for England before that. Mr. Kemmis, who I saw last night, tells me there is no less than five writs out against me, therefore you may well suppose if they should once lay hold of your celebrated brother, he will be as happy as if the Devil had him. I would be glad you would write to me to Emerald-house, Wrixham, near Chester, and let me know what you are up to.

"My best respects to the Murdochs. I hope when I return from England, they will be able to put me in the way of earning a couple of hundreds; this they can't be off doing if they wish to befriend me, for they must reasonably suppose that poor Dutton can't carry on all those lawsuits without a great deal of cash, and where in the name of —— is he to get it. I hope none of his friends would wish him to be hanged for robbing

the mail-coach, or breaking into some of the banks. . . . Tell them to think upon this business; they have until the 9th of next month. Reflect upon it, and absolutely they might as well be guilty of murder as to neglect it; for I must see my council; and then, you know, there is another expense which I have not mentioned— . . . and I beg leave to subscribe myself your affectionate and celebrated brother,

"FRED. DUTTON.

"P.S.—I am now at Smith's, writing, and if you'd see his hair standing strait up on his head, you'd laugh, at my telling him the danger he must be in, when he comes into court to give in evidence, as I tell him there is a probability that some one or other may absolutely have the boldness to shoot him in open court; he firmly believes it will be the case.

"Lieut. E. J. Newell, Esq.,
"9th Light Dragoons, Belfast".

On the 20th of November, I received this by the name agreed on before by Cooke:—

"Dublin Castle,
"November 18, 1797.

"Mr. Cooke requests Mr. Newell will be kind enough to state what there is against A. Kennedy. He fled, and is applying to be admitted to take oaths, etc.

"Mr. John Ramsay, at Mr. Murdoch's,
"Hearth Collector, Belfast".
Franked, Wm. Taylor.

To which I wrote the following answer:—

"Fort St. George,
"November 21, 1797.

"SIR,—I received a letter of yours desiring a statement of facts against A. Kennedy. Of his united principles I had no knowledge until I became a military officer, in which capacity I also met him in military company; he must, therefore, have been very active, or he would not arrive at that honour. I after understood that he had been the principal and most active agent that had ever gone to the camp, and that he had made more soldiers united than any other man in this province. I know him to be a young man of most insinuating address, and a steady republican; and if I dare advise, it would be, not to accept of his oaths, as they would be only for a cloak. I see already the use that those who have been admitted to those liberties, and to bail, are making of them, and I really fear government will have cause to repent their lenity.

"I am, sir, etc., etc.,

"E. J. NEWELL".

On Saturday, the 2nd of December, on account of examinations sworn before General Lake, I received the following warrant:—

"*County of Down.*" In consequence of examinations lodged before me this day upon oath, against William Robinson, of the parish of Holywood, and county aforesaid, farmer; These are, therefore in his Majesty's name to command you to apprehend said William Robinson, and bring him before me, or any other of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, to be dealt with according to law. Given under my hand, this 2nd of December, 1797.

(Seal) "G. LAKE".

And also a mittimus.

About nine o'clock that evening, accompanied by Bob Murdoch, I went with a party of troopers and arrested him, and, according to directions, brought away whatever arms I could find; viz., two guns, three pistols, one sword, belt, powder-horn, etc. We kept him prisoner at Murdoch's until next morning, when I sent him off with a party of dragoons to Down jail.

That night, as we had every liberty, it being a proclaimed county, Murdoch and I searched several houses for arms, etc., racking everything, burning and destroying at pleasure, treating the inhabitants with such brutality, that some women on account of it fell into violent and dangerous convulsions.

One man in particular, of the name of M'Comon, whose door being shut, we forced open, and dragged him and his wife from their bed; destroying everything that came in our hands, trying for arms, while the wretched inmates stood almost naked, trembling with the apprehension of immediate destruction from the ferocity of the soldiers, who constantly abused them for not informing where were the arms and papers, of which, as they said, we had information; and on continuance of refusal of confession, would have *set fire* to the house, but that I was restrained by pity from the pleadings of an old, distressed woman, and prevented the completion of it. When tired of this virtuous and noble amusement, we retired to drown in drink and exultation our villainy, the terrors of darkness, and any thought of regret that should chance to occur for the atrocious barbarity of our conduct.

On the 6th I received the following note:

"Belfast, December 6th, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,—Until I receive small notes for a large bill I have to discount, I cannot at present send you more than *nine guineas*.

"Please to send a receipt for £11 7s. 6d. which includes the guinea you had from me on Sunday.

"It is unnecessary to interfere or employ soldiers of another corps: therefore must beg to be excused applying for one of the 22nd, to instruct you in the sword exercise, as I really am not intimate enough with the officer commanding there, to take on me to ask such a request.

"And am, sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"L. BARBER.

"Mr. Edward John Newell.

"P.S.—The bearer will hand you your receipt".

As Mr. Bird has taken the liberty of writing of me in a most unwarrantable style, as one of the most blood-thirsty cannibals, I must say, reflection should show him how maliciously false is the charge. Bird was an informer from sentiment; he made it his private profession, and was supported in it by Government, to whom he had applied for employment, and proved his abilities to be one. He stole into the confidence of men, he insinuated himself into their good graces, that he might know their sentiments, and turn them to their ruin and his profit. He was, however, detected in his scheme, and publicly branded with the title he deserved. Who, then, merits the character with which he distinguished me? He that traded on the lives of his fellow-creatures, bartered their safety and existence for gold, who could, with friendship, sit and smile in the face of the very man whose ruin he laboured to accomplish; or I, who, driven by passion, was led to improprieties, roused to revenge by an unjust suspicion? Surely, he best deserves it. He coolly premeditated crimes; I only committed them. He was a villain by design; I only by accident. As to his assertion of never intending to come forward to prosecute, I can say it is a most infernal falsehood. He was determined, he was prepared, he got himself drilled by K. for the business. Dutton and I went there with him, his cowardice not allowing him to go alone; he also applied to me to assist him on the trial; and on my refusal, got Cooke and K. to use their influence with me for that purpose, but with the like success. These are facts; the whole battalion of which he was the founder, can bear testimony, as well as Cooke and K.

Whether he considered me so base a character, his letters will show. This one I received December 13, signed by his then name of Smith, enclosed as follows:—

"Wednesday morning, December 13, 1797.

"Sir,—The within came inclosed to me, from Mr. Smith, by last night's post.

"And am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

"L. Barber.

"Mr. Newell".

"Dear Sir,—The woman you lodged with in Castle Yard has treated me in a manner so vile and atrocious, that I am at a loss which to admire, her assurance, or her inventive faculty; for such I think must be the assertion she made, when she said, 'you had sent her letters against me'; for I am unwilling even for a moment to suppose you guilty of such a dereliction of honour. I assure you, sir, this abandoned wretch (Mrs. Campbell) told Dutton we were a set of rascals, etc. That she knew us and would expose us. She —— Mr. Cooke and the Government to —— in a lump, and swore again, in the presence of a crowd, that we were a gang of thieves, robbers, etc., etc., and that she would expose us. She was so profuse of her compliments to Dutton, that he made a very early retreat, unable to stand or stem the torrent of abuse she heaped on us. Now, Mr. Newell, I leave it to your sagacity to discover this lady's

meaning, when she called us a set of robbers, etc. Could she mean me solo? surely not! Could she mean me and Dutton? We were merely a duet. Was it yourself, as well as us, that formed a trio? Indeed she certainly must include you in the gang of thieves she so pathetically described.

"I will allow that the lady might be under the command of the potent Captain Whisky, or the more potent Usquebaugh. But be that as it may, I am seriously resolved to punish the scurrilous wretch, as far as the law permits. But at the same time I cannot suppress my inclination of stating her conduct to you, who I think more deeply involved by her abuse than myself, as the creature's knowledge of me must be infinitely too small to occasion such expressions; nor is my determination of punishing her to the extremity of justice lessened by her subsequent conduct, as she boasts of having your protection!!! I cannot suppose it possible it can be so—she merits your most indignant scorn; and I have, Newell, much too good an opinion of you, to suppose you could descend to countenance so abandoned a woman. But as she has publicly declared 'she could produce letters from Newell against me, and would show them', I write merely to give you an opportunity of contradicting her assertions; for, as I before told you, I cannot for a moment suppose you could be capable of an action so truly wretched and contemptible.

"I hope Messrs. Murdoch and yourself are well.

"Your most respectful and very humble servant,

"J. Smith.

"N.B.—I beg the favour of an answer, directed under cover to Mrs. Morris, No. 5 Buckridge Court, Great Ship Street.

"December 11, 1797".

I answered this letter as it deserved, with a disbelief of its contents, knowing the person mentioned had no cause for such a report, or to abuse me, and one who had ever attended me with the greatest care and attention, and at whose request I wrote to Cooke and Mr. William J. Skeffington in her favour, as Smith had tried to injure her, she succeeded in spite of his complaints.

For this time nothing material happened. I enjoyed every diversion the town and country could afford, and the esteem of the Murdochs, except his jealousy began to increase. The following I received the 14th of December:

"Mr. Taylor would have answered Mr. N——'s letter long ago, but he was obliged to wait for Mr. Cooke's directions".

And enclosing the following:—

"Castle, December 11, 1797.

"Dear Sir,—I send you £20. I fear you may think I had forgot you, which was not the case, but I have been much hurried and fatigued. I am glad to find you are as active as ever.

"Your faithful, etc.,

"E. Cooke.

"E. Newell, Esq."

Some days following, I was sent for by Colonel Barber, to attend him at his own house, where I met with him and big Moore, the sub-sheriff; they produced to me a long list of names, who they said were summoned to attend in Dublin as jurors, which I was to examine, and mark each name I knew or should dislike. I did mark some, the colonel a good many, with the assistance of the sheriff. Colonel Barber told me it was necessary the lawyers should know what men might be depended on to give a verdict in favour of my evidence; and notwithstanding which, Mr. Barber, on the 24th of January, deliberately swore in the King's Bench, that he never assisted to pack the panel. Some time before the November term, little Atkinson, and a young man of the name of Moore, who I was told was an under-sheriff, waited on me at my apartments in the Castle, for the same purpose.

Murdoch's jealousy caused him to use Mrs. Murdoch with such cruelty, that, unwilling to be the cause of uneasiness to one I so truly esteemed, I removed from Murdoch's. I reasoned with him about his treatment, and assured him he had no grounds for to warrant it. He, however, insisted I should return to his house, with which I after some days complied.

Day after day his severities increased, and in such a manner as showed him to be devoid of all sense of shame or decency, and that human nature never was so disgraced as in this most infamous of mankind. A constant continuance of this outrage forced her to seek elsewhere that peace she was denied at home.

On the 16th of January, I received from Colonel Barber fifteen guineas, and on the 20th, ten; I also received a letter from Mr. Cooke, requesting my immediate attendance in Dublin, and referring me to the collector of Belfast for any money I might want; which letter is in Mr. Skeffington's hands, and by his order Mr. Salmon gave me twenty guineas. On Sunday, the 21st of January, having received the following order, I set off for Dublin, where I arrived the next evening, being accompanied by Mr. Francis Obre, as an assistant evidence.

"Belfast, 16th January, 1798.

"I am directed by Lieutenant-General Lake to desire you will give the necessary orders for a non-commissioned officer and five mounted dragoons to escort the bearer, Mr. Newell, from Belfast to Dublin; who must likewise be provided with a dragoon horse, to be returned at Lisburn, Banbridge, Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"William Nicholson,

"Aide-de-camp".

"_____

"Officer commanding the garrison, Belfast".

Next day old Murdoch came to town, and after some hot words which I, on account of his being drunk, took no notice of, he called on me the following morning, and requested I would think nothing of what had passed, as he was willing to bury all in oblivion, as he would not give the

united rascals the satisfaction of thinking we had fallen out. This dispute had on me a different effect, and for the first time I began to feel remorse. I next morning went to the courts, ready and in waiting with the utmost painful anxiety for the moment when I should be called to the table. The satisfaction I experienced on the trials being put off can only be conceived by one in the same situation. I trusted that during the long vacation something would turn up to prevent my being obliged to swear away the life of any person: my hope has been agreeably and happily realized.

During that week I made it my business to frequent an inn where several of the northerns lodged; their behaviour, which was friendly, struck me, and I determined to go on Sunday to see the prisoners in Kilmainham, which I did. There did these worthy sons of their country forget my being the cause of their confinement, and received me as if I had still been what I once was. But believe me, I did not attempt to visit those whom I then intended to prosecute, though the generous fellows were willing to lay aside everything, and while I staid there, received me as a friend. No! bad even as I was, I could not meet in friendship the men I had determined to injure.

I determined no longer to be a tool, but to return to the principles, of which deserting had been the cause of all my misery. All the flattering prospects which government had placed before my eyes vanished before the reward which would await upon this conduct—happiness, peace of mind, confidence in the propriety of my behaviour, the forgiveness of those I had injured, and the hopes of once more being considered an honest man.

All this time Murdoch lived with me in the greatest friendship; we eat, drank, went to every diversion, arm and arm walked the streets: nevertheless, some friends informed me that Murdoch, on being checked by some for being seen with me, who had so injured the credit of the family, had assured them that he only waited for an opportunity to destroy me, and his show of friendship was for that purpose. I upbraided him with it. In the course of the business, he informed me that if ever I came to the north, three persons there had sworn to murder me, or fall in the attempt. I proved to him how little I valued the threat, and the business for this time stopped. But, in the evening of Sunday, January 28, I having dined out, on my return home, found Murdoch waiting supper for me, and was uneasy I could not sup, from being unwell. When I had stripped myself, and was stepping into bed, he drew a pistol from his pocket, and snapped it at my head. I therefore sent him to the guard-house, and next morning lodged examinations against him, who, from being the cause of my being an informer, I now doubly detested, and that evening lodged him in Newgate, where he enjoyed a refinement of misery, as some letters written by his wife to me had been taken out of a trunk of mine, the other contents of which had been destroyed. I wish to clear myself of the charge of sending them to him. No! though I would wish to punish him, it should not have been in that manner, and had I known it, he never should have seen them.

On Sunday night, the 4th of February, on returning to my lodgings in the Castle, the sentry refused me admittance, which I insisting on, he

made a push at me with his bayonet, which I threw up, and received through my hat the stab—that which I suppose was intended for my heart. A very furious scuffle ensued, during which I discharged two pistols at him, for which I was carried to the guard-room, where, having used some warm expressions and altercation with the officers, Mr. Watson interfered and had me removed to my own rooms, where I was guarded, until ordered next day to be liberated.

On waiting on Mr. Cooke, he spoke to me rather warmly about my behaviour, and the sentiments I had used in the guard-room, and wondered how, after becoming an Orangeman, I could retain such rebellious notions. I assured him I was not yet an Orangeman, though, on being solicited by Dr. Atkinson, I promised to become one after the trials. He seemed very angry at my having so long neglected so necessary a qualification; told me I did not rightly consider my obligations to government, for almost any other man would have been hanged who would dare to fire at a sentinel.

Even this great favour could not drive from my mind the determination I had formed of retiring from the paths of iniquity. I therefore wrote the following letter to a gentleman of popular character:—

"Dublin Castle,
"February 6, 1798.

"Sir,—From the confidence I have in your honour, and the knowledge I have of your character, I address you, though I never had the happiness of your intimate acquaintance, to inform you that, from the constant examples of the perfidy of government that are in my eyes—from what I suffer in my own mind—from the recollection of my own improprieties—from the manner I see myself despised by honest men, and the sensations I feel from my exposure in print, I am heartily sorry for my past conduct, and wish, through you, the people to be informed of it; and that if they will again receive me into favour and forgiveness, they shall never have cause to be sorry for it; and though I know the injuries I have done them to be great, I think I can make some restitution, by the exposure of the plans of government, in which I have been connected.

"And I am, sir, your very humble servant,
"Edward John Newell".

I on the next day received this answer:—

"Belfast Hotel, February 7.

"Sir,—I received your's of yesterday, and shall not fail to make known your intentions to such as I associate with. And from what I know of the forgiving disposition of the people, I think myself justified in saying they would feel more real satisfaction in the forgiving of a penitent, than the punishing of an offender.

"Your's, etc.

"Mr. Edward John Newell, Dublin Castle".

During this time I lived even in greater extravagance than before; having

continually large parties banqueting with me in the Castle, keeping also horses, attendants, etc.

Determined, however, to put my plan of elopement into execution, I applied to Mr. Cooke to send me to England, which he agreed to, fixing Worcester as my place of residence, where I was to take upon me the name of Johnston, and seem to follow the miniature painting, but should be regularly supplied from Government with whatever money I should write for. He desired my departure to be delayed for a few days; but, uneasy at my detention, on Thursday, 15th, I wrote the following:—

"Sir,—As you have not settled with yourself about my immediately going to England, I write to inform you, that, so uneasy is my state of mind from the reports that I hear, that if you choose not immediately to let me depart, I shall go off of myself, and depend on my business for support rather than endure what I at present suffer. Nevertheless, I shall constantly acquaint you with the place of my abode, and shall ever be ready to contribute all in my power for the welfare of Government.

"Sir, etc., yours, etc.

"Edward John Newell.

"Edward Cooke, Esq."

Which was answered in less than an hour.

"Mr. Cooke's compliments to Mr. Newell: he has spoke on the subject of his wishes, and he may go to England. Mr. Cooke wishes to see Mr. Newell to-morrow morning.

"Castle, Thursday".

I waited on him the next day for the last time, and on my taking leave, received from him fifty guineas, with direction to write and give him every information of occurrences; and about ten o'clock that night I took leave of the Castle, and bid a long adieu to all my greatness, and here put an end to a life of upwards of ten months, which was fraught with every scene of infamy, luxury, and debauchery, during which I must have cost the Government a sum of no less than two thousand pounds, as a reward for having in that short time been the cause of confining 227 innocent men to languish in either the cell of a bastile or the hold of a tender; and, as I have heard, has been the cause of many of their deaths; as also for having been the cause of upwards of 300 having fled from their habitations, their families, and industry, to hide in the mountains, or seek for safety in some distant land; and as I was the first who informed against any of the military, by the taking up of Real, who was terrified into our measures, until he informed on the rest of the Monaghan regiment, and prosecuted the four brave men who were shot at Blaris camp, and whose blood must lie on my head; and many other crimes, for which my future life, I fear, will never be able to atone.

Shortly after my departure, I sent the following letter to Mr. M'Gucken, attorney, enclosing one to the prisoners:—

"Sir,—From my knowledge of your political character and exertions in

favour of the prisoners, I take the liberty of requesting you to lay before them the enclosed letter, and as a man whose goodness of heart will lead you to pity the frailty of human nature, that you will use your influence in my favour to gain their forgiveness, which from their generous behaviour to me in my visits to their prison, I trust not to be disappointed in; their kindness there first brought me to a thorough sense of my duty, their pardon will be the confirmation of my adherence to it. Assure them they have nothing further to fear from me; worlds would not now bribe me to a continuance of my former improprieties, and, could life purchase a forgetfulness of my past unnatural conduct, with pleasure I would pay the forfeit. I enclose you a list of all the prisoners who have been taken in Belfast and vicinity, upon the common charge of treason, copied from one given me by General Barber, and I remark at the bottom those against whom there is nothing but suspicion: your good sense will show you the use that may be made of it; and am, sir, with every respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"Edward John Newell.

"James M'Gucken, Esq."

"*To Messrs. Gordon, Barrett, and Burnside, etc., Kilmainham Jail.*

"From you, whose steady and persevering conduct in the cause of humanity does honour both to yourselves and those with whom you are connected, and convinces the world how worthy *you* are of the confidence your countrymen have placed in you—to you who have suffered with pleasure in the horrors of a dungeon a long and close confinement, do I, who have been the cause of that confinement, dare to plead for forgiveness, because I know the generous philanthropy of your hearts. I can offer no other extenuation of the injuries I have done you than that I was instigated by anger and revenge. Enraged by the suspicions that were entertained of me when I was *really* honest, and knowing the punishment to which these suspicions exposed me, I resolved to take vengeance for the injuries I received. I became an informer: a false shame for a while prevented my return to honesty and truth. Did you know how galling it is to be suspected when undeserving—did you know, and it is the truth, that, though I could not withstand suspicion or insult, I had *died* with pleasure for the cause; and that being thought unworthy of the confidence reposed in me made life so invaluable to me, that desperation ensued, and drove me to those crimes which, though I wish, I fear can never be atoned for,—I am sure you would pity more than condemn the act, though the continuance in iniquity deserves no mercy. I rely on your goodness, and hope the proof I shall give of my sincere repentance, by the exposure of Government, and a life devoted to the service of my country, will partly atone for me, and make me again worthy of your esteem and confidence;

"And remain, etc.

"Edward John Newell".

Having got out of the reach of my enemies, and finding myself once more comfortable amongst some of my old acquaintances, who had by mere good luck escaped sharing the same fate of the rest, and who I highly

entertained, relating to them several exploits, opinions, fears, and inquiries of the conductors of Government; informing them of the many modes by which they got their informations, who the different private informers were, some of which they had never suspected; as also the manner that business was conducted at the *post-office*.

On the 23d of February, I wrote four letters, one to the Lord Lieutenant, one to Mr. Cooke, one to General Barber, and one to Mr. Watson, private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; and which were delivered to them by a friend of mine, and the copies left for insertion in the *Press*, and of course carried off at the ransacking of that office. I shall, however, attempt to give a sketch of the one of his Excellency, from memory, and Mr. Cooke's as it appeared in print:—

"My Lord,—After having been so long an inmate of yours at the Castle, it would be the height of ingratitude in me to take leave without returning my most sincere thanks for the many marks of attention and uncommon kindness conferred upon me; and for the *fifty guineas* which I received on Saturday. I beg leave to give you a piece of the most important and really the truest information you ever received from me, and that is, to follow my example and decamp.

"For your free and gracious pardon for every act which I committed previous to my becoming an informer, I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks, and you may rest assured that I will carefully preserve it. Wishing therefore your Lordship a long and final adieu,

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"E. John Newell".

"*To Edward Cooke, Esq.*

"Sir,—As I hope in a few days to present you with my history in print, I shall not trouble you much at present, as in *it*, you will see my reasons *for deserting*, and for first becoming one of the *Battalion of Testimony;* on mature reflection I am confident you must say—to yourself, I have acted right. I shall not pretend to say I am beyond your power, but should you ever arrest me, you will find my heart was never afraid to end the project I had once began. You will know, not a friendship for Government, but my affection for the Murdoch family, was my reason for becoming an *Informer;* that attachment having ceased, the tie that bound me to you was no more, and I am again what I then was. Connected with Murdoch, *I was a villain*, but unconnected with him cease to be so.

"I think you will now be tired of the business of information, and I assure you you will shortly have no occasion for it. Think how disgraceful must appear such connections and support, when even spies and informers scorn and fly their association, and throw themselves on the forgiveness of their injured country, for being awhile connected with such miscreants. I hope you will now acquit me of the charge of want of feeling. I return you thanks for the numberless favours you have conferred on me, and assure you that I would not exchange one single hour of my present happiness for ten thousand times the sums you have already lavished on me. I

have no occasion *now* for pistols: the propriety of my present behaviour is guard enough; the forgiveness of my country rewards it; every honest man is my friend, and for the other part of the community, their esteem is a disgrace. My bosom is what it has not been this long time, *the seat of contentment;* and I thank my God for having saved me from impending ruin. "E. J. Newell".

A communication being now opened between Mrs. Murdoch and me, she agreed and accomplished an elopement, and after living with me for twelve days, I found it necessary to quit the kingdom; and in order to get rid of her I informed Murdoch where she was, who all this time with George had been scouring the country in quest of her, and accordingly this pot-valiant hero attended, and carried her home with every joy and forgiveness.

Having now submitted to the public, in my own illiterate stile, this production, the impartiality and truth of which my letters of correspondence (seized by Alderman Exshaw, and deposited in the Castle) will best show: and, if this voluntary publication of my own infamy, and proclaiming to the world the conduct of a desperate and wicked junto, can in any degree make a restitution for the perjuries and crimes I have committed, my object is fully answered; and with every respect for that public, to which I have been so great a traitor, I subscribe myself

The public's most obedient servant,

E. J. Newell.

APPENDIX VIII.

LIST OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS INCLUDED IN THE FUGITIVE BILL, AND BANISHMENT ACT, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

FUGITIVE BILL.

Adair, ———

Bashford, Thomas Gunning
Burke, William
Burke, James
Bryson, Andrew

Campbell, Wm. (*alias M'Keevers*)
Cooke, Patrick
Cormick, John
Cullen, William

Delany, Michael
Derry, Valentine
Dixon, Thomas
Duckett, ———
Duignan, Miles

Egan, Cornelius

Fitzpatrick, Michael

Holt, Joseph
Houston, Thomas
Hull, James

Jackson, John
Jackson, James

Kelly, James
Kenna, Matthew
Keogh, Bryan

Lewins, Edward John
Lawless, William
Lowry, Alexander

M'Can, Anthony
M'Cormick, Richard
M'Guire, John
M'Mahon, Arthur
Miles, Matthew
Morres, Harvey
Mouritz, Joseph, or Joshua

Neale, James
Nervin, John

O'Brien, John
O'Finn, Edward
Orr, Joseph
Orr, Robert

Plunkett, James

Reynolds, Michael

Swift, Deane
Scully, John
Short, Miles
Short, Owen

Tandy, James Napper
Teeling, Bartholomew
Tone, Theobald Wolfe
Townsend, James
Turner, Samuel

BANISHMENT ACT.

Andoe, Thomas
Astley, Alexander
Aylmer, William

Boyle, Edward
Brady, Thomas
Bushe, James M.
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Garret
Banks, Henry
Bannen, Peter
Barrett, John

Carthy, Denis
Castles, John
Chambers, John
Comyn, John
Cormick, Joseph
Corcoran, Peter
Cuff, Farrell
Cumming, George
Cuthbert, Joseph

Daly, Richard
Davis, Joseph
Dillon, Richard
Devine, Patrick
Dorney, John
Dowling, Matthew
Doyle, Michael
Dry, Thomas

Emmet, Thomas Addis
Evans, Hampden

Farrell, Andrew
Farrell, Denis
Fitzgerald, Edward
Flood, Michael

Geraghty, James
Goodman, Robert
Goodman, Rowland
Greene, John
Griffin, Lawrence

Haffey, James
Hanlon, Patrick
Harrison, John
Houston, William
Hudson, Edward

Ivers, Peter

Jackson, Henry

Kavanagh, Morgan
Keane, Edward Crookshank
Keenan, John
Kelly, Lawrence
Kennedy, John
Kennedy, John Gorman
Kinkead, John
Kinselagh, John

Lacy, John
Lube, George
Lynch, John
Lynch, Patrick

M'Cabe, William Putnam
M'Dermott, Bryan
Mac Neven, William James
Macan, Patrick
Martin, Christopher
Madden, Patrick
Meagher, Francis
Milliken, Israel
Mowney, Patrick
Mulhall, Michael

Neilson, Samuel
Neilson, Robert

O'Connor, Arthur
O'Reilly, Richard

Quigley, Michael

Redfern, Robert
Reily, John
Reynolds, Thomas

Rose, James
Russell, Thomas

Sweetman, John
Smyth, James
Sampson, William
Speers, Henry
Swing, John

Tierman, James
Toland, Daniel

Ware, Hugh
Wilson, Hugh

Young, John

APPENDIX IX.

COPY OF THE ADMISSION, ETC., OF SOME OF THE STUDENTS AT TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

Nomina Admissiorum.	Qualitates.	Anni.	Patres.	Patrum Qualitates.	Loca Nativitatum.	Tempora Admissorum.	Ludimagistri.	Tutores.
Henricus Sheares .	Pen.*	18	Henrici	Gen.† .	Corcagensis	1773, 3 Nov., h. 4 P.M.	Mr. Adamson	Mr. Richardson
Chris. Temple Emmet	P. .	14	Roberti	Medici . .	Dublinensis	1775, May 1, h. 6, A.M.	— Kerr	— Hales
Rogerus Conner .	P. .	16	Rogeri	Gen. . .	Dublinensis	1777, June 16, h. 1, P.M.	— M. West	— Day
Thomas Addis Emmet	P. .	14	Roberti	Medici . .	Corcagensis	1778, Julii 7, h. 6, A.M.	— Kerr	— Hales
Arthurus Conner .	P. .	17	Rogeri	Armigeri .	Corcagensis	1779, Junii 7, h. 6, A.M.	Dr. Browne	— Day
Admissus in Sociorum Commensales, April 24, 1781.								
Theobald. Wolfe Tone	P. .	17	Pet.	Mechan.‡ .	Dublinensis	1781, Feb. 19	Mr. Craig	— Young
John. Sheares . .	P. .	16	Hen.	Gen. . .	Corcagensis	1783, Jan. 20, h. 1, P.M.	— Leigh	— Stack
Robertus Emmet .	P. .	15	Roberti	Medici . .	Dublinensis	1793, Oct. 7, h. 1, P.M.	— Lewis	— Graves

* "Pen." and "P." are contractions for Pensionarius.

† "Gen." is a contraction for Generosi.

‡ "Mechan." is a contraction for Mechanici.

APPENDIX X.

RELIGION PROFESSED BY PERSONS OF EMINENCE, OR LEADING MEMBERS OF THE UNITED IRISH SOCIETY.

[The names in brackets are of the state prisoners who had been in Fort George.]

PROTESTANTS.	PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
Thomas A. Emmet, Bar.	William Tennant, M.D.	W. J. M'Neven, M.D.
Arthur O'Connor, Bar.	Robert Simms,	John Sweeny,
Roger O'Connor, Bar.	Samuel Neilson,	Joseph Cormick,
Thomas Russell,	George Cumming,	John Sweetman,
John Chambers,	Joseph Cuthbert,	
Matthew Dowling,	Rev. W. Steele Dickson,	
Edward Hudson,		
Hugh Wilson,		
William Dowdall,		
Robert Hunter,		
Hon. Simon Butler, Bar.	William Drennan, M.D.	Peter Finnerty,
A. H. Rowan,	* William Orr,	* William Michael Byrne,
James Napper Tandy,	Samuel Orr,	* John M'Cann,
Lord Edward Fitzgerald,	William Putman M'Cabe,	* J. Esmond, M.D.
* Henry Sheares, Bar.	* Henry Monroe,	William Lawless,
* John Sheares, Bar.	* James Dickey, Attor.	Edward John Lewins,
Oliver Bond,	Henry Haslett,	* William Byrne,
* B. B. Harvey,	William Sampson, Bar.	* Walter Devereux,
John Russell,	* Henry Joy M'Cracken,	John Devereux (the Gen. Devereux),
T. W. Tone, Bar.	William Sinclair,	
* Bartholomew Tone,	J. Sinclair,	Garret Byrne,
Thomas Wright, M.D.	Robert M'Gee, M.D.	* Esmond Kyan,
Wm. Levingston Webb,	Israel Milliken,	Charles Teeling,
William Hamilton,	Gilbert M'Ilvain, jun.	Bartholomew Teeling,
Matthew Dowling, Attor.	Robert Byers,	Richard M'Cormick,
Richard Kirwan,†	* Henry Byers,	Thomas Doorley,
James Reynolds, M.D.	S. Kennedy,	* Felix Rourke,
Deane Swift, Bar.	Robert Hunter,	Bernard Mahon,
* Matthew Keogh,	Robert Orr,	John Sweetman,
Thomas Corbett,	Hugh Grimes,	Edward Fitzgerald (Wexford),
William Corbett,	William Kean,	
William Weir,	James Burnside,	William Aylmer,
John Allen,	James Greer,	* S. Barrett,
Thomas Bacon,	Rowley Osborne,	Ferdinand O'Donnell,
Robert Emmet,	Mr. Turner,	* Colonel O'Doude,
Joseph Holt,	William Simms,	* John Kelly,
Henry Jackson,	John Rabb,	Thomas Cloney,

* Executed.

† The eminent chemist and mineralogist, on the authority of Dr. M'Neven, was sworn by him Dr. M'N.

PROTESTANTS.	PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
Dr. M'Donnell (Belfast),	James Hope,	* John Clinch,
Whitly Stokes, F.T.C.D.	—— Jordan,	James Farrell,
James Johnston, M D.†	John Hughes,	Michael Dwyer,
Edwd Lysaght, Bar.	William Dunne,	* Harvey Hay,
William Humphreys	Thomas Houston, junr.	James Plunkett,
Lord Cloncurry (the late)	John Story,	Richard Dease, M.D.
Lord Wycombe,	Dr. Alex. Crawford,	John Keogh (Mt. Jerome)
Colonel Lumm,	Adam Maclean,	John Byrne Madden,
John Pollock,	—— M'Tier,	Cornelius M'Loughlin,
Hampden Evans,	—— M'Leery,	Henry O'Hara,
Thos. Cumming Bashford,	—— M'Aughtrey,	Christopher Teeling, M.D.
Samuel Turner,	Robert Neilson,	W. Murphy,
		N. P. O'Gorman.

THE CLERGY WHO WERE IMPLICATED OR ACCUSED OF BEING CONCERNED IN THE REBELLION WERE THE FOLLOWING :—

PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
* Rev. Mr. Warwick,	* Rev. Moses Kearns,
Rev. W. Steele Dickson,	* Rev. John Murphy,
* Rev. William Porter,	Rev. Michael Murphy,
Rev. Samuel Barber,	Rev. Mr. Kavanagh,
Rev. Arthur Mahon,	* Rev. Mr. Redmond,
Rev. Mr. Birch,	Rev. Mr. Stafford,
Rev. Mr. Ward,	* Rev. P. Roche,
Rev. Mr. Smith,	Rev. H. O'Keon,
Rev. Mr. Sinclair,	* Rev. Mr. Prendergast,
* Rev. Mr. Stevelly,	Rev. Mr. Harold,
Rev. Mr. M'Neill,	* Rev. J. Quigley,
Rev. Mr. Simpson,	Rev. Denis Taafe,
Rev. Sinclair Kelburne.	Rev. John Barrett,
	Rev. James M. Bushe.

There never was a greater mistake than to call the attempted revolution of 1798 "a Popish rebellion". Alike in its origin and organization, it was preëminently a Protestant one.

Neither the "Popish religion", nor the Celtic race of Ireland, can lay any claim to the great majority of the founders and organizers of the Society of United Irishmen. Strange to say, for their origin we must go back to the records of the seizures and confiscations of the properties of the old inhabitants of Ireland, and the apportionment of the spoil among the English adventurers who came over on the first expedition of the Earl of Pembroke, or in the train of the succeeding marauders, or who were brought over by Oliver Cromwell, and were left behind to plant English civility and true religion in this colony. But many of the English lords of the Pale so far forgot their mission, it appears, as to become *Hiberniores quam Hibernis ipsis*, and several of their descendents were founders of Roman Catholic

* Executed.

†The late eminent medical practitioner, Physician Extraordinary to William the Fourth, Dr. Johnston, of Suffolk Street, London, on his own authority I can state was an active member of the United Irishmen's Society of Belfast, in which town he had settled in 1798.

families in Ireland—viz., the Aylmers, Plunkets, Bellews, Daltons, Delamars, Prestons, Barnwalls, Nettervilles, Walshes, etc. But what is more germane to my subject, a very large number of those early English colonists and lords of the English Pale, who came into possession of the confiscated estates of the old Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, were the ancestors of the founders and organizers of the society of United Irishmen, whose main object was the separation of Ireland from England.

The following list of names is sufficiently confirmatory of the preceding statement:—Fitzgerald, Roche, Plunket, Dillon, Allen, Barret, Rowan, Sampson, Taaffe, Dowdall, Hudson, Hunter, Munroe, M'Cracken, Harold, Sheares, Hamilton, Emmet, Bond, Chambers, Perry, Tone, Swift, Drennan, Simms, Tennant, Sweetman, Devereux, Ryan, Hay, Orr, Sinclair, Tandy, Harvey, Kernan, Reynolds, Weir, Jackson, M'Donnell, Harvey Morres.

APPENDIX XI.

ALL THE FACTIONS FULLY AND FAIRLY REPRESENTED IN THE LAST IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, ELECTED IN 1797.

The following list of the fourth part of the three hundred members who constituted the Commons of Ireland furnishes a fair specimen of the composition of that house, as it existed in 1799 :—

Belfast, Right Hon. the Earl of, Carrickfergus city and borough.
Beresford, Right Hon. John, Waterford city.
Beresford, Colonel Marcus, borough of Swords.
Beresford, John, borough of Coleraine.
Beresford, John Claudius, city of Dublin.
Beresford, Right Hon. (Earl of Tyrone), Londonderry city.
Bruce, Sir Stewart, borough of Lisburn.
Boyle, Lord Viscount, Cork city.

Castlereagh, Lord Viscount (Right Hon. R. Stewart), Down county.
Corry, Lord Viscount, Tyrone county.
Cole, Lord Viscount, Fermanagh county.
Cole, Lieut.-Col. Galbraith Lowry, borough of Enniskillen.
Cole, Hon. A. Hamilton, borough of Enniskillen.
Chichester, Lord Spencer, borough of Belfast.
Chichester, Lord Spencer, Carrickfergus.
Cooke, Edward, borough of Leighlin.
Cornwall, Robert, borough of Gorey.
Clements, Lord Viscount, Leitrim county.
Coote, General Eyre, borough of Maryborough.
Coote, Charles Henry, Queen's County.

Duigenan, Patrick, LL.D., borough of Charlemont.

Egan, John, Louth city.

Foster, Right Hon. John, Louth city.
Foster, Hon. Thomas Henry, borough of Dunleer.

Gorges, Hamilton, Meath county.

Hamilton, Hans, Dublin city.
Hill, Sir George Fitzgerald, Londonderry county.
Hopkins, Sir Francis, borough of Kilbeggan.

Johnston, Robert, borough of Carlingford.
Jocelyn, Hon. John, borough of Dundalk.

Kemmis, Henry, borough of Tralee.
Kingsborough, Lord, Roscommon county.
King, Right Hon. Henry, borough of Boyle.
King, Hon. Robert, borough of Boyle.
King, Charles, borough of Belturbet.
King, Gilbert, borough of Jamestown.
King, John, borough of Jamestown.
Knox, Hon. Charles, borough of Dungarvan.
Knox, Hon. George, LL.D., University of Dublin.
Knox, Andrew, borough of Strabane.
Knox, James, borough of Taghmon.
Knox, Francis, borough of Philipstown.

Latouche, Right Hon. David, borough of Newcastle.
Latouche, David, jun., borough of Newcastle.
Latouche, John, sen., Kildare county.
Latouche, Robert, borough of Harristown.
Latouche, John, jun., borough of Harristown.

Longfield, Captain J., borough of Ballynakil.
Lowther, Gorges, borough of Ratoath.
Loftus, Lord Viscount, Wexford city.
Loftus, Major-General William, borough of Bannow.

Macartney, Sir John, borough of Naas.
Mahon, Ross, borough of Granard.
Mason, Right Hon. J. Monck, borough of St. Canice.
Musgrave, Sir Richard, borough of Lismore.

Pelham, Hon. Thomas, borough of Armagh.
Ponsonby, Right Hon. W. Brabazon, Kilkenny.
Ponsonby, J. Brabazon, borough of Dungarvan.
Ponsonby, George, Galway city.
Ponsonby, Major William, borough of Fethard.
Pakenham, Hon. Thomas, borough of Longford.

Rochford, Gustavus, Westmeath county.
Rochford, John S., borough of Fore.
Roche, Sir Boyle, borough of Leighlin.
Rowley, William B., borough of Kinsale.

Rowley, Samuel C., borough of Kinsale.
Rowley, Josias, borough of Downpatrick.
Rowley, Clotworthy, borough of Downpatrick.
Rowley, Hon. Clotworthy, Meath county.

Sneyd, Nathaniel, Leitrim city.
Skeffington, Hon. Wm., borough of Antrim.
Skeffington, William John, borough of Antrim.

Trench, General Le Poer, borough of Newtownlimavady.
Trench, Frederick, borough of Portarlington.
Toler, Right Hon. John, borough of Gorey.
Tottenham, Charles, New Ross town.
Tottenham, Ponsonby, borough of Clonmines.

Whaley, Thomas, borough of Enniscorthy.

Vereker, Lieut.-Colonel Charles, Limerick city.
Verner, James, borough of Dungannon.

With a parliament so constituted, there could be no hope of any reform of its own inherent vices, and all the corruption and venality emanating from itself.

In the preceding list we find six families, namely, the Beresfords, the Ponsonbys, the Kings, the Knoxes, the Rowleys, and the Latouches, giving twenty-nine members to the Irish House of Commons in 1799, and some of those members representing two constituencies at the same time, thus accomplishing what Sir Boyle Roche thought an impossibility for an ordinary man—to be in two places at one time, like a bird. The peerage, the government, the bureaucracy, and the inner bar were represented in that house: the people could hardly be said to be represented there at all.

APPENDIX XII.

TEST, SIGNS, EMBLEMS, DEVICES, AND LYRICS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

The candidate for admission into the Society, after it became a secret one in 1794, was sworn either by individuals, or in the presence of several members, in a separate room from that in which the meeting was held. A paper, consisting of eight pages of printed matter, called the Constitution, was placed in his right hand, and the nature of it was explained to him: that part of it called the "Test" was read to him, and repeated by him. The oath was administered either on the Scriptures, or a prayer-book; and while it was administering to him, he held the Constitution, together with the book, on his right breast. The Constitution contained the Declaration, Resolutions, Rules, Test, Regulations for the various committees, and form of certificate of admission into the Society.

The mode of recognition was the following:—A member desiring to ascertain if a person was initiated, or to make himself known to another party, on meeting with a person not previously known as an United Irishman,—repeated the first letter of the word "United" in this manner "I know *U*"; the person accosted, if initiated, answered—"I know *N*"; and so on, each alternately repeating the remaining letters of the word. Where further proof of initiation was required, there was a form of examination of a series of questions, to which the following answers were required, and which was in common use among the lower orders.

Quest.—Are you straight?
Ans.—I am.
Quest.—How straight?
Ans.—As straight as a rush.
Quest.—Go on then?
Ans.—In truth, in trust, in unity, and liberty.
Quest.—What have you got in your hand?
Ans.—A green bough.
Quest.—Where did it first grow?
Ans.—In America.

Quest.—Where did it bud?
Ans.—In France.
Quest.—Where are you going to plant it?
Ans.—In the crown of Great Britain.

This form of examination was gone through by the wretches who slaughtered the prisoners on the Bridge of Wexford. Charles Jackson, in his account of these atrocious proceedings, of which he was an eye-witness, states, that the questions put to such of the prisoners as professed to be Roman Catholics, were as to the creed of the prisoners, the forms of prayer, and external signs of religion.

The practice of cutting the hair short on the back of the head, at the time of initiation, was one of those singular customs in use among the United Irishmen, which it is difficult to comprehend the reason for. It was calculated only to attract attention by its singularity, and to excite suspicion. It was considered, in the rebellion, one of the *primâ facie* evidences of disaffection, and gained for the persons who wore their hair short the name of "Croppies"; it caused the deaths of a great number of persons. It is singular, that the contrary practice of wearing the hair long, whether on the beard or head, at an earlier period, was likewise punished with the severest penalties; but this was done by legal authority. A statute was enacted in Ireland, at a parliament held at Trim, by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant in the year 1447, 25 Henry VI. The law compelled the Irish to shave the upper lip, and to cut their hair short; so that the law made the people Croppies at one period, and the power that was above the law, at a later date, considered the practice of cropping as a proof of treasonable intentions.

The emblems commonly displayed on their publications, on their flags, seals, etc., were either a harp without a crown, and with this motto: "It is new strung, and shall be heard": or two hands clasped together, or the shamrock, and the harp surmounted by a star. The mottos in general use were—"Erin go bragh"; "The Union of Irishmen"; "Unite and be Free"; "Remember Orr"; "The fourteenth of July, 1789, the day sacred to Liberty"; "The Emerald Isle"; "The people are awake—they are up"; "The Morning Star is shining"; "The Diffusion of Light", etc.

The colour of the United Irishmen was the old fancy colour of nature, emblematic, I presume, of the verdant soil of the Emerald Isle.

To the lyric muse of George Nugent Reynolds, of Dr. Drennan, Counsellor Lysaght, etc., etc., the United Irishmen owed their songs for festive meetings. Several songs, I am informed, and some that were popular in Munster, were composed by John Sheares, and published in a collection called *The Harp of Erin*, printed in Cork, under the auspices of Mr. Roger O'Connor, and suppressed in March, 1798; but which of the productions that appeared in that publication were his, I have not been able to ascertain.

In Mr. T. Crofton Croker's *Popular Songs of Ireland*, an account is given from Fitzgerald's *Cork Remembrancer*, of a public entertainment succeeding a parade of the Cork Volunteers on the 17th of March, 1780,*

* The Cork Volunteers made their first display in public on the 12th of March, 1778, several of the societies walking in procession to Christ's Church.

at which a song was sung, from the manuscript copy of which, in the autograph of Mr. John Sheares, it is printed in Mr. Crofton's work.

It begins thus :—

St. Patrick he is Ireland's saint,
And we're his Volunteers, Sir.
The hearts that treason cannot taint,
Their fire with joy he hears, Sir, etc.

The composition is that of a boy not above fourteen years of age, and certainly exhibits very little indication of poetic talent.

But of all the song-writers and sonneteers of the United Irishmen, Dr. William Drennan excelled, not only in the spirit-stirring strains of his Tyrtæan lyre, but in the exquisite beauty of the style of his productions—the fine, bold imagery in which he so fitly and felicitously clothed his original, hope-inspiring, freedom-loving thoughts. Two of these productions from his pen, which made their first appearance in the able organ of the United Irishmen, the celebrated *Press* newspaper, in the latter part of 1797, I now place before my readers, and also some lines of his, written either at the close of or subsequently to 1798 :—

ERIN.

Written in 1795.

When Erin first rose from the dark-swelling flood,
God bless'd the green island, He saw it was good:
The Emerald of Europe, it sparkled, it shone,
In the ring of this world the most precious stone!

In her sun, in her soil, in her station, thrice blest,
With her back turn'd to Britain, her face to the West,
Erin stands proudly insular on her steep shore,
And strikes her high harp to the ocean's deep roar.

But when its soft notes seem to mourn and to weep,
The dark chain of silence is cast o'er the deep;
At the thought of the past, the tears gush from her eyes,
And the pulse of the heart makes her white bosom rise:—

O sons of green Erin! lament o'er the time
When religion was—war, and our country—a crime;
When men, in God's image, inverted His plan,
And moulded their God in the image of man.

When the int'rest of state wrought the general woe;
The stranger—a friend, and the native—a foe;
While the mother rejoic'd o'er her children distress'd,
And clasp'd the invader more close to her breast.

When with *pale* for the body, and *pale* for the soul,
Church and state join'd in compact to conquer the whole;
And while Shannon ran red with Milesian blood,
Ey'd each other askance, and pronounced it was good!

By the groans that ascend from your forefathers' grave,
For their country thus left to the brute and the slave,
Drive the Demon of Bigotry home to his den,
And where Britain made brutes, now let Erin make men!

Let my sons, like the leaves of their shamrock, unite,
A partition of sects from one footstalk of right;
Give each his full share of this earth and yon sky,
Nor fatten the slave where the serpent would die!

Alas, for poor Erin! that some still are seen,
Who would dye the grass red in their hatred to green!
Yet, oh! when you're up, and they down, let them live,—
Then yield them that mercy which they did not give.

Arm of Erin! prove strong; but be gentle as brave,
And, uplifted to strike, still be ready to save;
Nor one feeling of vengeance presume to defile
The cause or the men of the EMERALD ISLE.

The cause it is good, and the men they are true;
And the green shall outlive both the orange and blue;
And the daughters of Erin her triumph shall share,
With their full-swelling chest and their fair-flowing hair.

Their bosoms heave high for the worthy and brave,
But no coward shall rest on that soft-swelling wave;
Men of Erin! awake, and make haste to be blest!
Rise, arch of the ocean! rise, Queen of the West!

WAKE OF WILLIAM ORR.

Written in 1797.

Here our brother worthy lies,
Wake not him with women's cries;
Mourn the way that mankind ought:
Sit in silent trance of thought.

Write his merits on your mind,
Morals pure, and manners kind;
On his head, as on a hill,
Virtue plac'd her citadel.

Why cut off in palmy youth?
Truth he spoke, and acted truth;
"Countrymen, Unite!" he cried,
And died, for what his Saviour died!

God of Peace, and God of Love,
Let it not thy vengeance move!
Let it not thy lightnings draw,
A nation guillotin'd by law!

Hapless nation! rent and torn,
Early wert thou taught to mourn!
Warfare of six hundred years!
Epochs marked by blood and tears!

Hunted through thy native grounds,
Or flung *reward* to human hounds,
Each one pull'd and tore his share,
Emblem of thy deep despair!

Hapless nation, hapless land,
Heap of uncementing sand!
Crumbled by a foreign weight,
Or by worse, domestic hate!

God of mercy, God of peace,
Make the mad confusion cease!
O'er the mental chaos move,
Through it speak the light of love!

Monstrous and unhappy sight!
Brothers' blood will not unite.
Holy oil and holy water
Mix—and fill the Earth with slaughter.

Who is she, with aspect wild?—
The widow'd mother, with her child;
Child, new stirring in the womb!
Husband, waiting for the tomb!

Angel of this holy place!
Calm her soul, and whisper, Peace!
Cord, nor axe, nor guillotine,
Make the sentence, not the sin.

Here we watch our brother's sleep;
Watch with us, but do not weep:
Watch with us, through dead of night—
But expect the morning light.

Conquer Fortune—persevere—
Lo! it breaks—the morning clear!
The cheerful cock awakes the skies;
The day is come—Arise, arise!

THE WAIL OF THE WOMEN AFTER THE BATTLE.

Written by Drennan after the last struggle of the United Irishmen for independence, and their defeat.

Alas! how sad, by Shannon's flood,
The blush of morning sun appears!
To men, who gave for us their blood,
Ah! what can women give but tears!

How still the field of battle lies!
No shouts upon the breezes blown!
We heard our dying country's cries—
We sit, deserted and alone!

Why thus collected on the strand
Whom yet the God of mercy saves?
Will ye forsake your native land?
Will ye desert your brothers' graves?

Their graves gave forth a fearful groan—
"O, guard our orphans and our wives!
Like us, make Erin's fate your own,
Like us, for her yield up your lives!"

Why, why such haste to bear abroad
The witness of your country's shame?
Stand by her altars and her God,—
He yet may build her up a name,

Then, should her foreign children hear
Of Erin free and blest once more,
Will they not curse their fathers' fear,
That left too soon their native shore?

DEVICE OF THE HARP ON CERTIFICATES OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

The following engraving is an exact copy of the device on the parchment certificate of membership in the Society of United Irishmen.

The certificate from which it is taken is that of Henry Joy M'Cracken, for which I am indebted to his sister, who is still living in Belfast, in her eighty-seventh year, honoured and venerated for her noble qualities, and heroic, Christian virtues, by all who know her. The following is the form of the certificate:—

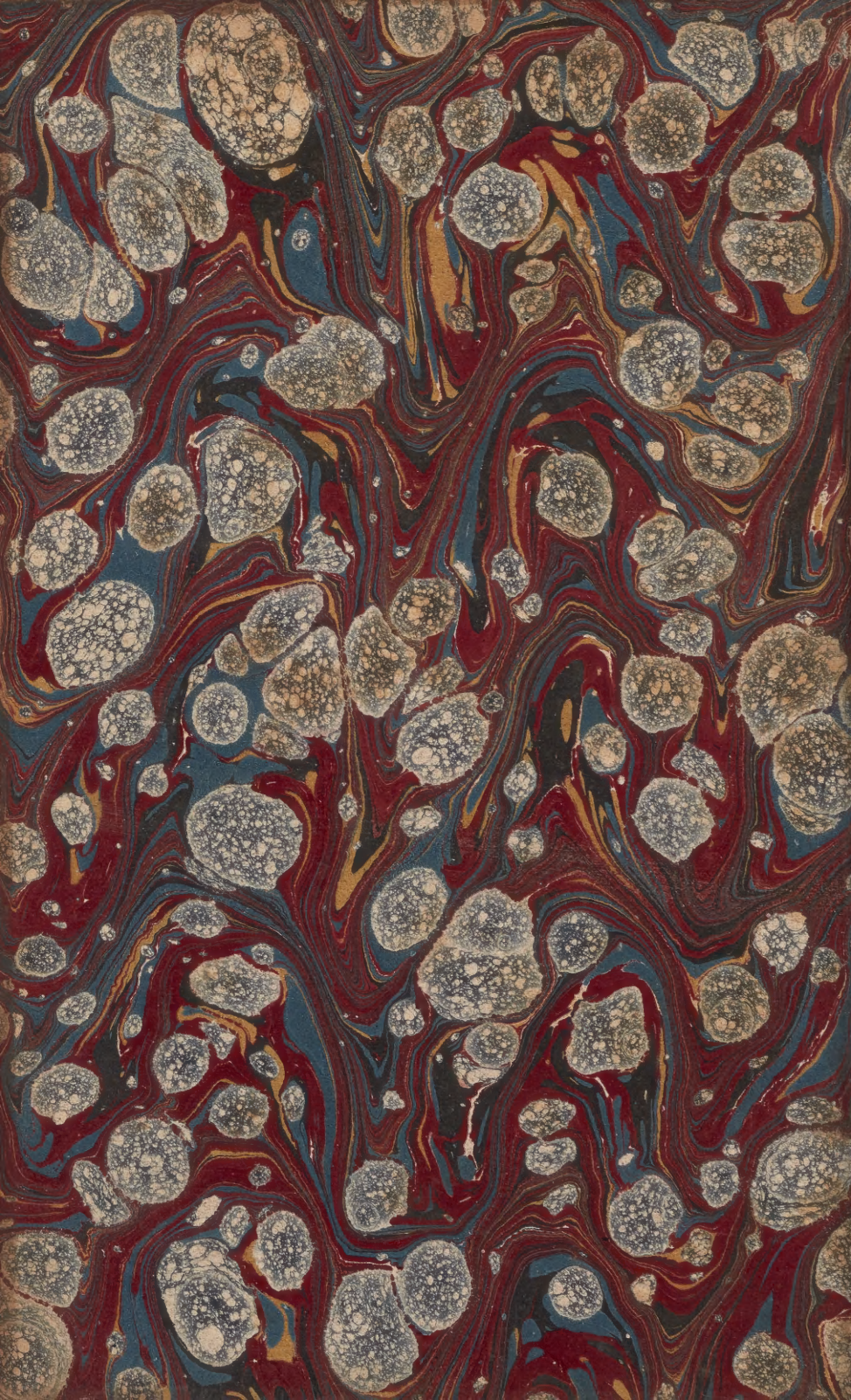
S. of U. I. M. of B.

Tenth Society of United Irishmen of Belfast.

I hereby certify that Henry Joy M'Cracken has been duly elected, and, having taken the test provided in the Constitution, has been admitted a member of the society.

H. M. Hull.

March 24, 1792.

END OF FIRST SERIES.

John P. Fowler, Printer, 3 Crow Street, Dame Street, Dublin.